

THE
MEMOIRS and LETTERS
OF
ULICK,
Marquis of CLANRICARDE,

AND

Earl of SAINT ALBANS;
Lord Lieutenant of IRELAND,

AND

Commander in Chief of the Forces of King CHARLES the First in
that Kingdom, during the REBELLION,

Governor of the County and Town of GALWAY,

Lord Lieutenant of the County of KENT,

AND

Privy Counsellor in ENGLAND and IRELAND.

Printed from an authentic Manuscript, and now first published

By the present Earl of CLANRICARDE.

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. HUGHES, near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields:

For R. and J. DODSLEY, at TULLY's Head in Pall-mall.

M DCC LVII.

MEMOIRS OF THE LATE

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OF

U L I C K

MARQUIS OF CLAIRBOROUGH

AND

EARL OF SAINT ALBANS;

LORD TREASURER OF THE EXCHEQUER

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Commander in Chief of the Forces of King Charles the First
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MDCCLXXII



TO HIS SACRED
M A J E S T Y.

S I R,



THE following sheets which I presume to lay at Your feet, are the genuine Memoirs of Ulick, Marquis of Clanricarde, and Earl of St. Albans, &c. As they contain many transactions, during the unhappy troubles of these kingdoms, particularly referred to by my Lord Clarendon in his History of the Grand Rebellion, I should certainly have been wanting to the memory of my dead Ancestor, had I placed his works under the patronage of a less august personage than Your Majesty. The Marquis of Clanricarde, SIR, was a man of great rank, fortune, abilities, and alliances. But Your Majesty will find that he placed his greatest glory in his firm attachment to the King his Master, and in the unsullied loyalty of his family; and this he evinced by the loss of honours, life, and fortune, in the Royal Cause. His Posterity (I am not ashamed thus publickly to acquaint You) in a succeeding reign, by a wrong-placed, though yet grateful adherence to an unfortunate Prince, suffered the same fate: nor can I (tho' so great a sufferer by their mistaken ill-placed zeal) blame their conduct, since they did for the Prince then on the throne, no more than what my duty, my attachment to Your Royal Person, and Illustrious House, will always exact from me. Your Majesty's goodness of heart, and other virtues, takes from me the power of flattery; and I hope you will believe me most sincere, when I beg Your permission to assure You, that was not Your amiable character as striking to the world, as it can possibly appear to me, You have nothing within Your power, that could bribe me to become a sycophant. I therefore flatter myself You will be persuaded that I speak my sentiments, in this protestation of my duty, even when I beg leave to remind You, that no Family in Your dominions, since the accession of Your Majesty's to the throne of these kingdoms,

DEDICATION.

kingdoms, has received fewer favours from the Crown. What this misfortune arises from, would ill-become me to enquire; but 'tis no small alleviation to be conscious, that no one has been more attached to their Sovereign, or on all occasions readier to convince Your Majesty of it. And I beg Your Majesty's permission (in this publick manner) to assure You, that as my attachment to Your Royal Person and Family, is founded on the most disinterested principles; so neither the frowns of Fortune, nor any other event, that may happen to deprive me of Your Majesty's favour and protection, can ever shake that known duty, and zeal, which I always have, and ever shall profess to owe to You and Yours. These, SIR, are the sentiments of a man, who by a long experience finds he has little to expect; and who can have no wishes beyond that of the greatest prosperity for his King and Country. Overcast and gloomy as our horizon at present appears, I bless God we have yet the glorious prospect of not only retrieving the lost honour of Britain, but of carrying her reputation beyond the greatest examples of our Ancestors. This, SIR, is a task worthy of a Prince, who stands confessed by every rank of his people, to be the worthiest Personage amongst them; and I doubt not but every true Briton, in gratitude for this blessing, will, at this critical juncture, esteem the country that gave us so good, so worthy a King, as placed in the heart of our own. I have presumed to add to this, some account of the Marquis's family, whose origin is derived from the same country, that is honoured by being Yours. I most humbly beg Your Majesty's pardon, for detaining You thus long; and that You will permit me again to assure You, my sincerest wishes will always be, that You may ever be served with the zeal and fidelity Your goodness deserves. That You may long reign over a people, whose chief happiness is their having Your Majesty for their King, must be the prayer of every true Englishman, and of none more sincerely than,

May it please Your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most faithfully attached,

Dutiful Subject, and devoted Servant,

CLANRICARDE.



T H E
P E D I G R E E
Of the FAMILY of
DE BURGH, Earl of CLANRICARDE.

THE original of the family of Du Burgh, is deduced from Charles the Charles king of France and emperor. Great, king of France, son of Pepin, son of Charles Martel, who having subdued the kingdom of the Lombards and Saxons, conquered the Bavarians, and vanquished the Saracens of Spain, was crowned emperor of the West by pope Leo the third on Christmas-day, in the year 800, and died at Aquigrain, otherwise Aix la Chapelle in Germany, the 28th of January, 814, leaving a numerous issue, of whom the fifth son Charles duke of Ingelheim Charles duke of Ingelheim. (a German city near the Rhine, the birth-place of his father) by his wife Juliana, daughter of Rowland, sister's son of Charles the Great, and general of his army, had a son Rowland, the father of Croise, otherwise called Godfrey, and Gratian, defender Rowland Godfrey. of the christians in the holy war against the infidels in Palestine. He was father to Baldwin the first, whose son Baldwin the second was founder of the house of Baldwin. Blois in France (as appears from the records of Bologne in Picardy, and in the tower of London) and also progenitor of this noble family of Burgh, by his son John earl of Comyn, and baron of Tonsburgh in Normandy, who being general John earl of Comyn. of the king's forces, and supreme governor of his chief towns, was from thence surnamed De Burgo, the word Burgus in Latin, signifying a town or fort *. His issue were two, a son Harlowen, and a daughter Millecent, married to Fulk earl of Anjou, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1131, and was killed by a fall from his horse in 1142, and left the kingdom to his brother Almericus, who died in 1174, as did his son Baldwin the fourth in 1185, leaving no issue.

Harlowen De Burgo founded the abbey of Grestein in Normandy, and died Harlowen. before his father John earl of Comyn, and having married Arlotte, mother of William duke of Normandy conqueror of England, had issue two sons, Robert (ancestor to the earl of Clanricarde) and Odo bishop of Bajeux in Normandy, created earl of Kent in England, half brothers to the conqueror, whom they accompanied in his English expedition, and for their services in the conquest were amply rewarded with lands and honours, Robert being created in 1068, earl of Cornwall, with a grant of 793 manors, and Odo created earl of Kent.

Robert earl of Cornwall married Maud, daughter to Roger De Montgomery Robert earl of Cornwall. earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had one son, William earl of Cornwall, the father of Adelm, and John, the younger of whom had issue Hubert De Burgo, earl of Kent, one of the greatest subjects of Europe in the reigns of Richard the first, John,

* It is proper to observe here, that all the French families of this name still continue to write it De Bourg, and in Latin De Burgo; after the Du Burgh's removed from Normandy to England, they also wrote De Burgo and sometimes De Burgh, in order to accommodate the word to the English or Saxon accent; but, in process of time to give their name an English termination, they wrote Bourk.

Adelm.

William
Fitz-Adelm.

and Henry the third, * and Adelm the elder son was father, by Agnes daughter of Lewis the seventh king of France, of William Fitz-Adelm, "who (says Sir Richard Cox, p. 32d of his history) "founded one of the best and noblest "families of England, which hath yielded many brave and worthy men, that "have proved eminently serviceable to their king and country, whereby their "names, estate, and family, are preserved in great honour and reputation to this "day") which William was highly in the esteem of king Henry the second, to whom he was steward, and on the reduction of Ireland, sent with Hugh de Lacie, to take the submission of Roderic O Connor king of Connaught, and of the king of Meath, which they did at the river Shannon. He was made governor of Wexford, and upon the king's return into England, entrusted with the management of all his affairs in Ireland; and in 1175, in a synod of the bishops and clergy at Waterford, published the decree or bull, and the privileges granted by pope Alexander the third, in confirmation of the bull of pope Adrian the fourth, constituting the king lord of Ireland. In 1177, being appointed governor of the kingdom, he was attended into Ireland with twenty gentlemen of the king's household, having John de Courcy, Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Miles de Cogan assigned to be his assistants and council for the better execution of his office; and arriving at Wexford, he was met by Reymond Le Groffe, who there resigned the government to him.

That year (or the ensuing one) by the king's command, he founded the famous monastery of St. Thomas Becket the martyr near Dublin, called Thomas's-court, for canons regular of the order of St. Victor, which charter received the king's confirmation at Oxford, and continued in force till the dissolution of the monastery.

In 1178, he was recalled to England, being succeeded in the government by Hugh de Lacie, and in 1179 obtained great part of the province of Connaught, which was chiefly governed by his family for many years. In 1189 (1 Richard I.) he was made sheriff of Cumberland, and so continued for nine years. In the year 1200, he founded the abbey of Athassil in the county of Tipperary, for canons regular of the order of St. Augustine, dedicated to St. Edmund king and martyr (where he was buried) and coming from England in 1204, died in Munster that year, or the beginning of the next. He married first Isabel, natural daughter of king Richard the first, and widow of Llewellyn prince of Wales, by whom he had Richard his successor.

Richard lord
of Con-
naught.

Richard De Burgo, surnamed *the Great*, who succeeded, was lord of Connaught and Trim, was a person of great honour and esteem, and held many fair possessions in England and Ireland, as Matthew Paris writes, by the conquest of his most noble father, and to him king John, the 17th of September 1215, granted for his homage and service all the land of Connaught, which his father held of the crown, at the yearly rent of three hundred marks, which grant in 1218 (3 of Henry the III.) for the fine of one thousand pounds was confirmed to him and his heirs after the death of the then king of Connaught, one moiety thereof being granted to him for life. Also the 12th of June 1225, a writ was directed to William earl Marshall lord justice, to seize on the whole country of Connaught, forfeited by O Connor, and to deliver it to Richard De Burgo, at the rent of three hundred marks for the first five years, and after of five hundred pounds yearly, except five choice cantreds of land near Athlone (supposed to be reserved for the support of that garrison) which was confirmed to him by charter, dated at Westminster the 21st of December 1226 (11 of Henry III.)

On the 10th of March 1227, he was constituted lord lieutenant of Ireland, in 1232 built the castle of Galway, as in 1236 he did that of Loughreagh, and was a person of such high authority and power, that in 1242 (accompanied with

* A full account of these great men is given by Dugdale in his Baronage, and other writers, which we omit, as not directly pertinent to our work.

his barons and knights which he kept in his retinue) he went to Bourdeaux to meet the king of England, but died on that voyage in France, about the beginning of January 1243, leaving issue by Hodierna De Gernon, daughter to Robert De Gernon, Walter his successor, William, who will be mentioned hereafter, Margery or Marcella, married to Theobald Butler the third of that name, ancestor to the Ormond family, and Anges to Henry Netterville, ancestor to Nicholas lord Netterville.

Walter lord of Connaught, marrying Maud daughter and heir to Hugh De Lacie the younger, earl and lord of Ulster (by Emelina his wife daughter and heir to Walter De Riddlesford lord of Bray) became earl thereof in her right upon her father's decease in 1243, and in his own right in 1264. He preserved both Ulster and Connaught to the king's laws during his life, which he ended after a week's sickness in the castle of Galway, the 28th of July 1271.

1. Richard, his successor in the earldom.
2. Theobald, who died at Carrickfergus on Christmas night 1303, in his return from assisting the king in Scotland.
3. Sir William, who performed many signal services in conjunction with his brother the earl.
4. Thomas died in the 1315.---Some mention two more sons, Hubert and Gibbon.

Richard * the second earl of Ulster, usually called from his complexion *the Red Earl*, was educated for some years in the court of king Henry the third, and had such large possessions, that he was the most powerful subject in Ireland. In 1273, after pursuing the Scots into their own country, who had made an incursion attended with great cruelty into that kingdom, destroying many of them and waisting their lands, he was made general of all the forces in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Gascoigne. In 1286, he subdued all his opposers in Connaught, took hostages of O Neile and O Donel, dispossessed Donel M^c Brian O Neile of his principality, and gave the government and chief name of Ulster, to Neile Kulanagh O Neile. In 1288, pretending title to the lordship of Meath, he besieged Theobald de Verdon in the castle of Athlone, and at the instigation of Walter Lacie, advanced with a great army to Trim. In 1290, he assisted the lord justice Vesey to suppress O Hanlon the great disturber of the government in Ulster; and in the parliament held at Dublin 1295, sat the first nobleman, being also in all commissions and parliament rolls named before the lords justices. In 1296, he assisted the king in Scotland, as he did again in 1299, attending him in his best array with horse and armour, and a third time in 1303, accompanied with Sir Eustace Le Poer and a considerable army, making before his departure thirty-three knights in the castle of Dublin, and returned in 1305. In the year 1300, he founded a monastery for carmelites at Loughreagh, built the castle of Ballymote and Castle-connel in the county of Sligo, as in 1301 he did *that* of Corran in Sligo, in 1305 *that* of Greencastle in Inisowen, and in 1310 *that* of Sligo. And after performing many very singular services to the crown, was present (though infirm with age and sickness) in 1326, at a parliament held in Kilkenny on Whitsunday, where he entertained the nobility in a magnificent manner, and bidding them a long farewell, retired to a monastery, where he died the 28th of June, and was there buried, leaving issue by Margaret, daughter to John De Burgo baron of Lanvile (son of John, son of John, son of Hubert earl of Kent, who was first cousin to William Fitz-Adelm) five sons and six daughters, viz.

1. Walter, who died without issue male in 1304.
2. John, who died before his father.
3. Thomas, who died childless in 1316.
4. Edmond, made the 4th of October 1336 *custos rotulorum pacis* in the province of Connaught. He married Slany, daughter of Turlogh O'Brien lord of

* The descent from this earl Richard to king Edward the fourth, is traced in a direct line by an inquisition preserved in the rolls office, anno 13 Car. I.

Thomond, and was ancestor to the lords Castle-connel and Brittas (titles now extinct) Sir William Du Burgh being created baron Du Burgh of Castle-connel the 16th of May 1580, and his grandson Theobald, baron of Brittas, the 7th of February 1617.

5. William, died after the year 1337.

1. Daughter Ellen married in 1302 to Robert Bruce then earl of Carrycke, crowned king of Scotland in 1306, and was mother of king David the second, who succeeded his father the 9th of July 1329.

2. Elizabeth (rather Maud) married in 1308 to Gilbert earl of Gloucester.

3. Joan, first married the 16th of August 1312 to Thomas, the second earl of Kildare, secondly, the 3d of July 1329 to Sir John D'Arcie lord justice, died the 12th of March 1359, and was buried at Kildare.

4. Catherine, to John Bermingham earl of Louth.

5. Margaret, the 6th of August 1312 to Maurice the first earl of Desmond.

6. Elenor, to John lord Multon of Egremont.

John, the eldest surviving son, came into Ireland the 15th of October 1306, and dying on the feast of St. Marcell and Marcelline in 1313 at Galway, left issue by Elizabeth the third daughter to Gilbert De Clare earl of Gloucester, who died in 1295 (by his second wife Joan of Acres, second daughter of king Edward the first, and coheir to her brother Gilbert) † one son William, and one daughter Matilda (from Maud) married to Gilbert earl of Gloucester and Hertford, her mother's brother, and by him (who was killed in the battle of Bannocksburn on Midsummer-eve 1314, had no surviving issue. ||

William the
third earl.

William the only son, was born in 1312, and in 1326 succeeded his grand father, was the third earl of Ulster; he was knighted at London on Whitsunday 1328, and the next year sat in the parliament held in Dublin; but was murdered on Sunday the 6th of June 1333, by Robert Fitz-Richard Mandeville (who gave him the first wound) and other his servants, near to *the Foords*, in going towards Carrickfergus, in the twenty-first year of his age, at the instigation (as was said) of Gyles De Burgo, wife of Sir Richard de Mandeville, in revenge for his having imprisoned her brother Walter and others.

His wife and only daughter hereupon retired to England, and so barbarous a fact caused loud exclamations in Ireland, the lord justice called a parliament, by whose advice he sailed the first of July to Carrickfergus, but before his arrival the country people had destroyed the murderers with their abettors, killing in one day above three hundred, and in all pardons granted about that time a clause was inserted, *Excepting the Death of William, late Earl of Ulster*. His estate, by reason of his daughter's minority, was seized into the king's hands, and so unsettled was the kingdom at that time, that two years after a liberate of twenty marks was granted to John Morrice escheator of Ireland, for his expences in going to Ulster to receive the rents of the said estate, and to recompense him for the damage he sustained in the loss of horses by the Irish on his return, dated the 7th of August 1335.

He married Maud, third daughter to Henry Plantagenet earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, (second son to Edmond earl of Lancaster, the second son of king Henry the third) and by her, who re-married with Sir Ralph Ufford lord

† On the 3d of February 1315, she re-married with Theobald de Verdon lord of Heth in Oxfordshire, summoned to parliament as a baron, from the 28th of Edward the first to the 9th of Edward the second inclusive; and by him, who died at his castle of Alveton the 27th of July 1317, had a daughter Isabel, born the 21st of March after his death, who was married to Henry lord Ferrers of Groly. Her third husband was Sir Roger d'Amorie, baron of Armoie in the county of Antrim, in the reign of Edward the second, with whom she lies buried in the church of Ware, Hertfordshire. She was the foundress of Clare-hall, in the university of Cambridge.

|| Although this Matilda is by Sandford, and many authors of credit (who had implicitly followed each other in the error) made the daughter of this John lord Du Burgh, and, on their authority, inserted here, yet they are apparently mistaken, the wife of Gilbert earl of Gloucester, being really the sister of the said John, and second daughter to Richard earl of Ulster; for otherwise his uncle is made to marry his niece.

justice of Ireland, had an only child Elizabeth, born in 1332, and married in 1352 to Lionel of Antwerp duke of Clarence (third son of king Edward the third) then created earl of Ulster in her right, who also became lord of Connaught, and having with her the honour of Clare in the county of Thomond, in right of her grandmother Elizabeth, sister and coheir to Gilbert the late earl of Clare, was in the parliament in 1362 created duke of Clarence, from which dutchy the name of *Clarencieux* (the title of the king of arms for the South parts of England) is derived, for that dukedom escheating to Edward the fourth, by the death of his brother George duke of Clarence (murdered in the tower) he made the herald who properly belonged to that duke a king of arms, and named him *Clarencieux*.

Earl Lionel came into Ireland, of which he was lord lieutenant, the 8th of September 1361, kept the provinces of Ulster and Connaught in peace and subservient to law, whilst he continued in the kingdom.

By his said wife (who died at Dublin 1363, and was interred in the Augustine friery at Clare in Suffolk, where he was buried with her in 1368) he had an only daughter Phillippa, born the 16th of August 1355, whom at about thirteen years old her grandfather king Edward had married to Edmond Mortimer, ^{Edmond Mortimer, earl of Ulster.} third earl of March, who in her right became earl of Ulster, lord of Trim, Clare, and Connaught. He died at St. Dominick's abbey near Cork, the 26th of December 1381, leaving Roger earl of March and Ulster, declared in the parliament of 1385 (9 Rich. II.) heir apparent to the crown of England; but the parliament being ended, he came into Ireland to pacify some commotions in Ulster, and was slain, with most of his company, by the rude and uncivilized natives. He married Eleanor, eldest daughter to Thomas Holland, the second earl of Kent, niece to king Richard the second, and had Edmond earl of March and Ulster, who died childless; Roger, who died young; Anne and Eleanor; the elder of whom became heir, and was married to Richard Plantagenet of Conisburg, earl of Cambridge (second son to Edmond duke of York, fifth son to king Edward the third) whose son Richard duke of York, and earl of Ulster in her right, claimed the crown, and was by act of parliament 1455, declared heir apparent; but being slain in the battle of Wakefield, the 30th of December 1460, fighting against the house of Lancaster, his son Edward earl of March and Ulster ascended the throne by the name of Edward the fourth, by which means Ulster, &c. became the special inheritance and revenue of the crown of England.

Let us now return to William De Burgo, second son to Richard lord of Connaught (who died in 1243) and younger brother to Walter earl of Ulster.

He was styled William the conqueror, and also William Athankip from the place of his death. He served with his father in France, when the city of Bourdeaux was taken; assisted in 1245 king Henry the third, in his wars of Scotland; and in 1263 with a powerful army invaded Desmond, slew Cormac Carty, lord of that country, and obliged his clan to give hostages; after which, to his death, in 1270, he was in many battles with his brother the earl; but was then slain at Athankip on the river Shannon by the king of Connaught, whilst his hostage.

Sir William Du Burgh, the eldest son, called *the Gray*, in 1296 founded the ^{Sir William Du Burgh.} friery of Franciscan minorites, in the island of St. Stephen, without or very near the north gate of the town of Galway; was appointed in 1308 custos of Ireland; held a parliament at Kilkenny in 1309, which appeased many civil disorders, enacted divers good laws, and is reckoned by some writers to be the first held in Ireland, after that of Henry the second.

He performed many signal services against Edward Bruce, O Connor, and others; by the first of whom he was wounded and taken prisoner in a battle fought in Ulster 1315, when the *Red* earl's forces were defeated, and carried into Scotland, where leaving his sons William and Edmond as hostages, he gained his liberty, and returned to Ireland the 30th of April 1316; which as soon

The Pedegree of DE BURGH,

as Phelim O Connor, king of Connaught, understood, he assembled all his force, assisted by Connor O Brien, prince of Thomond, and many others, in order to banish him from that country, and marching towards Athunry to meet him (who was supported and joined by the lord Bermingham and the English of the province) they came to an engagement on St. Laurence's day, wherein the Irish were totally routed, with the slaughter of king Phelim, Teige O Kelly, king of Imany, and twenty-eight other chiefs, who were left dead on the field; after which he marched his victorious army to Sclemorye, where all the Irish septs agreed to make peace with him, except M^c Dermot, to punish whose obstinacy, he invaded and destroyed his country of Moylorg, and with the spoils of the slain, walls are said to have been built around the town of Athunry.

He was in several rencounters with the Irish under Richard earl of Ulster, wherein he gave repeated proofs of his bravery. He died the 13th of February 1324, and having married the daughter of Henry De Aldithley, a great baron in Staffordshire, had issue seven sons, viz. Ulick his successor, Sir Edmond, ancestor to the lord viscount Mayo, Richard, Sir Redmond, Sir Thomas, made lord treasurer of Ireland the 17th of July 1331, John De Burgo, made archbishop of Tuam in 1341, who died in 1350, and Henry.

Sir Ulick lord of Clanricarde, was a nobleman of great power; the 20th of June 1419, he took O Kelly prisoner in the county of Galway, slew five hundred Irish in Connaught; and the 9th of June 1424 (2 Henry VI.) James earl of Ormond, lord deputy, declaring to the king and council, that the M^c Mahons, M^c Genifs's, Neil-Garrow, O Donnel, and other Irish enemies in Ulster, had confederated and joined to them a great multitude of Irish, Scots, and other rebels, purposing to destroy and conquer that country, if they were not powerfully resisted, which he was unable to do with his own retinue, nor could they possibly be restrained without a great power of men at arms and archers, and especially without the aid of Sir William Du Burgh and his brother; he therefore supplicated the king and council, in order to encourage them to afford their assistance, that some competent reward should be given them; upon which it was agreed, that Sir William should receive forty pounds, and his brother twenty mares out of the customs of Galway and Sligoe, on which occasion he did considerable service in those parts, and upon his memorial thereof, and the losses he had sustained thereby, had the king's patent, dated the 20th of May 1427, to receive the said sum (a large gratuity in those days) which was paid together with the twenty mares to his brother the 24th of October following. He died on the Monday before St. Bridget's day 1429, having married Agnes, daughter to Roger earl of Warwick, and by her, who died in 1396, had Ulick his successor.

Ulick (*the Red*) Du Burgh of Clanricarde, was a man of great esteem and power. In 1451 he built the castle of Carrifinny, and marrying Egelina, daughter to Hugh de Courtney, died in 1485, having had issue by her (who was killed by a fall in 1452) six sons, and three daughters, viz. Ulick his successor, Richard, Thomas, Henry, James, and John.

Mary, married to James the seventh earl of Desmond; Honora to Edmond, ancestor to the viscount Mayo; and Anabella to O Brien earl of Thomond.

Ulick.

Ulick was a person brave and politick in war, and free, when required to give sound and seasonable advice. In August 1495, Hugh Rufus O Donnel, vanquishing the O Connors in a battle near Sligoe, laid siege to the castle there, but was soon forced by Ulick to raise the siege, and retire into Tyrconnel; that year he was summoned to parliament, and in 1503 overthrew Malachi O Kelly. He dying, left issue by Sluma, daughter to the earl of Claremont (who died in 1498) one son, Ulick, ancestor to the earl of Clanricarde.

Ulick, the first earl.

Ulick married Margaret, daughter to Pierce earl of Ormond, and was father of Ulick, called by the Irish Ne-gan, that is, *a capitibus*, or *the Bebeader*, having made a mount of the heads of men slain in battle, which he covered with earth. Being governor of Connaught, he was seized in fee, both before and

and after his creation, as his ancestors had been time immemorial, of the lordship, country or territory of Clanricarde, consisting of the six baronies of Loughreagh, Dunkellin, Kiltartan (otherwise Kiltaraght) Clare, Athunry, and Leitrim (being so lately divided) some of the principal manors whereof he held in demesne, the rest that were possessed by the gentry and freeholders (except spiritual lands) being held of him by knight's service; this vast territory he greatly improved by building the towns of Galway, Roscommon, Loughreagh, Clare, Concashell, Ballyforwer, and Leitrim; of all which, by his petition to the privy council, he desired to have the fee farm, and also to hold by the same tenure the Cockett of Sligo, Porterarde, and Leighbourn, with other creeks, and to have the nomination of men to the chief governors for all the spiritual livings within his rule (bishopsricks excepted) to which he would nominate no unlearned persons.

And by indenture, bearing date at Limerick the 28th of June 1538, by the name of Hugh De Burgo, captain of the country De Burgh, he covenanted with the king, for himself and his successors, that he and they respectively, who should be governor of the said country De Burgh, should, during their natural lives, pay to the crown the yearly rent of forty pounds English, at the feast of St. Michael, with a hundred marks to the lord deputy of Ireland, to furnish at every general hosting twenty horsemen and eighty Scots, well armed, and prepared for war, with provisions for forty days at his own expence, to attend and serve with the king at his will and pleasure; and whenever the king should come near the bounds of his country, that he and his heirs would repair to him with all their horsemen, Scots, and forces of their country, furnished with three days provisions, to attend and serve him in like manner. And further, that the king for the time being, should have provisions in the said country of Burgh, collected by him for eighty Scots every year for the space of six weeks, that the then lord deputy, the lord Leonard Gray, might cause to be cut any strait way, called *a paise*, in the said country, at his pleasure, and further consented to make any way therein which he should think good, for the more easy passage of the king's army and artillery through that whole country at his own expence. And afterwards waiting upon king Henry the eighth in England, made his submission, and surrendered this his large estate into his majesty's hands, who by letters patent, dated at Greenwich the 1st of July 1543, regranted and confirmed the same to him and the heirs male of his body, creating him earl of Clanricarde and baron of Dunkellin, with the annual creation fee of thirty pounds, payable out of the exchequer; conferring upon him likewise the monastery of *De Via Nova*, in the diocese of Clonsfert; and the advowsons and donations of all rectories, vicarages, chantries, chapels, and prebends in Clanricarde and Dunkellin belonging to his majesty, and then in his gift, with the third part of all their first fruits, as often as they should become void, to hold all the premises by knight's service, without account, or any other rents or services whatsoever. The king moreover defrayed the charges of his journey, and granted to him and his heirs male a house and piece of land near Dublin, for keeping of their horses and traynes, at their repair to parliament and council. He enjoyed his honours but for a short time, departing this life the 19th of October 1544, leaving issue one son, called Richard, by Maud de Lucy.

Which Richard, the second earl of Clanricarde, was usually called by the Irish, *Sassanagh*, or *the Englishman*. Richard, the second earl.

In 1548, he took Cormac Roe O Connor, then in rebellion, and sent him to Dublin, where he was executed, and in 1552, gained the battle of Roscommon by policy. He was lord lieutenant of Ireland, and, assisted by Sir Richard Bingham, gave a great overthrow to the Scots at the river Moye in 1553, and joined Sir Edward Fitton, president of Connaught, with his forces in the battle of Shruel against Fitz-Oliver of Tyrawly. Upon his petition to queen Elizabeth, that she would approve, confirm, and ratify to him and his issue male the grants made to his father by king Henry the eighth, her majesty did so by patent, dated at Westminster the 22d of June 1559, as likewise the titles of earl of Clanricarde and baron

baron of Dunkellin, and the 12th of January following he sat in her first parliament.

He married first the 24th of November 1553, Margaret, daughter to Murrough O'Brien the first earl of Thomond, by whom he had Ulick his successor, secondly Catharine, daughter of Donogh, the second earl of Thomond (nephew to the first earl) by whom he had issue one son, John, created lord Leitrim, and two Daughters.

The earl died an aged man, the 24th of July 1582, leaving issue Ulick his successor, John created as above, and two daughters.

Ulick, the
third earl.

Ulick the third earl of Clanricarde sat in parliament the 26th of April 1585, and continuing firm in his loyalty to the queen, and assisting Sir Richard Bingham to suppress the rebellion in 1586, had the command of a regiment of horse, and was rewarded with lands in Connaught and England. He married the 25th of November 1564, Margaret, daughter to Richard Fitz-Allan earl of Arundel. He died the 20th of May 1601, having issue six sons and two daughters, Mary, who died a child, and Honora, married to Sir Nicholas Malby, the queen's chief commissioner. The sons were

1. Richard, who died in his infancy.
2. Richard of Kinsale his successor, so called for his braveries against the rebels there.
3. Sir Thomas Du Burgh, knight, who commanded fifteen hundred foot in queen Elizabeth's army, and the 27th of November 1607 had a pension of two hundred marks a year granted during his life in consideration of his services at Kinsale, and afterwards against O'Sullivan and his followers, but left no issue by his wife Urfula, daughter of Sir Nicholas Wentworth.
4. Sir William Du Burgh, ancestor to the present earl of Clanricarde.
5. John Du Burgh, created by privy seal, dated at Westminster the 25th of February 1628, and by patent at Dublin, the 20th of April 1629, * viscount Du

* A copy of the preamble to the patent, now in the rolls office.

In ENGLISH thus :

CAROLUS Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, &c. archiepiscopis, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, vice comitibus, episcopis, baronibus, militibus, præpositis, liberis hominibus, et omnibus officiariis, ministris et subditis nostris quibuscunque, ad quos presentes literæ nostræ pervenerint, salutem.

Cum illustri et antiqua familia, cognominis De Burgo, nobis certis et indubitatis testimoniis innotuerit tum ex Willielmo De Burgo, quondam comite Ultoniæ, a quo partem generis nostri ducere non dedignamur tum ex innumeris aliis ejusdem nominis heroibus et proceribus modo et ab antiquo in hoc regno nostro florentibus, adeo ut splendore et claritate generis nulli cedere videatur. Cumque dilectus et fidelis noster Joannes Burke de Dunsandle, in comitatu Galviæ, armiger, unus e filiis natu minoribus Ulyssis De Burgo, alias Burke, nuper comitis Clanricarde, ex honoratissima illa prosapia oriundus, quam plurimis fidei et acceptabilibus servitiis nobis et coronæ nostræ, jam antea præstitis se vere cohæredem congenitarum virtutum dictæ nobilissimæ familiæ De Burgo approbaverit; opulentiaque, censu, et latifundiis adeo amplius existat, ut quodcumque munus sibi conceditur lautius et honorificentius gerere et exequi valeat et possit. Nos intuitu meritorum dicti Joannis, pristinis honoribus dictæ familiæ a progenitoribus nostris collatis aliquantulum addere studentes, ipsum Joannem Burke pro candore et munificentia nostra regia aliqua favoris nostri regii tessera insignire satagentes, ipsum Joannem in numerum heroum et parium hujus regni adscribendum, et in statum et gradum vicecomitis hereditarii hujus regni promovendum statuimus. Sciatis ergo, &c.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the archbishops, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, bishops, barons, knights, constables, freeholders, and all our officers, ministers, and subjects whatsoever, to whom these presents may come, greeting.

Whereas the illustrious and ancient family, surname De Burgo, is very well known to us by certain and undoubted testimonies, not only from William De Burgo, formerly earl of Ulster, one of our ancestors, from whom we think it no lessening to acknowledge ourselves of one side descended in a direct line, but also from numberless other heroes and noblemen of the same name, now flourishing, and in past ages have flourished in this our kingdom, insomuch that in lustre, and nobleness of extraction and blood, it seems to be inferior to none. And whereas our beloved and trusty subject John Burke of Dunsandle, in the county of Galway, Esq; one of the younger sons of Ulick De Burgo, or Burke, late earl of Clanricarde, descended from that most honourable race, hath by his many loyal and acceptable services done to us, and to our crown, proved himself to be a true coheir of the innate virtues of the said most noble family De Burgo; and by his wealth, revenue, and large possessions, is so opulent, that he is fully qualified to acquit himself with splendor and magnificence of any charge intrusted to him. We, in regard to the merits of the said John, being willing to add a little to former honours conferred on the said family by our ancestors, and desirous, through our royal affections and bounty, to favour the said John with some mark of our royal benevolence, have resolved to rank the said John

amongst the nobles and peers of this kingdom, and to raise him to the state and degree of an hereditary viscount of this kingdom. Know ye therefore, &c.

Burgh

Burgh of Clanmories (otherwise Clanmorrish) in the county of Mayo, with limitation of the honour to the heirs male of his father. He married Catharine, third daughter to Sir Anthony Brown, and died the 16th of November 1635, being succeeded by his son Thomas, the second viscount, who after the rebellion broke out commanded a troop of horse under the marquiss of Clanricarde.

6. Edmond Du Burgh, who died without issue.

Richard of Kinsale, the worthy successor of his father, and fourth earl of Clan-^{Richard, the fourth earl.}ricarde, received the honour of knighthood in 1584, and the 22d of May 1602 had a special livery of his inheritance. He distinguished himself eminently in the service of the crown during the rebellion of O Neile earl of Tyrone, which deservedly gained him a great reputation, and gave him a just title to the favour of his prince, for being colonel of foot, and his father in the year 1600, at Tyrone's going into Munster, having taken till May to declare himself on his party, he took occasion by repairing to England, to put himself as a gage and bridle to his father's proceedings, of which the lord deputy advertised the secretary of state by letter dated the third of April, concluding that he had taken order for securing the castle of Athlone, but that all his hope of keeping the province of Connaught in obedience, was in the lord Dunkellin's honesty; neither was the lord deputy deceived (says Moryson, vol. 1. p. 142.) in this worthy lord, who, as during his father's life, so from his death (happening within a few months) to the end of the war, served the queen as nobly, valiantly, and faithfully as any nobleman or gentleman in the army. In 1599 he was made governor in the province of Connaught, by the earl of Essex, which by letters the next year to the privy council of England, he prayed leave to resign, in regard of some restrictions whereby he was disabled to serve her majesty as he desired.

On the 8th of August 1601, the lord deputy dispatched his lordship from the camp into Connaught to command the forces in those parts, after which he accompanied him in his expedition to Kinsale against Tyrone and the Spaniards, and was made a knight banneret in the field of battle, in the midst of the slain (the 25th of December) for the great services he performed there, his lordship killing no less than twenty Irish rebels with his own hand, and crying out to *spare no rebel*. In this battle he had many fair escapes, his clothes being often pierced with shot and other weapons, and, Kinsale being delivered up upon articles between the lord deputy and Don Juan D'Aquila, the twelfth of January 1601, he was a witness thereto; and the queen in her letters of the same date to the lord deputy writes, "and let Clanricarde know that we do most thankfully accept his endeavours."

King James the first on his accession to the throne, being informed of the good services done by his lordship to queen Elizabeth, during the course of the rebellion, and particularly at the siege of Kinsale, constituted him the 11th of September 1603 governor of Connaught, keeper of his majesty's house at Athlone, and one of the privy council; and the 1st of September 1604, made him president of the said province, with both the civil and martial government; having the 1st of July before commissioned him to be chief leader of the army there. In the parliament of 1613, and 1615, his lordship attended the service of his country, and the 20th of May 1615 was appointed one of the council for the province of Munster; but the next year, on account of his disability by a long sickness, being not able to undergo so great a burden as the presidentship of Connaught, he besought the king to accept of his surrender thereof, with which his majesty complied; yet in respect of the favour he bore him in regard of his former great merits, and that he had served so long in chief of that province, was not willing to leave him under the command of any provincial governor; and therefore the 12th of July 1616, gave him the command of the county and town of Galway, where his chief dwelling and most part of his estate lay, with such civil jurisdiction and martial power, as he enjoyed throughout the province of Connaught, made him chief in the commission of *Oyer and Terminer* with
d the

The Pedigree of DE BURG H,

the justices of assize in their circuits, to have ten shillings English by the day for his own life, and that of Ulick lord Dunkellin his son, and they to have a regiment of foot, then in pay, under their charge, which determining by the death of king James, was renewed and confirmed by king Charles the 20th of May 1625, to him and his son for their respective lives.

King James also, in further consideration of his eminent abilities and services, advanced him to the dignity of a peer of England, creating him by letters patent the third of April 1624, baron of Somerhill (a manor of his in Kent) and viscount Tunbridge, to which titles king Charles, the 23d of August 1628, added those of baron of Imany, viscount of Galway, and earl of St. Albans. On the 4th of November 1634, he was present in parliament, but departed this life at Somerhill, the 12th of November 1635; and having married Frances, daughter and heir to Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to queen Elizabeth (widow of the great Sir Philip Sidney, and also of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, that queen's unfortunate favourite) left issue one son Ulick his successor, and two daughters, lady Margaret, married to Edmond Butler, Esq; son of James earl of Ormond, and lady Honora, who became the second wife of John Paulet, marquiss of Winchester; and lies buried under a monument in Englefield church, Berkshire, with this inscription to her memory.

Huic tumulo
Mortales suas exuvias credidit
Immortali digna memoria Heroïna
HONORA DE BURGHO
RICHARDI Comitiss CLANRICARDE et FRANCISCÆ
WALSINGHAM Filia unica,
JOHANNIS Marchionis WINTONIENSIS
Conjux secunda,
Quatuor filiorum trium filiarum
Parens,
Mulier juxta pia fortisque, quàm nec lætior
Fortuna efferre, nec longa series adversæ
Frangere aut flectere potuit.
Obiit 10^o Martii 1661.
Vixit annos 51. menses 6. dies 19.

Ulick, the
fifth earl.

Ulick, the fifth earl of Clanricarde, born in London 1604, had a special livery of his inheritance the 26th of January 1636, and took his seat in the parliament which met the 16th of March 1639. He was a nobleman of singular merit and unblemished loyalty to king Charles the first, whom he attended in his expedition against the Scots in 1640, and returning in the summer of 1641 to Ireland, went to his seat of Portumna, where his presence was very useful on the breaking out of the rebellion; for besides the authority which his commission of governor of the town and county of Galway (of which he had a patent for life as already observed) gave him, he was the first man of quality in that county, and the most considerable gentlemen of it were his tenants, and had a dependance on him by their tenure.

As soon as he had certain intelligence of the rising in the North, he took all possible measures for the security of the province, then under a terrible consternation, and summoned all who held lands of the king in capite to be ready at twenty-four hours warning to attend him for his majesty's service, recommending to them in the mean time to take especial care of the lives and goods of the English. But having only his own regiment of foot quartered at Loughreagh, and the state deferring to empower him to raise more, he assembled the county at that place, where it was agreed to raise eight companies, making four hundred foot, and two troops of fifty horse each, which he supplied with arms out of his own stores; and without the least assistance from the state, or any other quarter,

quarter, by his own prudence and activity, by the universal high esteem in which he was held, and by the opinion rather than the reality of his power, he preserved his own county in peace, longer than any other in the kingdom, and found means besides to render considerable services to his neighbours.

On the 11th of January 1642 he was appointed one of the commissioners to receive the propositions of the Irish confederate recusants, and in July 1644 made commander in chief of the military part of Connaught, under the marquiss of Ormond, lord lieutenant; also the 21st of February 1644 for his services to his king and country, was advanced to the dignity of marquiss of Clan-ricarde, with limitation of the honour to his issue male; and in May following sworn of his majesty's privy council.

After this he omitted nothing which he thought might prove of advantage to his country, and to that end warmly espoused the cessation between the lord Inchiquin and the Irish, and besieged the pope's nuncio (who opposed it) in Galway, where he had called a synod to meet the 15th of August 1648 to confirm his censures upon those who observed it, took the castle of Athlone, and having recovered James-town, Moate, and other places, which had been seized by O Neile, obliged the besieged in Galway the 1st of September to proclaim the cessation, renounce the nuncio, and pay a considerable sum of money.

On the 6th of December 1650 he was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and made several attempts to assemble an army in the field, but was defeated in his measures by the disaffection of his officers, caused by the intrigues of the clergy, and Galway surrendering to the parliament forces the 12th of May 1652, he took Ballyshannon on the 16th, which he held for several months, endeavouring in vain to draw together a sufficient force to fight the rebels; so that he was constrained in February following to send the earl of Castlehaven to the king, to desire his commands how to act in his present circumstances, his majesty by letters acknowledged his good services, and directed him to make the best conditions for himself and party that he could. He might have provided well for himself, yet would receive nothing on his own account but a pass, and leave to remain in the enemy's quarters, without taking the oaths usually imposed, till he had settled his affairs, and then to have the liberty of transporting himself beyond the seas. Accordingly, in pursuance of the articles concluded with him upon his submission, and laying down of arms, he received a pass, dated at Kilkenny the 11th of October 1652, to transport himself and six servants with travelling arms and necessaries, and to pass through England to some place where shipping might be ready for his transportation into Flanders, or any other foreign place in amity with England; the pass to continue in force for three months, which the 2d of December was enlarged to the 1st of March.

Being thus driven out of Ireland, where his estate of twenty-nine thousand pounds a year was seized and sequestered, he retired to his inheritance at Somerhill in Kent; and being there freed by death from all his troubles in the month of July 1657, * was buried with his father at Tunbridge, having been excepted from pardon for life or estate in the act passed by Cromwell's parliament the 12th of August 1652 for the settling of Ireland. In December 1622 he married the lady Anne Compton, then only daughter to William earl of Northampton, and by her, who died the 12th of August 1675, had an only child the lady Margaret, who in May 16— was first married to Charles lord viscount Muskerry, and by him, who lost his life in the great sea-fight with the Dutch the 3d of June 1665, she had one son and one daughter; Charles-James, who the same year succeeded his grandfather Donogh earl of Clancarty, and died in June 1666; and Frances, who died unmarried the 24th of December 1675. Lady

* His character may be found in the histories of the lord Clarendon and Mr. Carte, who mistake the time of his death, by placing it in 1652, and in October 1653; for it appears, that he died as in the text, from several chancery pleadings, and especially from bills filed by his daughter, and her husband the lord Muskerry, for the recovery of the estate.

Margaret in 1676 married to her second husband Robert Villiers, called viscount Purbeck, who died 1685; and to her third Robert Fielding, Esq; member in king James's parliament for the borough of Gowran, who died the 12th of May 1712; and she deceased in August 1698, leaving one son surviving by her second husband, viz. John Villiers, who claimed the title of earl of Buckingham.

This great nobleman dying without issue male, the titles of marquiss of Clanricarde, earl of St. Albans, &c. became extinct, but the earldom of Clanricarde and barony of Dunkellin devolved on his first cousin Richard, eldest son of his uncle, who married Mary the second daughter to the earl of Antrim, by whom he had two sons, viz. Richard, the sixth earl of Clanricarde, and colonel William, successor to his brother, who signalized himself by his valour and loyalty in several engagements during the troubles, and particularly in *that* of Roscommon, the last of all; after which, the 12th of October 1652, he obtained a pass to transport himself and three servants, and the party which laid down arms with him, to England, to treat with the Spanish ambassador, or other his majesty's agents and ministers there, and to return himself with two servants in two months, in order to the transportation of his said men. Being thus forced to follow the fate of his master in exile, he remained with him in a low condition until his happy restoration, when his loyalty was rewarded with two grants of lands under the acts of settlement.

Richard, the sixth earl.

Richard, the sixth earl of Clanricarde, the 9th of May 1661 took his seat in parliament, married the lady Elizabeth Butler, seventh daughter to Walter earl of Ormond, by whom he had no issue, and died in August 1666.

William, the seventh earl.

William, the seventh earl of Clanricarde, who succeeded his brother, was appointed the 1st of December 1680 lord lieutenant of the county of Galway, and the 18th of August 1687 entrusted with the chief government of the kingdom, but died in October that year, leaving the character of a nobleman of exemplary piety, accomplished education, and great honour:

He married to his first wife Lettice, only daughter to Sir Henry Shirley, of Aftwel in Northamptonshire, Bart. ancestor to the earl Ferrers, by whom he had five sons and four daughters.

1. 2. Richard and John, successive earls of Clanricarde.

3. Thomas, killed at the siege of Buda in Hungary against the Turks in 1688 unmarried.

Ulick, viscount Galway.

4. Ulick, created by privy seal, dated at Whitehall the 9th of May, and by patent the 2d of June 1687 baron of Tyaquin and viscount of Galway, was a young nobleman of true courage, and endowed with many good qualities, commanded a regiment of foot in king James's army, and in that station was killed fighting for him at Aghrim the 12th of July 1691, being not full twenty-two years of age. He married Frances, only daughter to George Lane, lord viscount Laneshorough, who died in August 1684, sister to James lord viscount Laneshorough, who died without issue the same month 1724, and by her, who in 1691 remarried with Henry Fox of East Horsley in Surry, Esq; and died in December 1713, had an only daughter, which died an infant.

5. William, died in his minority in France.

1. Lady Margaret, born in 1673, was first married in 1689 to Bryan Magennis, viscount Magennis of Iveagh, who dying in 1692 without issue, she married secondly in 1696, Thomas Butler of Kilcash in the county of Tipperary, Esq; where she died his widow the 19th of July 1744.

2. Lady Honora, first married to Patrick Sarsfield, earl of Lucan, killed at the battle of Landen the 29th of July 1693, by whom she had one son, who died without issue in Flanders; and secondly, in the chapel of the castle of St. Germain near Paris, in 1695, to James Fitz-James, duke of Berwick, marshal, duke, and peer of France, eldest natural son of king James the second, by Arabella sister to John Churchill duke of Marlborough; and dying at Pezenas, a city of Languedoc in 1698, was mother by him of (one of the greatest generals in Europe, and

and killed at the siege of Philipsburg the 12th of June 1734) James-Francis Fitz-James, duke of Berwick, &c. born the 19th of October 1693, created (by Philip the fifth) duke of Liria and Gherica, and grandee of Spain of the first class. He married the daughter and heir of the duke of Viragas, or Veras-Aguas, in Spain, in whose right he bore that title; and being sent ambassador from Philip the fifth to his son Charles, king of the two Sicilies, he died at Naples the 1st of June 1738, N. S. and left issue by her, who died at Madrid in October 1739, two sons and one daughter, viz.

The present duke of Berwick and Liria, and grandee of the first class, general in the Spanish service.

Lord Peter Fitz-James, called in Spain Don Pedro, and who is an admiral in that service. And

Donna Maria, married to the duke of Merindola, duke and grandee of the first class.

3. 4. Catharine, and Helena, both died unmarried.

Richard, the eighth earl of Clanricarde, on the 1st of December 1680 was made ^{Richard, the eighth earl.} *Custos Rotulorum* of the county of Galway, commanded a regiment of foot and troop of guards in the army of king James the second, to whom he was also of the privy council. He married first the daughter of Mr. Bagnal, page of the backstairs to king James the second, by whom he had three sons, who all died young, and one daughter, lady Dorothy, married to Alexander Pendarvas of Roscarrow in Cornwall, Esq; secondly Anne, countess dowager of Warwick, by whom he had no issue.

His lordship was succeeded by his only brother John, the ninth earl of Clanricarde, who was colonel of a regiment of foot in king James's army, and by that king, the second of April 1689 (after his abdication) created baron Du Burgh of Bophin, or Boffin, an island adjacent to the county of Galway. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Aghrim, at the head of his regiment, brought to the castle of Dublin, and thence went to England, being out-lawed and attainted of treason, for his adherence to the said unfortunate king, and had his estate forfeited; but his children claiming their several remainders before the trustees for the sale of the forfeitures, were at length decreed to the same; and the first year of queen Anne, an act of parliament passed for making provision for the protestant children of Richard earl of Clanricarde, and John lord Bophin; whereby he was acquitted of all treasons and attainders, himself and children restored to their blood and estate, and Montague earl of Abingdon, Robert, after earl Ferrers, and Henry Thynne, Esq; afterwards created viscount Weymouth, his next protestant relations, were appointed guardians to his sons, in order to their education in the protestant religion.

In October 1684 he married Mary, daughter to James Talbot, a younger branch of the Shrewsbury family, and died in the eighty-second year of his age, leaving issue eleven sons and six daughters, viz.

1. Michael, lord Dunkellin, his successor.

2. William, who died at the school of Ashby De la Zouch in Leicestershire the 6th of January 1703, when seventeen years old, and was buried at Stanton-Harold.

3. James, who married Mary, daughter to John Burke, Esq; died in August 1718, had an only daughter, Letitia, by her, born the day her father died.

4. Richard, died an infant.

5. Ulick, first a captain, and after a colonel in the French service, now living.

6. Thomas, of Dunmore in the county of Galway.

7. Edward, a brigadier general in the Spanish service; and colonel of Irlanda's regiment, who for his gallant behaviour in the battle of Campo-Santo in Italy the 8th of February 1743, was made a lieutenant general, but died at Bologna the

the 7th of March following of a wound he received in the same battle, and was there buried.

8. John died in 1718, ætatis 22.

9. William, who was killed in the battle of Fontenoy in Flanders the 11th of May 1745.

10. 11. Theobald and Richard, both died infants.

1. Daughter, lady Letitia, who died the 29th of June 1740.

2. Lady Bridget, married to Richard the ninth lord viscount Dillon, and by him, who died in February 1732, had an only daughter Frances, married the 16th of January 1734 to her cousin and father's successor in the title, Charles viscount Dillon, and died in London the 18th of January 1738.

3. Lady Honora, who died in her journey from Lyons to Paris the 29th of June 1742.

4. Lady Mary, who died at Paris the 22d of November 1735.

5. 6. Lady Margaret and lady Catharine, both died in their infancy.

Michael, the
tenth earl.

Michael lord Dunkellin, the eldest son, educated first at Eton, and afterwards at Christ-church in Oxford, was thought worthy by queen Anne to have a place among her peers in parliament, and the 3d of August 1711, being called up by writ of summons, by the title of lord Dunkellin, took his seat the 4th of October.

In April 1712 he was made governor of the town and county of Galway; and succeeding his father in the earldom, was the tenth earl of Clanricarde, and sat first as such in parliament the 19th of October 1725. In May 1726 he was sworn of the privy council to king George the first, but died the 28th of November that year.

On Sunday the 19th of September 1714, he married Anne, eldest daughter and coheir to John Smyth, Esq; of Beaufort-Building (descended from the Smyths of Lincolnshire) one of the governors of the bank of England, who died in July 1718. And she lies buried under a beautiful monument in Westminster abbey near her father, with this inscription.

Here lies the right honourable Anne countess dowager of Clanricarde, eldest daughter of John Smyth, Esq; who is interred near this place. She married first Hugh Parker, Esq; eldest son of Sir Henry Parker of Honnington in the county of Warwick, Bart. by whom she had the present Sir Henry John Parker, Bart. three other sons, and three daughters. By her second husband, Michael earl of Clanricarde, the head of the ancient and noble family of the Du Burghs, she had John Smyth, now earl of Clanricarde, and two daughters, lady Anne, and lady Mary; she died the 1st day of January 1732, in the forty-ninth year of her age.

1. Daughter, lady Anne.

2. Lady Mary.

Smyth, the
eleventh earl.

John Smyth, the present and eleventh earl of Clanricarde.

A letter from the late lord chancellor of Ireland to the earl of Clanricarde.

Dublin, June 24, 1756.

MY LORD,

I SHOULD be much ashamed at having so long deferred my answer to the last letter your lordship honoured me with, had I been master of my own time; but I have in truth been lately more employed than ordinary, and that, I flatter myself, will excuse me to your lordship.

I congratulate with the publick on your lordship's resolution to print the valuable remains of your truly noble and excellent ancestor the marquiss of Clanricarde; whose memory is held in the highest esteem by all who are acquainted with the share he had in the transactions of his times; for my own part, I have so great a veneration for his character, that I think myself happy in being any way able to contribute towards making it more universally known and admired. Your lordship may freely command a copy of all the marquiss's letters and papers in my possession; for the greater part of which I am indebted to Mr. Donnellan, who allowed me to have them transcribed from a manuscript book, in which they seem to have been entered by the marquiss himself, and has now very readily given me leave to furnish your lordship with a copy of them; as for the rest, they were copied from a manuscript I had purchased, which, being the same handwriting, I gave Mr. Donnellan to compleat his collection. I have likewise in manuscript a short comparative character of the two great Irishmen of that age, the marquisses of Ormond and Clanricarde, drawn up with great judgment and candor, by my late worthy and learned friend Mr. justice Lindsay of the common pleas here. I inclose it to your lordship, that you may make what use of it you shall think proper.

As to the other part of your lordship's letter, the affair being now entirely over, I need not trouble your lordship any farther about it, and shall therefore only add, that I am, with great truth,

MY LORD,

Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

JOCELYN.

Characters of the marquisses of Ormond and Clanricarde compared.

THERE have been two illustrious persons mentioned who lived in those times of confusion and misery, the marquiss of Ormond and the marquiss of Clanricarde; they were both of ancient extraction and great estates, of equal magnanimity, but of different persuasions in religion; the first being of the protestant religion as professed in the established churches of England and Ireland, (which opinion he acquired, not from any advantages of education, but the strength and excellency of his understanding); the other was of the religion of the church, not of the court of Rome. They both preserved an unshaken and steady loyalty to their prince, and an abstracted love for the true interest of their country. These principles, no sufferings which were great, no dangers which encompassed them on every side, could in the least alter. The marquiss of Clanricarde seems to derive some advantage to his character from an erroneous religion, and an infirm constitution of body. No prospect of benefit to his persuasion, no invitations of persons of quality of the same opinion, could prevail upon him to depart from his duty to his king and country; and no pain, no sickness which did not confine him to his bed or house, ever made him decline such fatigue or expeditions as he thought necessary to be undertaken for the good of the

the kingdom: whereas the marquiss of Ormond in the exercise of his duty met with no temptations from his religion to obstruct and divert it, and the ardor of his mind was seconded with great strength and vigour of body. Their memory will be precious with all men of honour and virtue to latest posterity, who shall read an account of their lives and actions; and as for the reproach, or disesteem of little minds, it will add (if possible) to their glory.

Epitaph on Sir John Bourgh, Knt. in Westminster abbey.

M. S.

The celestial part is fled to heaven,
And the earthly is laid in ground:
Light substances ascend,
Whilst the heavy tend downwards.
If this church contains his body,
His fame fills the world,
And his spirit ranges the infinite space of heaven.
The magnanimous, and most illustrious
JOHN BOURGH,
Son of the most noble lord William Bourgh,
Descended from that most courageous hero,
Hubert De Bourgho, earl of Kent.
And of the most noble lady Catherine Clinton,
Daughter of Edward Clinton, earl of Lincoln,
Late admiral of England,
Renowned for his exploits by sea and land,
Governor of Duisburg.
He was twice knighted,
First in Holland, by his excellency the earl of Leicester,
General of the English and Dutch forces;
Next by Henry IV. king of France,
On the victory of St. Andre.
Afterwards he overcame, and brought to England,
A large Spanish Carracca ship,
Laden with precious stones, silver, gold, spices, &c.
For which he was received
With the greatest honour and applause.
But, unhappily fighting the enemy,
Who fought with much courage,
He fell by an untimely death,
To the great grief of his men, and his country's loss,
In the thirty-second year of his age, March 7, 1594.
And here waits the trumpet's signal
For the universal resurrection.

To keep up the remembrance of
So great a man,
This monument, in lieu of one more stately,
And more suitable to his high deserts and name,
Is, in testimony of their love, erected,
By G. B. and M. P.

MEMOIRS



MEMOIRS and LETTERS

OF THE

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.



HE rebellion in the North, and the attempt upon the castle of ^{Oct. 1641.} Dublin, and some commotion in the county of Leitrim, in the province of Conaght, began on Saturday the 23d of October, 1641.

Some rumours, but no certain intelligence thereof, came unto me upon the 26th of the same month, and being then likewise informed, that * Sir Theobald Taafe and Sir James Dillon ^{* Now lord Taafe.} were to pass through this county with two regiments to be transported from Galway for the service of the king of Spain, I immediately dispatched to captain Anthony Willoughby, then commander of the fort of Galway, and to the mayor of Galway, and gave them instruction according to the contents of the following letter to the Lords Justices.

To the right honourable the Lords Justices of Ireland, present these.

My LORDS,

I AM informed that a considerable body of men do intend within few days to march through this county to the town of Galway, and that some employed by them thereabouts have already freighted a ship for their transportation beyond sea for the service of the king of Spain; and their colonels Taafe and Dillon having not applied themselves to me, nor given me any notice what warrant or authority they have for their passage over, or employment abroad, I hold it the duty of my place to give your lordships this advertisement, desiring to receive your lordships orders and directions therein with convenient expedition; and in the mean time I have written to the mayor of Galway, and to captain Anthony Willoughby, that hath charge of the fort in the absence of his father Sir Francis Willoughby, to keep good guards and diligent watch, and not to permit their transportation without special warrant from your lordships, or further direction from myself, which I shall perform according to the commands I shall receive from your lordships with care and diligence, as becomes

Sir William
Parsons and
Sir John
Borlace,
Lords Justices.

Portumna, the 26th
of October, 1641.

Your lordships very humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

B

Upon

MEMOIRS and LETTERS of

Oct. 1641.

The same day I received the like. Intelligence from the lord viscount Co-stello, out of the same county.

Upon the 29th, before noon, I received certain notice from Sir Charles Coote out of the county of Roscommon, of great outrages committed by the Irish in the county of Leitrim, destroying all his father's iron works, and all the English plantations; that the rebellion did spread in the North, and that there had been an attempt upon the castle of Dublin, and thereupon I wrote to the high sheriff of this county, as followeth:

Mr. SHERIFF,

Miles Burke, high sheriff.

I HAVE received several intelligences, and especially from Sir Charles Coote, of some commotions in the county of Leitrim; to prevent the further spreading thereof, I do hereby pray and require you, according to the duty of your place, to give speedy and timely notice thereof to all whom it concerns; and particularly to command all such as hold from the king, and are to do service upon such occasions, either horse or foot, to be in readiness upon twenty-four hours warning, upon their peril; hereof you may not fail. So with my hearty commendations,

Portumna, the 29th
of October, 1641.

I rest, your loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The same Day I wrote unto Sir CHARLES COOTE, as followeth:

NOBLE SIR,

To Sir Cha. Coote, jun. at Castle-Coote, in the county of Galway.

I Received your letter this morning, which gives me a very sad information of the outrages committed by some desperate people. I cannot but admire what strange madness doth possess them to destroy their neighbours and ruin themselves. I do not hear of any considerable person among them, and do presume they have no arms, which makes me hope and believe they may be soon dispersed, there being several troops of horse and foot in those parts, as I am informed. I should be very glad it were in my present power or knowledge how to assist you; being but newly come into the country, and expecting hourly to receive directions from Dublin concerning the forces that are going towards Galway to be transported over. I did upon Monday last send to the Lords Justices to know their pleasure therein, and likewise sent to Galway to the mayor and to captain Willoughby, to keep good guards and diligent watch, and not to permit their transportation without special warrant from the Lords Justices, or further directions from myself; and since the receipt of your letter, I have written to the sheriff of this county, to warn all that hold of the king to be in a readiness at twenty-four hours warning, and shall send to most of the prime gentlemen to be prepared for the king's service, according to the orders I shall receive from the state, without which, I conceive, I may not depart nor send any forces out of the county, especially at this time when troops are to pass through. I make no question but you have sent information to Dublin of these proceedings. I shall acquaint you with what directions I receive, and do desire the favour from you to give me frequent information of what you shall receive from those parts that are in combustion, that I may be the better prepared for any commands I shall receive. I shall be glad of any occasion wherein I may best approve myself,

Portumna, the 29th
of October, 1641.

Your assured friend to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A let-

the Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

3

Oct. 1641

A letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 26th of October, not received until the 30th.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, you may perceive by the inclosed proclamation the dangerous conspiracies plotted against the state and kingdom. And forasmuch as either the conspirators, or, under countenance of them, some others may attempt to rob or spoil his majesty's good subjects under your lordship's government; we therefore pray and require your lordship to use all your power, not only towards continuing in due obedience all his majesty's good subjects in those parts, but also towards repressing all disorders that may be attempted to the annoyance or terror of them; and that as frequently as you may, you advertise us of occurrences conducing to the furtherance of his majesty's subjects, and the peace and safety of the kingdom; and so bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, 26th of October, 1641.

Received
30th of Oc-
tober.
Lords Ju-
stices and
Council.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WILLIAM PARSONS.
DILLON.
FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY.

JOHN BORLACE.
JOHN RAPHOE.
JOHN TEMPLE.
ROBERT MEREDITH.

A letter from the Lord Justice PARSONS, dated the 27th of October, received the 30th.

MOST NOBLE LORD,

WE have now by our joint letter laid the care of the defence of that county of Galway upon your lordship, which I assure myself will be nobly and discreetly managed by you. I am most sorry that your first coming into this kingdom is entertained with this unhappy turn in the late happy state of his majesty's affairs here; which must engage you to more trouble and molestation than could in all reason be expected in this universal and settled peace: but I hope you see the most of it, and that by the care and vigilance of your lordship and other his majesty's noble and faithful servants here, the uproars begun will soon have an end. Noble lord, be not discomfited; God be thanked this place is safe by his great mercy, and from hence you shall have all the comforts and helps we can give you. I desire to hear from you as often as you can, how things go there, which may the better enable us to give relief to all parts. I wish all happiness to your lordship and your noble lady, and remain

Lords Ju-
stice Parsons.

Dublin, the 27th of
October, 1641.

Your lordship's humble servant,

WILLIAM PARSONS.

To the right honourable the Lords Justices of Ireland, present these.

MY LORDS,

UN.TIL I received your lordships dispatch of the 26th of this present, which came not unto my hands until this day, I was much troubled and amazed to hear by several reports the desperate attempt upon the castle of Dublin, and a great and dangerous rebellion in the North, and no notice thereof from your lordships, nor no directions to guide my proceedings here; but finding much appearance of truth in those other informations I received, and likewise having notice from Sir Charles Coote and my lord viscount Dillon, of several outrages committed by some desperate persons in the county of Leitrim, I prepared my company at

Sent the 30th
of October
to the Lord
Justices.

Oct. 1641. at Loghreagh, to be ready and in good order to answer any sudden occasion. I wrote to the sheriff to warn all that hold of the king by suite and service to be in a readiness at twenty-four hours warning. I have written to several of the prime gentlemen and justices of peace within the county, and upon the borders, to stir up their care and duty to the king's service, and the good and quiet of the country; and have likewise appointed many of them to meet me at Loghreagh, with an intention to divide the barones of the county to the several cares of the ablest and discreetest of them, to see peace and good order kept duly throughout the county. I have sent to the town and fort of Galway, to be most strict and vigilant in their watch and guard, and to some other important places upon the borders. I expect good intelligence out of the county of Roscommon, of the further proceedings of those wicked fellows in Leitrim, and as soon as any thing of moment comes to me, I shall give your lordships speedy advertisement. I do not yet hear of any other disturbance in the province, and do hope they will all stand firm in peace and obedience. But to prevent future inconvenience, I must be an humble suitor to your lordships for the speedy return of Sir Francis Willoughby to his command here; for if there should be occasion, which will be sudden if any happen, though I may raise many able men that have good and loyal hearts, yet it will be most necessary to have a commander of experience and ability upon whom I may rely with confidence; and he can best inform your lordships before his coming down, whether it be necessary to send more arms and ammunition to Galway, the county being altogether void of defence, if they be not supplied from the magazine there.

My lords, I do confidently hope and believe that the mercy and goodness of Almighty God, who hath preserved your lordships, the whole state and kingdom, by the happy discovery of such a fatal design, will grant prosperous success to your lordships endeavours and forces sent against those desperate rebels. From hence your lordships shall not fail to receive frequent intelligence of what shall come within my knowledge; and what is past, if I have erred or neglected any fitting duty, my late coming into the country, and want of experience here, will, I hope, obtain pardon for my first faults to the best of my knowledge. I am sure I will ever serve his majesty with all loyal affection and faithful diligence, and be still observant to those commands you shall please to impose upon

Portumna, the 30th
of October, 1641.

Your lordships most humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALEANS.

P. S. Since the concluding of my letter I have received your lordship's second dispatch of the 28th, and have sent punctual directions to Galway, according to your lordships commands, for the transporting those forces that shall come thither, of whom I have not heard any thing since my former letter to your lordships.

A letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 28th of October, received the 30th at night.

Lords Ju-
stices and
Council.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, we have even now received your lordship's letter of the 25th of this month, and for your lordship's care and advertisement therein, we render to your lordship very hearty thanks, and desire the continuance thereof frequently as there may be occasion, concerning the men which you write intend to march through that county to Galway, to be transported from thence beyond sea for the service of the king of Spain. We do let you know that we received direction forth of England, for letting them depart, though afterwards direction came in contradiction thereof, which moved us to pause therein; yet if they pass quietly and peaceably without annoying his majesty's good subjects in their passage, we think fit that they be admitted

admitted to pass and go to sea, yet so as they be not permitted to enter into ^{Oct. 1641.} the town or fort of Galway, to which purpose your lordship is to give express directions to the mayor and sheriffs, aldermen and inhabitants, that they be in arms upon their guard, and not to suffer those men to enter the town or fort. We approve well of the directions you have given already to the mayor and captain Willoughby, which your lordship may do well again to re-enforce to their careful performance; for it is now become of great necessity that all possible industry and diligence be used to preserve the peace of the kingdom, and the safety of the good subjects therein; and considering your lordship's power and strength in those parts, we take great comfort therein, and are assured your lordship will so use your endeavours for the service of the king and kingdom, as may render safety to his majesty's good subjects there.

We send you the inclosed proclamation, though we hope you had it before; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, 28th of October, 1641.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS, JOHN BORLACE,
LA. DUBLIN, RANELAGH, DILLON, ANT. MIDENSIS.

To the right honourable the Lord Justice PARSONS.

MY LORD,

YOUR particular favour and expressions to me, I received with very much comfort and content, confirming the many informations I received before my coming into this kingdom, of your lordship's well wishes and good intentions towards me, which I shall ever strive to preserve with care and diligence, wherein my service may be of use to any occasions of your lordship's. I cannot but be very much troubled and afflicted at this wicked and most unhappy rebellion, at a time, when indeed, as your lordship expresses, I expected all quiet and happy content; but since it is the will of God so to dispose, I hope time and the loyal endeavours of his majesty's faithful subjects will turn those mischievous practices to the ruin of the contrivers, and settle a firm and constant peace in this kingdom.

My lord, I do hope to put this country into a course of so good security, that if the Northern rebellion grows to any greater height, I shall be able to raise a considerable number of very able and sure men to attend that service; and if there be occasion, I beseech your lordship, let me not be forgotten, that besides the obligations and favours of my prime may claim by inheritance a successful forwardness in the service of the crown.

I will add nothing more at this present, but to desire your lordship always to value and esteem me

Portumna, the 30th of
October, 1641.

Your lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The same day I received letters from Mr. Pat. Darcy and Mr. Jeffry Brown then at Dublin, and from Mr. Richard Martin, from Bethelam, all full of zeal to his majesty's service, detestation of the rebellion, and careful advices to me for preserving this county in peace and security, and persuading my farther offers of service to the state.

The same day I received a letter from Mr. Wm. Parsons from Birr, in the King's county, taking notice of the rebellion, and desiring my advice, which I gave him in the best manner I could, and did thereby for a long while preserve him quiet.

Oct. 1641.

Likewise the same day I received letters from Sir Ulick Burke, Mr. Hubbert Burke of Dunowman, and Mr. Teige Kelly of Gallagher, dwelling in this county upon the borders of Roscommon, giving notice of the spreading of the commotion in the county of Leitrim, and some pillaging of the English in O'Connor Roe's country, in the lower part of the county of Roscommon, professing their duty to the king, and desire to receive commands from me.

The same day a letter from the English bishop of Clonsfert, with some advices for the safety of the county and preservation of the English.

To my lord viscount Ranelagh, Lord President of Conaght, at Dublin.

MY LORD,

To my Lord
President of
Conaght,
31st of Oct.
1641.

THOUGH your lordship will be informed by my dispatch to the Lords Justices of my proceedings here, and in what quiet and good condition those are yet in, for any thing I can hear; yet my particular respect calls upon me to salute your lordship, in whom I repose much confidence, to be assisted as occasion shall require. For the present, I desire your lordship will be earnest for the return of Sir Francis Willoughby to his government; for if any good opportunity of service should be lost, or any ill accident should happen to my first undertakings, it would be of very ill consequence to his majesty's service in these parts, and a lasting blemish upon me. I am sure your lordship hath taken the best course for the security of the province; I shall only offer it to your lordship's consideration, that there are many gentlemen of quality of high spirit in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, that may be much won upon by some kind letters from your lordship, recommending the quiet and peace of those places near to their care and vigilancy; if they conceive themselves neglected it may not do well. I have sat up most part of the night in making dispatches to Dublin, and sending forth orders and directions into the country; without further ceremony, I presume your lordship knows me, and believes me,

Your lordship's affectionate friend to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P. S. I beseech your lordship let me hear from you how affairs go in those parts; intelligence comes but slowly hither and uncertainly. Portumna, the last of October, 1641.

To the right honourable the Lords Justices of Ireland.

MY LORDS,

Letters from
Sir Charles
Coote, giving
me notice of many
spoils committed
by the rebels in
the county of
Leitrim, and in
some parts of
the county of
Roscommon.

THESSE inclosed I received this night, by which your lordships may perceive, that the noise of the Northern rebellion doth unite loose and desperate people to rob and spoil, which meeting with no timely resistance, may give encouragement to greater mischiefs than yet appear; and if I may presume to deliver my sense freely, I conceive that many English of quality shutting themselves up in forts, no enemy appearing, without any confidence or community with the gentlemen of quality of the country, left without any arms, or defence, between whom and others a good distinction might be made; I humbly leave it to your lordships consideration, whether it may not be of ill consequence. In several parts of this province they are now come very near the frontiers of this county, which is totally unarmed; and small stores of arms or ammunition at Galway, as I am informed, more than will be required for that important place. I must therefore be an humble suitor to your lordships, that some speedy course be taken to furnish us with new supplies: to expect it from Dublin only will take up much time, and difficult to bring it hither. I am told

told there is a plentiful store at Limerick, and from thence we may be easily ^{Nov. 1641} supplied by water, if your lordships please to give order for it with expedition. I thank God I find nothing but chearful and loyal affections in all this country; I have strong places upon most of the bordering parts, but for want of powder and arms they can but shut themselves up, and not prevent the entrance of any considerable number, though I use as much diligence as may be. To-morrow I shall be at Loughreagh, where I expect good intelligence from several parts, and from thence I shall either go or send to the borders, as there shall be occasion, some forces armed, and some unarmed, I am confident all with good hearts; and from thence I presume I shall be able to give your lordships better intelligence in what condition the neighbouring countries stand; I believe very well of them, or else I should have had quick information. Your lordships may be pleased to consider, that there is not a troop of horse within the county, which is a great defect; if I had any I might make good shift to scour the borders, and do service to my neighbours. I must renew my humble request for the speedy return of Sir Francis Willoughby, well instructed for our farther proceedings within the county; or farther, if good occasion be offered, when we are furnished with arms I shall be careful, by God's favour, to dispose of them with security, and to the best advantage of his majesty's service in these parts. I will now trouble your lordships no farther, but take leave to remain

Portumna, the first of
November, 1641.

Your lordships humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A letter from Sir RICHARD BLAKE from Galway.

I Have received your lordship's letter at five of the clock in the afternoon yesterday, and went instantly to Mr. mayor, and acquainted him and the council of the town, and captain Willoughby, with the contents, who took present order to strengthen the town gates where they were weak and defective, and resolved the keeping of strong guards and watches. I acquainted them with my lord Parsons' letter to your lordship, which much raised the spirits of many, that the suddenness of this Northern gust, and the news from our near neighbour the county of Leitrim, had much astonished and frightened. Arms and ammunition by a dispatch from them, you shall find to be much wanting here, which much increases the fears of those who have been, and ever will be loyal and faithful subjects.

From Sir
Rich. Blake.

I send this day to Peter Lynch, to acquaint him with your lordship's directions unto him for the sure keeping of Shruell, and I write to my lord of Mayo, as well of the commotions as the preservation of the castle of Dublin, and the forces sent to reduce the rebels, who cannot possibly subsist, having no foreign back nor no considerable party at home. The copy of my lord Parsons' letter I likewise intend to send him, for that county abounds with many loose desperate men; and therefore it will be most needful to have the progress of all rumours, that may any way extol or magnify the force or success of the rebels, to be stopt there, and in all other parts of the province. Your lordship's warrant for giving way to those that go for Spain to serve that king I delivered the mayor, and your letter to captain Willoughby, and your lordship's commands therein shall be observed. To-morrow I do intend to wait upon your lordship at Loughreagh.

A strong
castle of mine
in this coun-
ty, upon the
borders of
Mayo.

Galway, the first of
November, 1641.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

RICHARD BLAKE.

Captain Willoughby, by letter dated the second, desireth me to procure a month's victuals of the corporation of Galway, for maintenance of fix score men,

Nov. 1641. men, and to supply him from time to time with victuals and necessaries as occasion should be offered, which I did earnestly move the corporation in, both by letter and my own coming thither.

The mayor of Galway, by letters of the same date, make professions of their loyalty, but complain of great want of arms and ammunition, desiring me to take some speedy course for their supply.

King's
county.

The same day I received letters from Mr. William Parsons from Birr, giving me many thanks for my kind advice and care of him, and that they were yet quiet in the county.

Advertise-
ment from
the Lord
President of
Conaght.

The fourth I received letters from the lord president of Conaght, giving notice of his coming to Athlone from Dublin the night before, and that the rebels of the counties of Fermanagh and Leitrim had made an inroad into the county of Sligo, and some loose people beginning to stir in the county of Roscommon, whom he was going in the beginning to suppress with his troop of horse, and desired that I would appear with some considerable number of horse in some part of the county of Mayo.

To the right honourable the lord viscount Ranelagh, Lord President of Conaght.

MY LORD,

To my Lord
President of
Conaght, the
5th of No-
vember,
1641.

I Received your letter last night, and am very glad to hear of your lordship's coming to your government; your presence, I make no question, will keep all the province quiet, and soon disperse those loose dissolute people that have presumed to rob and make some spoil upon the noise of the Northern commotion, meeting with none to controul or resist them in your lordship's absence. I do confidently hope no gentlemen of quality will be so forgetful of their common duty to their prince, besides the consideration of his majesty's great and gracious favours conferred upon them, as to enter into any action or confederacy with those desperate rebels of the North, but rather with all diligence attend the king's service, and the defence of the country, against those wicked disturbers of the peace and quiet of the kingdom, in so fair a way of happiness and settlement.

Yesterday most of the gentlemen of the country were here with me, and I was much pleased to observe their general distaste and hatred against the contrivers of those mischiefs, and their ready and forward desires to be employed in all service that might best express their hereditary duty and affection. I had but newly discharged them to their present several divisions, with instructions for the safety and quiet of the county, when I received your lordship's letter, wherein you please to intimate a desire to have me appear in the county of Mayo with considerable troops of horse: your lordship, I am confident, will do me that right out of the knowledge you have of me as to believe, I shall never fail your lordship in any thing wherein I may shew my respects, and much less be failing or neglecting of any opportunity wherein my endeavours might be of advantage to the king's service; but your lordship did not name any time or place certain, nor no intimation of the occasion for me to appear in the county of Mayo, out of my government, with troops of horse, who would commit much trespass, and no commotion there expressed by your lordship, or come within my intelligence; to which I will add some information of the state we are in here. It is not unknown to your lordship, that there is no troop of horse in the county; there are many able gallant men, but none well fitted with horses, and altogether unarmed, and the magazine at Galway nothing well stored with arms or ammunition, of which I have given several informations to the state with expectation to be supplied, and am going to Galway to-morrow, to take an exact view thereof, and of the town and fort, and have taken the best care I can for the safe guard of the borders until I am better supplied; and I have an intention the next week to go round the borders of the county, to observe each man's diligence and performance of

of my directions; and according to the further information I shall receive from ^{Nov. 1641.} your lordship, I will pause and make longer stays at those places upon the borders, which may give most countenance to any designs of your lordship in the other counties for his majesty's service; and if there be occasion, and that I have but any reasonable supply, I shall not only make an appearance, but be most acting and forward to the uttermost endeavours of myself, and those within my command, where it may be of most advantage to the present service; and as I find Galway stored, and according to directions from the state for my further proceedings which I hourly expect, I shall within few days give your lordship a better relation of our abilities here. In the mean time, as there shall be cause, I beseech your lordship let me hear from you, and your lordship may be confident to find me as I have always profest myself,

Loughreagh, the 5th of November, 1641. Your lordship's most affectionate friend to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P. S. I wrote to Dublin to your lordship, which I believe you have not received. I shall be at Galway, or here, until Monday at night, without some new occasion diverts it.

A letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 31st of October, received the 7th of November at Galway.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, we have caused three proclamations to be lately imprinted, one for the further adjournment of Michaelmas term, another for prorogation of the parliament, and a third declaring the intention of this board by the words, Irish papists, in a former proclamation lately published by us, of which proclamations we send your lordship herewith a certain number, praying and desiring your lordship to cause the same to be immediately proclaimed, and publickly fixed up in all the market-towns, and other publick places throughout that county; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, 31st of October, 1641.

Lords Justices and Council. All the Proclamations were immediately published according to the directions.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.	JO. BORLACE.
DILLON.	JO. TEMPLE.
THO. ROTHERAN.	JA. WARE.
ROB. MEREDITH.	

P. S. We also send your lordship a proclamation imprinted for vindicating the crown and state, as well of England as Ireland, from certain false and seditious rumours spread abroad by the rebels, which proclamation your lordship is to publish as the rest.

A letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 3d of November, received the 7th at Galway.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, we have received your lordship's letters of the 30th of October, and do well approve of your lordship's proceedings in the said letters mentioned.

Concerning Sir Francis Willoughby, we have appointed him to take charge of his majesty's castle of Dublin, where now his attendance is so necessary as we may not spare him hence in present.

Nov. 1641.

The rebellion begun in the North spreads far ; and we hear that that fire begins to kindle in the county of Roscommon, whereof we have thought fit to give your lordship notice, to the end you may still continue your care and watchfulness, as well for quieting the disorders begun in the county of Roscommon, so for prevention of the like within your lordship's government ; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, 3d of November, 1641.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.	JO. BORLACE.
ANT. MIDENSIS.	JO. RAPHOE.
CHA. LAMBERT.	JO. TEMPLE.
PIERSE CROSBIE.	

A letter from the lords Justices and Council, dated the 5th of November, received the 8th at Galway.

MY LORD,

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, we have received your lordship's letters of the first of November, whereby we still find the continuance of your lordship's care and watchfulness for the peace and safety of all his majesty's good subjects in those parts, which we acknowledge to your lordship with most hearty thanks. Although we like well that the gentlemen of that county should endeavour to secure their houses against the rebels, yet we dislike that they should so shut up themselves therein, as that they should not send forth competent numbers to join with others, that being so united in considerable parties, they might be the better able to defend the county, and consequently secure their houses the more safely.

Wherefore seeing your lordship's commission gives you the government of the forces of the county in chief, we think fit that you assemble the noblemen and principal gentlemen of the county, and cause them to agree on a certain number of men to be raised by them for the defence of the county, and to name captains to command them in several bands, whom your lordship is to command and govern in chief, and so to dispose and place them as shall be best for the security of the county. And to the end your lordship may see what we have done in other counties, where no special governors are appointed, we send you here inclosed a copy of the commission we issued to some counties, as well for government of the forces, as for execution of martial law. Concerning Sir Francis Willoughby, we are very sorry that we cannot send him to you ; for as we formerly made known to you, we have committed to him the charge of his majesty's castle of Dublin, where his attendance is so necessary as he cannot be spared as yet ; but his son is at the fort of Galway, who we doubt not, with your lordship's care and oversight, will give a good account of that fort.

The provision of arms and ammunition you desire, you well observe is fit to be brought you from Limerick ; yet to bring them to you will require much time, besides the danger of making them unserviceable in the carriage ; however, we have looked into the account of those stores, and find them so ill provided, as you cannot be furnished from them. Therefore we took a view of the stores at Galway, where we think fit that you be furnished with arms and ammunition ; and to that end we send you a warrant that you may receive them, which then we think fit you should disperse into trusty hands to be employed for defence of the county, and annoyance of the rebels ; wherein we rely with great assurance of your lordship's power and provident care to preserve the peace of that

the Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

II

that county ; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, 5th of November, 1641.

Your lordship's loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.	J. BORLACE.
ANT. MIDENSIS.	J. RAPHOE.
AD. LOFTUS.	JO. TEMPLE.
CHA. LAMBERT.	CHA. COOTE.
JA. WARE.	ROB. MEREDITH.

P. S. We have intelligence that five thousand Scots are risen in arms against the rebels, and those Scots lie now at Newry, where they have slain many of the rebels, and dispersed them from thence, saving a few invironed in a castle, which cannot hold out against the Scots.

5th of November, received the 8th at Galway.

The same day I received letters from Sir Francis Willoughby, expressing his earnest desire to be employed here under my command ; and letters of the 4th and 5th from Mr. Pat. Darcy, continuing earnest against the rebels, and careful in his advices to me, and procuring speedy answers to my dispatches from the state.

Received the 8th.

The 9th I returned from Galway to my castle at Loughreagh, having viewed the town and fort, and the magazine, and brought away with me one hundred calivers, and as many pikes, and left them in a very good posture of defence, with great expressions of their loyalty, and willingness to supply captain Willoughby, upon his making a particular of his demands.

Fourteen miles from Galway.

That night coming to Loughreagh I received letters from my lord president of Conaght, expressing some motives for his former desire to have me appear in the county of Mayo ; but not renewing that request, and informing me that there was much disorder in the county of Sligoe ; that all the county of Leitrim was lost, but Manor-Hamilton, Carrickdrumruske, and James-town ; some septs out in the county of Roscommon, but none of quality, and the county of Mayo still quiet.

Dated the 7th, received the 9th.

My letter to my Lord President of Conaght.

MY LORD,

THE last night, being newly returned from Galway, I received your lordship's dispatches of the 7th of this present, wherein you have very much obliged me by your large, noble, and free expressions, imparting the motives which induced your lordship to persuade my appearance within the county of Mayo, which I must acknowledge to be very good, and with a great deal of respect and regard of me in my particular ; and I will as freely impart my thoughts unto your lordship, what made me to decline going thither until I heard further from your lordship, both for the time, and some intimation of the occasion. I did apprehend that my coming thither, farther than some bordering places within that county, except I heard of some commotion there, might have given cause of discontent, and an apprehension that I held them in suspicion, and likewise being not able to appear in a strong and fitting posture, I conceived it might prove a disservice, and some disparagement to me ; but now, as there shall be occasion, I will conform myself to your lordship's better judgment in my circuit about the country, to observe each man's diligence and obedience to my command.

To my Lord President of Conaght, 10th of Nov. 1641.

I intend upon Tuesday night next to be at Athlege, or thereabouts ; and if your lordship be then in those parts, I shall be ready to wait on your lordship the next morning, and give your lordship a meeting where you please to appoint,

A castle of mine in the county of Roscommon.

Nov. 1641.

Castles of
mine in the
county of
Mayo.

point, which will afford much better satisfaction to both of us than can be expected by writing; at least your lordship's knowledge and experience will enable me that have been ever absent from this kingdom, and the rumour of our meeting and correspondence may be of good consequence for the quiet settlement of all the province; from thence I shall spend some time about Aghnnewre, Shreull, Moyne, and those frontier parts of the county of Mayo, which I long since ordered to be well and carefully guarded; and I shall proceed to any further course according as I shall hear from your lordship, or shall resolve upon when we meet. I have viewed the fort and town of Galway, who have been very diligent and watchful, and are in a very good posture against any attempt that can be made upon them, only I should have been glad to have found more plenty of arms and ammunition for the general defence of the country altogether unfurnished. I have brought from thence one hundred calivers and as many pikes, which with some of my own store much out of repair, and my own company, is the strength of the county. I have gotten some horsemen's launces made, and have some few pistols and carbines to be my guard as I go about with some musketeers a horseback, and the company of divers gentlemen, with which I shall make some shew, and a shift to do service if there be occasion. I left very good arms in England for horsemen, little expecting this sudden alteration, and though late I have now sent for them. This whole county (I thank God) remains in perfect peace and quietness, and I am very glad to hear the like in the county of Mayo. I was told that young O'Connor Sligoë did some good service against those that were in action, which I begin to doubt, not being confirmed by your lordship. I shall desire to know how Charles O'Connor behaves himself, and what opinion your lordship holds of him, because that I am privately informed that before these troubles began, he was in treaty of marriage with my uncle Edmond's widow; and if he should chance to come into this county, I should prepare for him according to the condition he is in. I hope that the county of Roscommon will be brought to obedience without much difficulty, the gentlemen of quality standing firm; but I am sorry to hear of the great distempers in the county of Leitrim, which they say is a strong country, and the outrages they have committed likely to make them desperate. My intelligence from Dublin agrees with what your lordship was pleased to inform, and being of a later date, with this good addition, that the Newry is again recovered. If I have not the happiness to see your lordship, I will enlarge myself by writing, and give you information of my proceedings here. For the present, with infinite thanks and acknowledgements of your lordship's many great favours, I will draw to the conclusion, which is faithfully and affectionately to express me,

Longhreagh, the 10th of
November, 1641.

Your lordship's most assured friend and servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A letter to my brother the earl of Essex, lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, the 14th of November, 1641.

MY LORD,

To the Earl
of Essex, the
14th of Nov.
1641.

I Was at first so amazed and surprised at the news of the wicked and desperate attempt upon the castle of Dublin, and the sudden dangerous rebellion in the North, with the fearful rumours of a general defection throughout the kingdom, and ever since in perpetual action for the quiet and safety of this large county committed to my charge, which together with my desire of some time to discern and discover the affections and inclinations of this province and other neighbouring counties, made me defer writing until I could give a good account of our proceedings here.

I have been to view the town and fort of Galway, and the arms and ammunition there, and have left both very well fitted; the fort under the command of captain

captain Anthony Willoughby, son to Sir Francis, who I am confident will give Nov. 1641.
 a good account of that important place. I have used my best endeavours for securing the strong places upon the borders of the county, but am in great want of arms and ammunition, of which I have informed the state, and have yet received but small relief. For the present, I hope we are able to preserve ourselves from any danger yet near us. I have summoned and met with all the gentry of the county, and am much pleased to observe their general distaste and hatred against the contrivers of those mischiefs, and their ready and forward desire to be employed in all service that might best express their hereditary duty and affection. I have made several divisions of the county, and committed the peace and quiet of each part to several gentlemen of trust and quality, that I may better discern each man's diligence apart, which hath taken so good effect as (I thank God) no man English, or other, hath suffered any thing, either in person or goods throughout the country. I have likewise appointed the risings out to be ready in twenty-four hours warning, consisting of three hundred and fourteen foot and fifty-nine horse, and I am appointing of captains, and placing of companies in the best places for security of the county of the old army. I have only two companies, one in the fort of Galway, being Sir Francis Willoughby's, and my own company at Loughreagh, a house of mine in the midst of the country, to guard some arms and ammunition there until it be disposed of.

If I have but timely supply, I make no question not only to keep this county in perfect obedience, but to be able to draw forth a very considerable number of gallant able men, to attend any service in other parts, that will seal their loyalties with the best and last drops of their blood.

By my intelligence, and a dispatch from my lord president, I am informed that the county of Mayo is likewise quiet and in good obedience; he having committed the government thereof unto viscount Dillon of Costello, and viscount Burke of Mayo. The county of Sligo continues firm, but some five hundred loose people that have burned about the castle of Ballynesadd in the county of Roscommon; some of the O Connors and O Henlyes, ancient Irish septs, have committed some spoils, and made attempts upon some strong places, but were repulsed, and my lord's coming thither, and the late proclamation brings them to offer submission. The planted county of Leitrim are all in combustion, and have taken all the towns there but three strong places, Manor-Hamilton, Drumruske and James-town. They are two thousand strong, and have besieged James-town, which will be in danger to be lost before it can be relieved. They have set up O Bourke, being formerly O Bourke's country. By the way, I leave it to your lordship's consideration to have a care to secure Bryan O Bourke, for whom I was bail, though I believe he hath little ability, and I hope no intention to do hurt. I have now given you an exact account of the whole province, and your lordship may deliver them from me for certain truths. I am confident no gentleman of quality in the whole province will be so forgetful of his common duty to his prince, besides the consideration of his majesty's great and gracious favours conferred upon them, as to enter into any action or join in confederacy with those desperate rebels, but rather with all diligence and loyalty attend the king's service and defence of the country, against those wicked disturbers of the peace and quiet of the kingdom, in so fair a way of happiness and settlement. I do not yet hear of any man of worth of English descent, that appears to be of that conspiracy, or to enter into any action. I am likewise informed, that the whole province of Munster is totally quiet, without any commotion or disturbance; and likewise the province of Leinster, unless some few mean people invited to make spoil by the noise of the Northern rebellion, and their own desperate fortunes, which report makes very high and spreading, though with comfortable additions, that some of them have been beaten and the Newry regained, a place of great importance of what is done. There your lordship will receive far better intelligence from the state, than you can receive from hence, being so remote off.

E

My

Nov. 1641. My lord, though I have met with a very sad and unfortunate welcome after thirty years absence, yet I am very glad it was my happy fortune to be now here to prevent any commotion in these parts, and to discharge my duty to my prince and country after so many great favours conferred upon me. And though I have been slow in sending dispatches into England, I hope the state of Dublin have not been unmindful to represent over my forward care and diligence, more proper for the relation of others than my own expressions. And having now set affairs in reasonable order, I shall be at better leisure to give you frequent intelligence of our proceedings here, of my firm faith and zeal to the service of our royal master, and of my constant being

Portumna, the 14th of
November, 1641.

Your affectionate brother to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Another letter to my brother the earl of Essex, lord chamberlain.

MY LORD,

To the Earl
of Essex,
November
15, 1641.

I Make no question but the first rumours of the desperate conspiracy at Dublin hath cast a very heavy aspersions on the affections and loyalties of many of his majesty's faithful subjects in this kingdom, and that amongst the vulgar I have not been spared. My friends that know me, and made the best construction, I suppose have given me as one lost, and sacrificed in defence of my loyalty; and it may be the true state of the kingdom is not yet rightly represented by some, either to enlarge their own service or merit, or through a strong apprehension of fear and distrust of others, or out of too much spleen or zeal, or some other private ends.

I send you here inclosed the certain truth of the present state of affairs, by which your lordship will perceive that this mischief hath been wrought and contrived by the remains of ancient Irish rebels in the North, and some in the planted county of Leitrim. What other spoils or robberies hath been committed by loose people, without any further design, will become your lordship's care, power, and interest, both in state, and other persons of quality, to prevent or redress any sudden declaration grounded upon former reports, that may cast an aspersions or imputation upon the loyalties or consciences of his majesty's faithful subjects in this kingdom, which the wisdom of the state here hath already provided, for making no distinction of religion at this time of general service, explaining their first proclamation by another, which hath given quiet to many mens minds, in whom the first had struck a very deep and sad impression.

I am very sorry to hear you have suffered so much, your castle being taken, and one thousand therein. If the long white stick were turned to a leading staff, I should make no doubt of a quick dispatch of this rebellion, and of a firm and lasting peace hereafter. Thus having given a good trial of the affections and inclinations of the kingdom, I am much ashamed to be governor of so large a county, and at such a time as this to have no troop of horse to attend upon me in many ill journies. Give me leave to recommend to your solicitation a speedy direction to be supplied therein. I have now, though late, sent for the arms I had at Berwick; and if there be any opposition in the transporting them, I must desire your assistance to preserve in your memory and favour

Portumna, the 15th
of November, 1641.

Your most faithful and affectionate brother,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A letter

Nov. 1641.

A letter to the Earl of Bristol.

MY LORD,

FOR some few days after my arrival here, I thought myself a most happy man, being retired to this most quiet corner of my own, when on a sudden I was surprized with the most fatal news of a most wicked and dangerous attempt upon Dublin castle; a desperate rebellion in the North, and a rumour of a general combination and conspiracy throughout the kingdom. Though much terrified and amazed, I did not neglect my hereditary duty and loyalty to the crown, strengthened by many great and particular obligations to his majesty, if the first could receive any addition, but did with all speed and diligence take care for the safety of the county within my government. I must beg leave to give your lordship but a summary account of the present condition of affairs here. We begin to recover our wits, scared away by the first reports, and do discern that none appears in this detestable conspiracy, or enters into action, but the remains of the ancient Irish rebels in the North, and some in the planted county of Leitrim; whether combined with them, or out of spleen to some persons in that county, is not yet come to my knowledge. Some other spoils have been made in several places by loose people, desperate in their fortunes, but most of them appeased, little considerable for any thing yet appears. I do not hear of any man of quality, either of English descent, or ancient Irish, of any other part of this kingdom, that is in action, except colonel Plunket of English extraction, and Roger Moore of the ancient Irish. The report goes, that the rebellion of the North, and that of Leitrim, is very high and spreading, but with a good addition, that some of them in the North have been beaten and dispersed, the other is somewhat near to us: and I begin to doubt, that when they are hardly pursued in the North, they will join with those ill neighbours of ours, being a strong country, and having a free passage thither, and so make this province a seat of war. If it be well supplied with arms and ammunition, I shall not fear any attempt they shall make upon this county; and for the present, I do assure your lordship, not a man hath suffered the least prejudice either in person or goods, as far as my command reacheth. I perceive many able faithful judicious men much afflicted, not only with the present rebellion, but the ill consequences that may follow after, by being deprived of the graces granted by his majesty for the security of our estates; though the misinformation of some from hence, either through too much fear and distrust of others, out of spleen or zeal, or some other private ends. I give them all the comfort and assurance I can possible, that whosoever stands firm and dischargeth his duty in this time of danger, may be confident, not only of obtaining those graces, but to receive them with addition from so just and gracious a prince. Some declaration to that purpose would (as I conceive) very much advantage the king's service at this present. And I have written to my brother, so it will become your lordship's judgment to use your best power and interest, both with the state and others, to divert or call back any sudden declaration there, grounded upon former reports, that may reflect upon the loyalty or consciences of those that are most faithful and affectionate subjects here; that without distinction of opinion in religion we may all join heartily for the service of the king and kingdom. And having now to the best of my ability discharged my publick duty, and my particular respects to your lordship, I will draw to a conclusion, which is faithfully and affectionately to express me

Portumna, the 14th of
November, 1641.

Your lordship's most assured servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

This

Nov. 1641.

This day I received letters from Mr. Richard Martin, dated the 12th from Streams-town, full of great expressions of his loyalty, and care of the king's service, with some propositions for suppressing the present rebellion.

The same day letters from captain Willoughby, expressing his doubts that the corporation at Galway would not supply him, desiring me to move the state for supplies for him, and some new carriages for ordnance, and my warrant to cut timber for planks for ordnance.

At the same time letters from Sir Richard Blake, informing me of his care and diligence in pressing my motion to the mayor and corporation for the supplies of the fort. That the particular of the captain's demands came to above 240 l. which was thought high; they pretending disability, and likewise that they saw no order from the state for it, nor no course settled for their payment out of the customs of that port, or any other way. That a motion was made in court by dean York, warden of the college, that Mr. Johnson, parson of Athunry, would lend one hundred pecks of wheat, and 100 l. in money for supply of the fort, upon the security of the corporation, which they willingly accepted of; and the same day I received a letter from the mayor, and an act of their court to that effect, as followeth:

A letter from the mayor of Galway.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

From the
mayor of
Galway.

THE inclosed act of our common assembly here, touching lieutenant Willoughby his request, I hope will give your lordship satisfaction of the answer by your honour desired of us in writing thereunto; so I humbly take leave, and remain

Galway, the 12th of
November, 1641.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

WALTER LYNCH, mayor.

The act of the common assembly at Galway, touching the supply of his majesty's fort, dated the 11th of November, 1641.

The act of
the common
assembly of
Galway, for
the supply of
the fort, the
11th of Nov.
1641.

MEMORANDUM, That whereas this day, at a publick meeting held at the Tholsel of Galway by the mayor, sheriffs, free burgeses, and free men of the said town, for the answering a motion, made by the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans to the said mayor and town council, for certain laws for the furnishing his majesty's fort, near the said town, according to a note thereof delivered to his lordship by lieutenant Anthony Willoughby, who promised to find sufficient security for the same, which being taken into consideration, it was unanimously declared, manifested, and assured, that to the last man the said town of Galway would lose their blood and lives in his majesty's service, in the defence, and for the safety of the said fort and town. And as touching the said proposition, expressed all zeal and willingness to forward his majesty's service. And being moved and offered by Mr. John York, warden of the said town, in behalf of Mr. Johnson, parson of Athunry, that the said Mr. Johnson would lend the corporation one hundred pecks of wheat, and one hundred pounds sterling, gratis, without forbearance, to be repaid after a settled peace in all the parts in this kingdom; which motion was embraced, being conceived the readiest way for the raising of means to supply the said first request for his majesty's said fort. It is therefore by common consent and assent of the said assembly granted and agreed upon, that the mayor and this corporation shall accept of the said corn and money of the said Mr. Johnson; and that the said corn, or the value thereof, and the said one hundred pounds sterling, shall be employed for the furnishing and supply of the said fort, upon security and assurance given by the said lieutenant Willoughby for the repayment thereof, as aforesaid, which security is to be to the liking of the corporation.

Having

Having formerly given direction for the general preservation of peace and quiet in the county, receiving information that the spoils and outrages committed upon the English did very much increase in several parts of the kingdom, I thought fit to publish a warrant for their particular preservation.

Nov. 1641.

By the lieutenant governor of the counties and the town of Galway.

FORASMUCH as among other directions, I have recommended to your special cares the general preservation of his majesty's subjects, that dwell and reside within the several limits whereof I have intrusted you with the charge, and that I am now advertised of many great spoils done in other parts of this kingdom upon the English clergy and other English inhabitants; lest the report of such unlawful and outrageous acts may unite any desperate or ill-affected persons of this county to attempt or commit the like, and the more to encourage the English industriously to follow their own affairs and occasions: you are therefore in his majesty's name publickly to make known within that limit, that all the inhabitants thereof are required at their perils to be vigilant of the safety of all English families within the same; and if any of them by their neglect should suffer, that all strict ways and means should be used for their relief and redress, whereof you and they are to take special notice. Given at Portumna the 14th of November, 1641.

A general warrant for preservation of the English 14th of Nov.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 16th, I repaired to Loughreagh, where I appointed a general meeting of all the nobility and gentry in the county, to propose unto them the raising of competent forces upon the charge of the county, to be placed in several fit quarters for defence of the borders.

Upon the 17th, I received letters from Dublin, from Mr. Pat. Darcy, giving me notice that the house of parliament sat there only for prorogation, finding it not done by proclamation, and the not meeting would have been a dissolution of it; that the earl of Ormond was arrived there, and made a proposition to pursue the enemy forthwith, and undertake the service, if he might only have arms, and power to take meat and drink in his march, which did not then take, though the rebels grew daily stronger.

An offer ill neglected, as hath since appeared by woful experience.

The same day I received letters from my lord president, taking notice of my present meeting for the safety of this county, and informing me that he had settled a good course in the county of Roscommon, which he hoped would hold and preserve them in safety there; that in Sligoe, loose people had pillaged the English, and were now falling upon the well-affected natives, from whom he received great complaints, but was unable to relieve them; that when I had raised my forces he would propose some considerable design unto me, and be ready to give me a meeting for a conference to that effect.

The same day I received a letter from serjeant-major Lucas Taafe, then at Galway, informing me, that the officers of the customs did refuse to admit his transportation of his brother's regiment, notwithstanding my former warrant to the mayor in that behalf; thereupon I sent a special warrant to the customs.

By the lieutenant governor of the counties and town of Galway.

WHEREAS I have received directions from the Lords Justices and Council, dated at the castle of Dublin the 28th day of October last, to permit the transport of those that are to go beyond sea, for the service of the king of Spain, from that port of Galway, they passing quietly and peaceably without annoying his majesty's good subjects in their passage, and not suffered to enter into the town or fort of Galway; which directions of their lordships were subsequent

My warrant to the customs of Galway, for the permitting of forces to be transported into Spain, 18th of Nov.

Nov. 1641. to the proclamation that restrained formerly their licence to depart. In pursuance whereof, I have already sent a warrant unto the mayor of Galway and lieutenant Willoughby to that purpose; and that now I am given to understand that some of them are already there, and others upon their march thither. These are to require you, and every of you, to suffer them quietly and speedily to depart; and that the instructions which I formerly sent to the mayor, and lieutenant Willoughby, concerning them, be very carefully and punctually observed. And that likewise you permit them to take with them such necessary provisions as they shall have cause to use. But you are not to suffer them any longer to make stay there then of necessity they must. And for your so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at Loughreagh the 18th of November, 1641.

To the officers of his majesty's customs in CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.
the port of Galway, and every of them.

To the right honourable Ulick earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, lieutenant governor of the counties and the town of Galway.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

The general
assembly of
the county,
their declaration for
raising of
forces, the
18th of Nov.

WE the noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Galway, whose names are under written, the representative body of this county, being now, by your lordship's command, assembled together; and having taken to our consideration what your lordship was pleased, by direction from the right honourable the lords justices, to propound unto us, tending to the advancement of his majesty's service, and the security of ourselves in this county, do put our most humble thanks unto your lordship for your great and continued care of our defence and safety in these turbulent and dangerous threatening times: and do hereby, with as great zeal, and in as great humility, as ever faithful and loyal subjects did, freely and unanimously declare, that the concern of all our dispositions is, and that all our wills meet in that center to love and serve his majesty, with all our powers, and upon all occasions, against all intestine rebels, or foreign enemies whatsoever. And as his incomparable goodness, clemency, justice, and protection have these many wealthy years of his gracious reign, and in the time of his most royal father, of blessed memory, before shined so upon us, that ever since we have enjoyed halcyon days of peace and tranquility, and were of late to the perpetuating of our happiness by his most royal hand (the best of assurances) promised to be secured in our estates by act of parliament. As in duty bound, we make a free and chearful oblation of our estates, fortunes, and our lives, to his sacred commands; and will be always most ready and willing in any service of his majesty that your lordship shall command us, to make the best and most real expressions that shall be in our power of our true, loyal, and dutiful affections to his royal person, and for the conservation of his imperial crown and dignity. And therefore from hearts full of that zeal, and that consider more of his majesty's present pressing occasion (in respect of the tumults and rebellion, most unnaturally raised by some seditious, mischievous, and ungodly persons in some parts of this kingdom) than of our own disabilities, and the general poverty of the country, we do consent and agree to have four hundred foot, and one hundred horse, to be distributed to eight foot companies, and two troops of horse, speedily levied in this county, and will maintain them upon our own charge for forty days, and will with them serve his majesty in the nature and manner that your lordship shall command. And having computed the sums that we conceive necessary for the entertainment of that number of horse and foot for so long a time, we find that it amounts to the sum of one thousand three hundred forty-six pounds thirteen shilling and four pence; and that twelve shillings out of every quarter of land in the said county, without the exemption of any free, or

not free, or belonging to any lord spiritual or temporal, or any other person ^{Nov. 1641.} whatsoever, will make up the said sum of one thousand three hundred forty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. And therefore we most humbly pray your lordship to direct your lordship's several warrants unto the collectors in the several baronies within the said county, whose names we have presented unto your lordship, for the speedy collection of the sum of twelve shillings out of every quarter of land in every of the said baronies, together with two pence for the collection in each quarter, and to pay the sum that they shall so levy unto Richard Dillon of Clonbrock, Esq; whom we name and authorize to receive the same, and pay it proportionably unto the several captains of the said troops of horse and companies of foot, according to the daily entertainment and allowance we give them; which captains and other needful officers we humbly pray your lordship to make choice of, and to nominate. And as by this perspective and voluntary and chearful declaration we endeavour to represent our zeal to his sacred majesty's service; so we humbly offer unto your lordship, and do hereby protest, that this taxation or manner of levy shall be no precedent, or drawn to consequence for any future charge, or raising of monies in this county in this nature; and that it is likewise in discharge of the raising out, and that by indentures of composition is due from this county to his majesty.

Loughreagh, 18th of
November, 1641.

Signed by the lords, gentlemen, and freeholders
of the county, assembled at Loughreagh.

The names of the captains chose for these forces.

The lord viscount Glanmorris, a troop of horse; Teige Kelly, of Aghrim, lieutenant.

Richard Burke of Kilcoine, a troop of horse; his brother William, lieutenant.

* Francis Birmingham; a foot company.

† Edmond Burke; a foot company.

‡ Redmond Burke; a foot company.

Richard Burke, of Derrmailaghy; a foot company.

Teige Kelly, of Gallagher; a foot company.

|| William Shaghtnussy; a foot company.

Moraghna Do OFlaherty; a foot company.

John Kelly, of Corrabeg; a foot company.

* Heir to my
lord Ber-
mingham.
† Son to Sir
Ul. Burke.
‡ Of Kilcor-
nan.

|| Brother to
Sir Roger.

This day I received letters from the lord president, taking notice of my reso- ^{18th of Nov.} lution to pass through the borders of the county of Roscommon, desiring to know the time and place where he might meet me the next day, within a reasonable distance of Roscommon castle; but extremity of foul weather made me defer that journey until the 22d; and that the 23d I would wait on his lordship between Roscommon and Athleague, or elsewhere his lordship would appoint.

Upon the 19th I returned to Portumna, where my wife and family were resi- ^{19th of Nov.} dent, when I received a letter from my lord justice Parsons.

A letter from my Lord Justice Parsons

MOST NOBLE LORD,

IT being a good while since we heard from your lordship, I rest in good as- ^{From my} surance that all things are well there, which I must ascribe to your lordship's ^{Lord Justice} vigilancy and great circumspection. I thank God we hear of no great ill out of ^{Parsons.} any other part of Conaght, except the county of Sligo, whose vicinity to the rebels of the county of Leitrim hath drawn upon them divers harms by the inroads of these rebels. The Northern rebels are still as they were, having no English amongst them. The Scots do hold them hard to it, and have killed some of

Nov. 1641. of them. We hear that some forces are landed there out of Scotland, and more are coming, who, I hope, will help to curb those saucy rebels; and we have sent out men towards them on this side. Sir Henry Lea, of whom your lordship wrote to me, is still here, and shall, I hope, have some employment, tho' not as compleat as I could wish. Wherein I can otherwise serve your lordship, I shall from time to time manifest, as

Dublin, the 14th of
November, 1641.

Your lordship's ready servant,

WILLIAM PARSONS.

22d of Nov.

Upon the 22d, with fifty horse for my guard, and one hundred horse more in train of gentlemen of the country, and their servants and mine, I began my journey from Portumna to Ballynesloe, a strong castle belonging to Mr. Anthony Brabason, of late English descent; his mother my kinswoman. The river passing by his castle divides it from this county, where I received very great entertainment, and many professions of his constant loyalty.

23d of Nov.

Tuesday the 23d I went from thence, and met my lord president some four or five miles of Roscommon, and there were present many gentlemen of the best quality of both counties of Galway and Roscommon. We had some three hours discourse, and several things propounded, but none could be in certain concluded, until he had made some trial of his new raised forces in that county, and those that I had raised were mustered and armed, which depended upon supplies from the state. Having parted from his lordship near Roscommon, and viewed the straits and passes by the river of the Succ, I went that night to Corrabeg, a house of Mr. John Kelly's upon the borders, a gentleman of approved loyalty, and a constant assistant and attendant upon me during all the troubles; and there was no failing of a full and plentiful welcome.

24th of Nov.
Athleague.

Wednesday the 24th, I went to view a fair old ruined castle of mine, upon the river of the Succ, within the county of Roscommon, a very brave seat, and a passage and place of great importance; there I kept a strong ward during all the troubles. That night I went from thence to Glinske, a fair new house of Sir Ulick Burke's, passing often the river Succ, keeping still by the borders; he continued very constant and loyal, and diligently attended upon me for a great part of the troubles; but at last some unkindness between my lord president, Sir Charles Coote and him, and some oppressions put upon him, without redress, by some of the English garrison, and the violent and restless working of some of the clergy, put him into action, I believe, contrary to his own inclination, being a gentleman, if I be not much mistaken, of a very fine carriage and good disposition.

25th of Nov.

Upon the 25th, I went from Glinske to Dunmore, to Mr. Francis Bermingham's grand-child, and heir to the lord Bermingham, baron of Athunry, an ancient noble family, formerly earls of Louth, now a baron of the kingdom, and this their ancient seat in this county, a strong castle and well seated. This young gentleman a very gallant proper man, very active and industrious under my command, for the most part of the troubles; but the infection growing general, the clergy powerful and violent, strange false rumours and reports spread abroad, the apparent neglects of the state towards me, both of England and Ireland, and my want of power to give him fit employment answerable to his active spirit, he was drawn into the confederacy, and made a colonel on that party, somewhat, I believe, to the disturbance of his private thoughts and affections.

26th of Nov.

Upon the 26th, I went from thence to Tuam, the archbishop's seat, a fair and strong castle, but quitted by the archbishop Boyle, when there was no appearance of danger near him. Returning from it to Galway, and then to his majesty's fort there, I was very civilly and respectfully entertained by Mr. William Paiton, dean of Tuam; coming thither sick, being so many whole days abroad in extremity of foul weather, having viewed the castle and strong passages thereabouts,

thereabouts, and received the complaints of the sovereign and corporation against my lord archbishop for deserting the place, and leaving them without defence. Though much traced, I resolved to go on my journey without rest. Nov. 1641.

Upon the 27th, I went from Tuam to Shreull, a fair strong castle of my own in the county of Mayo, but divided from the county by the river, upon the which is a fair stone bridge, made since most infamous by the horrid and bloody murder of about one hundred English and Scots, most of them massacred by their own convoys, before they would attain into this county over the bridge. Out of this inhuman massacre very strangely escaped Maxwell, lord bishop of Killalla, and his wife and children; he was stript and dangerously wounded, and at last found and relieved by Mr. Ulick Burke of Castle-Hacket, living within this county, upon those borders, and there was carefully attended, until he was able to travel, and then I went to convoy to wait upon him to Galway, where I shewed him the best respects I was able in so troublesome a time, until his repair into England, which he did well deserve, being a discreet man, and a great scholar, and the most patient in his afflictions that I have observed. At my coming to Shreull I met with some dispatches from Dublin and out of England, though not much of concernment.

A letter from my Lord Justice Parsons.

MOST NOBLE LORD,

THIS bearer, Sir Henry Lea, now returneth to you; his fortune is not as it seems to be employed here as yet, though I have spoken several times for him; but, I think, seeing the county of Galway intends to raise and wage men for the defence of the county, he may, by your lordship's favour, be put into a better way there to have command amongst them, until we have better means to wage men than now we have. We expect means daily out of England, and then I hope to have him employed, if he finds not himself better there. Lord Justice Parsons, 22d of Nov. received the 27th.

Our joint dispatch sent now by him, speaketh such things to your lordship as are at present to be said unto your lordship, who have in all things shewed yourself a faithful servant to the king, which we shall duly make known unto him. In the mean time, and ever, I remain,

Dublin castle, the 22d of
November, 1641.

Your lordship's humble servant,

WILLIAM PARSONS.

Upon the 28th, I went from Shreull to Cloghnore, another good castle of mine upon those borders; viewing the passages by the way, and a castle of mine, called Tuorin, in the county of Mayo, those three answering well one to the other for defence of those borders. That night I received dispatches from Dublin.

A letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 19th of November, received the 28th.

MY LORD,

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, your letters of the 16th of this month we received this day, and are glad to hear that the town of Galway and the fort there are well fitted for defence. Lords Justices and Council, the 19th of Nov. received the 28th.

Touching the fort, we render thanks to your lordship for your care thereof, and do hope, by the care you have taken, they are victualled by the town for two months: however, we send you here enclosed a warrant to that purpose, whereof we expect all due observation. Concerning the foot company, commanded by

G

Sir

Nov. 1641. Sir Lorenſoe Carie, although there was then a neceſſity of calling them hither, yet ſince we have recalled the patent, and directed their ſtay there. Your lordſhip's care in appointing the gentlemen of the county to their ſeveral diviſions for the more ſafety of thoſe parts, we acknowledge with ſpecial thanks.

A ſtrange
put off, there
being above
12000 arms
in the ſtore
at Dublin,
when the
troubles be-
gan.

For the raiſing out of that county, we like well that your lordſhip ſhould make the beſt uſe of them that you may; but for arms and ammunition for them we cannot yet ſupply you farther than we have done already; yet ſhortly we ſhall be able to furniſh you, when our ſupplies come forth of England, which certainly are in the way coming. We find by certificate from the clerk of the ſtores, that at Galway, on the 5th of November, there was a laſt of powder; but he mentions only eight muſkets, wherein we conceive he omitted the muſkets, and other arms, which were left there by the diſbanded company, lately commanded by captain Shagneſs; and we pray your lordſhip to inform yourſelf, and certify us, whether or no thoſe arms were left there by that company at their diſbanding. We are ſtill hopeful of your lordſhip's attention to the publick affairs there (wherein we obſerve your extraordinary labour and diligence, which we highly commend) to find the continuance of that good order, and peaceable condition, wherein that country ſtands; and ſo we bid your lordſhip very heartily farewel. From his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin, the 29th of November, 1641.

Your lordſhip's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.
ORMOND OSSORY.
CHARLES LAMBERT.
PIERSE CROSBIE.

JO. BORLACE.
JO. DILLON.
JO. TEMPLE.
ROB. MEREDITH.

29th of Nov.
Derma-
claghny.

Upon the 29th, I went from Cloghnore to Dermaclaghny, a caſtle of my couſin germain's Richard Burke, ſon to my aunt the lady Margaret and Sir John Burke. He was for a time employed under my command, but being of a flexible eaſy nature, and wholly governed by the advices of his uncle Thomas Burke, of Anbally, a buſy and turbulent perſon, he was after wrought upon to enter into action, and appear in the field againſt me; and upon the pacification made at Galway, I accepted of his ſubmiſſion, and ſince that time he hath continued in a doubtful, but inconfiderable condition of himſelf, of an indifferent good nature.

30th of Nov.
Dunſandle.

Upon the 30th, I went from Dermaclaghny to Dunſandle, my lord of Clonmoris his caſtle, and by the way ſtayed at Athunry, an ancient corporation, and walled town. There met me the two troops of horſe, and the eight foot companies newly raiſed upon the charge of the country; having viewed and muſtered them, given order to their officers to receive ſome arms at my caſtle at Loughreagh, and appointed their ſeveral places of gariſon. I had conference with captain Willoughby, who met me there, and at the ſame time I received thoſe following letters from the lords juſtices and council, ſent by ſeveral perſons.

A letter from the Lords Juſtices and Council, dated the 24th of November, received the 30th at Athunry.

MY LORD,

Lord Juſtices
and Council,
the 24th of
Nov. receiv-
ed the 30th.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordſhip, we ſend you herewith a proteſtation and declaration of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled, and two orders made by both the ſaid houſes, dated the 16th of November, 1641, all concerning the preſent rebellions in this kingdom; all which we pray and require your lordſhip to cauſe to be proclaimed and publickly fixed up in all the market-towns, and other publick

the Marquiss of CLANRICARDE.

23

lick places throughout the county'; and so we bid your lordship farewell. From ^{Nov. 1641.} his majesty's castle of Dublin, 24th of November, 1641.

Your loving Friends,

WM. PARSONS.	J. BORLACE.
ORMOND OSSORY.	DILLON.
CHA. LAMBERT.	JO. TEMPLE.
PIERSE CROSBIE.	

Another letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 24th of November, received the 30th at Athunry.

MY LORD,

AFTER our hearty commendations to your lordship, we have caused an order of the lords and commons in this present parliament in England, concerning Ireland, to be imprinted at Dublin, on the 12th of November, 1641, of which order we have sent your lordship several printed copies here inclosed; praying and requiring your lordship to cause the same to be proclaimed and publickly fixed up in all the market-towns, and other publick places, throughout that county; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, 24th of November, 1641.

Lords Justices and Council, the 24th of Nov. received the 30th.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.	JO. BORLACE.
ORMOND OSSORY.	DILLON.
CHA. LAMBERT.	JO. TEMPLE.
PIERSE CROSBIE.	

Another letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated 24th of November, received the 30th at Athunry.

MY LORD,

AFTER our hearty commendations to your lordship, forasmuch as the warrant issued for stay of the foot company, commanded by Lorenzo Carie, knight, came not to the hands of the said Sir Lorenzo, so as the said foot company is now marched hither; we therefore holding it needful that the fort of Galway, whence the said foot company came, be further strengthened, have directed our very good lord the earl of Ormond and Ossory, lieutenant general of the army, to give order to captain Willoughby to reinforce the foot company, commanded by Sir Francis Willoughby, knight, so as to make the said foot company to consist of one hundred men, besides officers; and those be such men as the said captain Willoughby shall choose; whereof we think fit to give your lordship notice; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 24th of November, 1641.

Lords Justices and Council, the 24th of Nov. received the 30th.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.	JO. BORLACE.
ORMOND OSSORY.	DILLON.
CHA. LAMBERT.	JO. TEMPLE.
PIERSE CROSBIE.	

Having imparted these letters to captain Willoughby, and my former letter received at Cloghnore, and being well satisfied with the supplies I had procured for him, I went on my journey to Dunfandle. where that night I received a letter from the customers of Galway, with one inclosed from the lords justices, desiring my further direction thereupon.

MEMOIRS and LETTERS of

Nov. 1641 A letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 18th of November, received the 30th at Dunfandle.

MY LORD,

Lords Ju-
stices and
Council, the
18th of Nov.
received the
30th.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, we think fit in these times of danger hereby to pray and require your lordship, to give strict order to all the officers of that port, that if any arms or ammunition be brought to be imported into that port by any person or persons whatsoever, the officers there do immediately seize upon the same and lay them up in safety, and immediately advertise us thereof. And in case any such proportions of arms or ammunition be brought to that port which may be attempted to be landed by force, that in such case, if the officers be not able to resist them, they may have power to raise the forces of the country thereabouts to aid them in hindering the landing thereof. And if any person or persons that have been soldiers or commanders in foreign parts, shall land at that port, that the said officers cause stay to be made of them, and not suffer them to depart until further direction from us; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 18th of November, 1641.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.
ORMOND OSSORY.
CHA. LAMBERT.
JO. TEMPLE.

JO. BORLACE.
DILLON.
ADAM LOFTUS.
ROB. MEREDITH.

My warrant to the mayor and customers of Galway, dated the 30th of November, 1641, in pursuance of the Lords Justices direction, sent to the customers, with a copy of their lordships letter for their full instruction.

By the lieutenant governor of the counties and town of Galway.

My warrant
to the mayor
and custom-
ers of Gal-
way, for se-
curing of
arms and am-
munition, the
30th of Nov.

FORASMUCH as I have received letters from the right honourable the lords justices of this kingdom, wherein their lordships prayed and required me to take great care, that the officers of his majesty's custom-house in that part may have all due and accustomed obedience in the exercising of their office in his majesty's service, in arresting and seizing into their custody all manner of suspected commodities and warlike provisions whatsoever, or the person or persons by them, or any of them, suspected. Therefore, in his majesty's name, I do hereby require and command you, and every of you, in case that any manner of person or persons whatsoever be so unadvised, as to give any manner of interruption to any of the said officers of his majesty's customs, or to any of their deputies, in the due execution of his majesty's service, either in hindering them to make due search, or opposing them, or any of them, by any manner of force, or threatening, or refusal of obeying their arrest, that then immediately, upon the first complaint, or notice thereof, you gather together such competent number of the burgeses, and other inhabitants of that town, as to your discretion shall be thought needful; and the said person or persons whosoever so offending, to arrest and keep in safe custody, until you receive my further directions; whereof you may not fail, as you shall answer the contrary at your uttermost peril, and for which this shall be your warrant. Given the 30th day of November, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

To my trusty and well beloved the mayor, sheriffs, recorder, and all other officers of the town of Galway, and to every of them.

I received

I received letters of the 22d and 23d of this month from my nephew Thomas Burke, newly arrived at Dublin out of England, informing me of many particulars; the most material, the debates of both houses there, and at the council board, concerning the fitting or prorogation of the parliament; in conclusion they sat but two days, after much debate, not too much to irritate those in action, until they were better armed to resist and suppress them; yet it was at last carried, that they should be declared rebels, lest otherwise it might appear a seeming approbation of the present insurrection; that my lord of Costello was employed by both houses in England, and recommended to have command in the four counties of Conaght; and as it appeared to him the intention was, that my lord president should have the keeping of Athlone castle, myself the keeping of this county, and my lord Costello the military command of the other four counties; that my lord of Ormond alledged, that my lord president, and myself, had the command of Conaght by patent, which could hardly be altered; but ordered it was, that my lord Costello should be recommended to have a command in Conaght; that the rebellion did begin to appear much more dangerous than he at first conceived; that I should press for store of arms, &c.

Nov. 1641.
Walter
Burke of
Turlogh's
son, married
in England
to my niece
Lettice Sher-
ly.

This day I writ to my lord president, giving him notice that I had finished my circuit, and was mustering the forces raised by the country; that I had newly received letters from the state, but no supply of arms, nor much expectation of any, which did much disquiet me; my attendance upon his lordship, and the great charge of the country like to be lost thereby, and the insolent rebels encouraged by our defects; that I was dispatching into England for supplies from thence, and gave his lordship some intimation of my lord Costello's employment, and recommendation for command in this province.

My letter to the Lord Archbishop of Tuam at Galway.

MY LORD,

IN my circuit about this county, I stayed one night at Tuam, and took a view of your grace's castle, which I observe to be a place of that strength and importance for the security of those parts, that it ought not to be deserted; and being now to inform the state of that and other strong places, in what condition I find them, and of each man's forwardness in their several charges and divisions for the common safety of the county, finding that your lordship hath not yet taken the care of that into your consideration; the respect I desire to shew your lordship hath made me forbear to return my information, until I shall receive a resolution from your lordship what course you will be pleased to take for the safeguard of so considerable a place. I send your lordship a petition here inclosed, delivered me by the inhabitants of that town, which I desire may be returned with your lordship's answer to what I have now proposed, so that it may be with me to-morrow at Athunry, where I am to muster the forces raised by the county, but shall depart from thence at night, and cannot longer defer my dispatch to the lords justices: and when your lordship hath performed your part, my care shall not be wanting for the preservation of the inhabitants of those parts; and so wishing your lordship much happiness, shall still remain

This letter
was written
at Clog-
nowre, and
should have
been inserted
upon the
29th.
To the Abp.
of Tuam.

The 29th of
Nov. 1641.

Your grace's assured friend to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

H

His

Nov. 1641.

His lordship, by a letter of the same date, gave some satisfaction in point of arms, left and sent thither, but was not willing to be at other charges for defence; being pleased to express farther, that they might be well satisfied with what he had done; whereas in this county they did not hear of any ill affected man, which with much thankfulness, next under God, and his majesty, was to be acknowledged, and attributed to my presence and providence.

By my dispatches into England, to the state at Dublin, to my lord president of Conaght, and others, by my warrants and directions to Galway, and other parts of the country; by my own survey of the borders and divisions made of command in every barony for the better safety of the county, and preservation of the English; my care and industry for his majesty's service, and suppression of the rebellion, doth, I hope, fully appear, as far as could be expected from one so suddenly surprized upon his first arrival into the kingdom, and so much wanting of arms and ammunition, and able and fit commanders.

By the dispatches from the state may be observed their early neglects of me, and the safety of those parts, by denying to return Sir Francis Willoughby, for which indeed there seemed some just occasion, but not any for the calling away of my kinsman Sir Lorenzo Carie, and his company, who might have been a great comfort and strengthening to me; the pretending the want of arms at Dublin to supply me, when there was arms and ammunition there for twelve thousand men; the excuse that arms would be long coming from Limerick, and in danger of being spoiled, when they might easily come in a day by water, and land at the garden door of my castle of Portumna, and the taking no notice of my request for a troop of horse; all these particulars I did very much resent, and resolved fully to express my sense thereof.

My letter to the Lords Justices of the 4th of December, 1641.

MY LORDS,

To the Lords
Justices, the
4th of Dec-
ember.

I DID not receive your lordships dispatch of the 19th of the last month, until the 28th, late at night, at Clognowre, near the borders of the county of Mayo, being then upon my return from viewing the straits and passages upon the frontiers of this county; and have taken the best course I can for the defending them in this general want of arms and ammunition. According to your lordships former directions, I had a meeting with the prime gentlemen of the county for the raising of forces for their defence, and they all readily and cheerfully consented to the raising of four hundred foot, and one hundred horse, upon their own charge, for forty days. Upon Tuesday last they were mustered, entered into pay, and sent to their several garrisons in the most important places for defence of the county; and your lordships will receive forthwith the captains names and places of garrison.

Upon the receipt of your lordships dispatch, I did certainly expect at the least a supply of arms and ammunition for this number. Failing thereof, my endeavours about the frontiers, the charge of the county for the raising of these forces, my conference with my lord president within the county of Roscommon, and my desire to give him assistance, and to appear active in the king's service, are in a manner lost for the present; and the rebels and loose people, animated to pursue their wicked courses, finding my pains and care nothing seconded, nor assisted to appear against them. Those few arms and ammunition which I had out of the stores of Galway, I have equally distributed amongst the eight companies, which doth not arm the half of them; and the horse have not yet so much as launces, this country not affording them: and Mr. Parsons at Birr, being employed by your lordships for making a large proportion, saith he cannot furnish me. I must humbly desire a supply to arm these troops and companies, and spare provision of powder, my own houses wanting means of defence for the preservation of my family, and some important places upon the borders not well supplied.

supplied. Though your lordships are pleased to esteem it good service in these Dec. 1641.
fickle times to keep this county in peace and perfect obedience, and somewhat
it may be in contributing to the quiet of the neighbouring counties by my cor-
responding with my lord president; yet it doth very little satisfy my ambition
and affection to serve the king, if I be not put into a condition to be active and
powerful in his service where most occasion is; this rebellion spreading and
infecting several parts for want of timely resistance: and therefore, my lords, in
discharge of my duty to his majesty, having considered what state I am in to
answer the expectation I presume is held of me in England, and the value I con-
ceive I ought to receive here, I must be an earnest suitor to your lordships, that,
with convenient expedition, there may be arms and ammunition sent to Galway
for one thousand five hundred men, there to remain, to be disposed of by me as
there shall be occasion for in those parts, or for my further proceeding, accord-
ing to the commands I shall receive from your lordships. I understand that di-
vers have had large proportions, and namely, my lord Gorman's-town for five
hundred men for that territory by him; and then certainly this large county
will require no less than I have offered to your lordships consideration. I shall
humbly desire your lordships speedy answer, for I have cause to believe, that some
residing or resorting to Dublin, where the first intelligence comes, and are nearer
to make their applications to the king and state in England, have gotten the start
of me. If I have not been righted by your lordships advertisements of my for-
wardness, and, I hope, ability, to be as useful, I am sure as faithful as any
whomsoever; I may very well doubt I shall be as soon aimed at by the re-
bels when they can send forces to assist those of Leitrim, besides the danger of
foreign invasions. I have discharged my duty, by giving your lordships timely
notice of the wants and defects of these parts, and am not to answer for any ill
accidents that may fall out here, if I be not supplied as I have cause to expect; and
am further very sensible of the report I hear of discourses at Dublin, some won-
dering I have not gone out upon service with any friends and followers here. Cer-
tainly there is nothing I have more desired, nor any thing hath so much dis-
quieted me as to be neglected, and kept in such a condition, as to be disabled
from doing service; and if such informations should chance to go into England,
that I have neglected opportunities wherein I ought to have been active, my faithful
and careful endeavours are but ill requited. I must crave your lordships pardon
for this liberty I have taken, having cause to be very tender that no invasion be
made upon my honour, or duty to my prince, which, I presume, none of worth
will ever question; and I am confident it will be your lordships care both to pre-
serve me from such aspersions, and to supply me as my quality and integrity
may deserve, and the present danger doth require. Your lordships of the 24th
of last month I received the 30th, giving me notice of the reinforcing Sir
Francis Willoughby's company to one hundred, besides officers; I acquainted
captain Willoughby therewith, being then with me at Athunry; he is prepar-
ing for it, but had not then received my lord lieutenant general's warrant. I
likewise delivered him your lordships warrant for victualling the fort, and, in
that particular, he hath, I conceive, received satisfaction to his full content. I
am told, that most of the companies are made hundreds, mine is not; neither
hath your lordships been pleased to take notice of my request for a troop of
horse, which would be of great use to me in these parts, to uphold a credit and
reputation in this government, and enable me to do service upon all sudden oc-
casions.

The declaration of the parliament of England, the protestation and two orders
of the parliament here, I sent forthwith to be proclaimed upon my first receipt of
them. Captain Willoughby hath intreated me to move your lordships for some
orders and directions for the cutting down of a hill belonging to one Mr. John
Blake, that upon any great attempt or invasion would be a very dangerous place
for

Dec. 1641. for annoyance of the fort, as Sir Francis Willoughby can better inform your lordships.

I send your lordships here inclosed the clerk of the store's account for the arms of captain Shagness, delivered up at Galway, with captain Willoughby's receipt of part of them.

He hath likewise desired me to move your lordships for two pieces of ordnance that are in the town of Galway, that by your lordship's warrant they may be removed to the fort; they have anciently belonged to the town, as they alledge; and I am informed they are for the necessary defence of the town on that side, where they can receive no relief or assistance from the fort, which I humbly leave to your lordship's consideration, &c.

Portumna, the 4th of
December, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

This day I received a letter from Mr. Wm. Parsons from Birr, giving me thanks for the notice I gave him of my return, and of all my proceedings in that journey, and informing me of the great distempers growing round about him, desiring me to furnish him with a barrel of powder and match, and that I would assist him with some of my forces, or else he durst stir no more abroad, and was much threatened to have his town destroyed.

My letter to Mr. Wm. Parsons to Birr, the 4th of December, 1641:

SIR,

To Mr. Wm
Parsons, the
4th of De-
cember.

I Have now received your letter, and am sorry any danger should come so near you, which to keep from you, and your party there, you shall not want my best assistance: though I have several times written to the state for arms and ammunition, yet have I had none; so that I can neither sufficiently furnish myself, or help you to the barrel of powder and match that you desire; but at what time you conceive needful, I will send you two companies of foot well provided, and a troop of horse, for whom I shall intreat you to have the staves you write to me of, headed and in a readiness; and if my own presence would advantage the service, I will not fail you, as I will never where his majesty's service may be concerned. I think it will be necessary, that you send to Sir Arthur Blundell to meet my companies with his at such a time and place as you shall conceive most expedient; and whether you will have me send to some gentlemen of that county to join with us, who, I presume, will not fail so to do, if I write to them. Your answer I expect, and shall always remain

Portumna, the 4th
of December, 1641.

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P. S. The rest of the new raised companies are upon the furthest borders of the county.

5th of De-
cember.

Upon the 5th, I received a letter from the bishop of Clonfert, expressing his intention to come to me, but that he heard of soldiers that were appointed by me to be garrisoned there, whom by their words and carriage he conceived would be unruly there, and would press to lodge some of them in his house, and would destroy his tenants, unable to furnish them, and complained of some that owed him corn, and refused to pay it to him.

My

the Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

29

Dec. 1641.

My letter to the bishop of Clonfert, the 5th of December, 1641.

MY LORD,

MY end to direct the half of captain Shaghnessy's company to be garrisoned in Clonfert was, that it fronted upon the King's county, and for the safety of that place, and your person, which I conceived would have been very acceptable unto you. It was far from my intention, that any without your own consent should lodge in your house, or in any of the town-houses, without paying what was necessary for them; and that I thought not prejudicial to your tenants: however, I will defer the sending of any thither as yet; and will first acquaint you with the reasons that shall induce me, which, in all my actions, shall tend to the advancement of his majesty's service, and defence of this county against any incursion or attempt of the rebels.

To the bp of
Clonfert, the
5th of De-
cember.

For those that owe you corn, and will not pay you, when your lordship pleases to acquaint me with their particular names, and what they owe in specie, I will require their appearance before me, to shew what cause they have to detain your dues from you; which if they do not they shall be proceeded against as shall be consonant to justice and equity, and with all fitting respects unto your lordship, &c.

Portumna, the 5th of
December, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The same day I received letters from Mr. Wm. Parsons, and captain Chidley Coote, expressing much thanks for my offer of assistance, and desiring I would come with some forces the next day; that they doubted Sir Arthur Blundell would not leave his charge; that the enemy was grown to a much greater head, and therefore necessary that my foot should come well provided, and my horse well accoutred with carbines and staves; and I returned answer; that I could not come the next day, my small forces being not drawn together, but I would endeavour to come the day after at one of the clock if they desired, and would send in the morning a servant of my own to them to settle the manner of our meeting.

My letter to my brother the earl of Essex, then lord chamberlain to his majesty, the 6th of December, 1641.

MY LORD,

BEING newly returned from the remote borders of this county, I find by several informations, that the late wicked rebellion is grown to a far greater height and danger than I could imagine; there being no noblemen of the kingdom in action, nor any gentleman of quality of English extraction, and many of the ancient Irish still firm; and yet such is the strange distrust and jealousy of this time, and the dilatory proceedings thereupon, that we are all like to be destroyed by loose desperate people, having not any manner of defence allowed us, and many possessed with such panick fears, that strong places are quitted without any opposition or resistance. I thank God I do yet keep this county in perfect and quiet obedience; and many English from planted counties do come daily hither for shelter and protection, and may be sure thereof as long as I can defend myself; but if I be not put in a better condition, I must be sure to suffer by those now in rebellion, or foreign invasion, since they cannot forget so soon the passages of former times. This inclosed to the state speaks my mind freely to them, and may inform your lordship of some of my last proceedings; but without direction out of England, by your favour and assistance, I expect but little and slow relief from the state here. My lord, I was

I

never

Dec. 1641. never ambitious of great employment, but I perceive it so necessary for the king's service, that I should appear considerable as my ancestors have done before, not as thinking it my own interest, but the publick good; that I shall humbly offer it to your consideration, whether you may not fitly move it to the houses of parliament to recommend me to the king, for some considerable command upon the raising of forces in this kingdom; the very report of such a trust and value put upon me will be of no small consequence, besides my own faithful endeavours and ability by myself and friends, to raise some thousand of able loyal men to the last drops of their blood. As affairs are now carried we are daily robbed of many proper young men for want of means and employment, who, I believe, would have served most faithfully, and are now forced to take the worst courses, being stopped from foreign service, and no use made of them here; but not any of this county hath yet started from me. In the North they grow strong, and very well armed; if they be assisted by the Irish abroad (as may be feared) the kingdom will be hazarded, at least, his majesty's most faithful servants here will be certainly destroyed if they be not timely considered. And if by your favour I obtain arms and fit employment, I shall not fail to have a high regard of the king's service, of your honour and mine, and the revenge due to the injuries done you in your particular, and so approve myself

Your lordship's most faithful and affectionate brother,
 Portumna, the 6th of
 December, 1641. CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the earl of Leicester, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, the 6th of
 December, 1641.

MY LORD,

To the earl
 of Leicester,
 lord lieute-
 nant, the 6th
 of December.

THOUGH the remoteness of my dwelling occasions my address to come more slowly to your lordship than those of others, whose residence or resort to Dublin hath given advantage both for intelligence and application; yet, I presume, your lordship's former favours, and acknowledgment of me, not forfeited by any wilful neglect, doth still preserve me in your lordship's opinion as full of zeal and duty to his majesty's service, and of particular respect and affection to your lordship as any man whomsoever.

Until my present return from the remote borders of this county, I did not apprehend that the rebellion was grown to that height and danger that now several intelligences doth inform me of; and it were most strange and admirable to believe it could be so, there being not one nobleman in the action of the whole kingdom, nor any gentleman of quality of English extraction, and many of the ancient Irish still firm; but the strange panick fear, and unnecessary distrust and jealousies of some, and the dilatory proceedings thereupon, makes it no wonder, and renders us liable to be destroyed by all sorts of loose and desperate people, having no means of resistance allowed us, when small proportions of arms and ammunition in any reasonable time would have prevented these calamities, which will now require that your lordship comes strongly provided, not only with arms and men, but power to pardon and receive to mercy; to grant or deny such conditions and proportions as shall be made unto your lordship, according as your judgment shall direct, and the exigence of the time require. And truly, my lord, every day doth rob us of many proper young men that, I believe, would serve most faithfully, that are forced to take the worst courses for want of means and employment, being stopped from foreign service, and no use made of them here.

My lord, delays and expectation of further directions may be dangerous in these fickle times; come with full power for the present service, but use it as moderately as you please; my pen delivers this from an affectionate heart to the
 king's

king's service, the preservation of this unfortunate kingdom, and your lordship's particular honour and happiness, to which I shall be ready to contribute as far as any man alive. This inclosed copy of my last dispatch unto the lords justices, speaks my mind freely to them, and will give your lordship information of my proceedings here. This large county, I humbly thank God, is in quiet and perfect obedience; and many English from the planted counties come daily thither for shelter and protection, which they cannot fail of as long as I am able; though, my lord, it is a very hard condition I am in, being well known to your lordship, that hath read and observed the passages of former times; I am the likeliest to be aimed at by them in the North of any man in this kingdom, and so likewise from any foreign invasion; and for the requests I have made to the lords justices, I have little hope to obtain them, but by your lordship's speedy coming over, or directions out of England, which I humbly leave to your lordship's noble care and favourable consideration; and for employment, when forces are raised here, I presume, I can raise as many able men as any other, and such as will seal their loyalties with their best blood, &c.

Portumna, the 6th of
December, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

This night my servant returned whom I had sent in the morning to Mr. William Parsons, and informed me, that the enemy was come near the town before his departure; that, upon view of them, they could not be less than twelve hundred men, and many well armed; that there was a pass before I could come thither, that a few men could easily keep against an army: thereupon I called a council of some few honest and resolute men, and told them how far my honour was engaged, of which they were very sensible; but, upon debate, they declared it absolutely unfit for me to go on with that enterprize until more forces were come unto me, which should have been here that night; but foul long ways and extremity of weather diverted them; the most considerable reasons they gave, are expressed in this following letter to Mr. Parsons.

My letter to Mr. Parsons, the 6th of December, 1641.

NOBLE SIR,

BY the intelligence brought me this night by my servant I am informed, that the enemy had appeared near your town before his departure from there, so that, I conceive, you could not give me the intended meeting, nor supply me with staves; without which my horse are naked, having neither carbines nor peternells, and one of the new raised companies of fifties as ill provided; the arms which I received out of the stores at Galway proving unserviceable upon trial at their arrival here to-day.

Besides them, I had only my own company of fifty, and as many horse furnished, as I have expressed, and I could expect no assistance from yourself, or Sir Arthur Blundell; and my coming being divulged, it was impossible for me with so small a number to relieve you, or make my way through those passes, which some of experience tell me a few men might easily keep; and all designs are much prejudiced when they are discovered. I have likewise received fresh advertisements of the Coghlans, and the outrages committed in their territory, joining to a near and most considerable part of the county, for whose safety I must provide before I depart from hence. I expect another company to-morrow that should have been here to-night, and another troop of horse for number and arms answerable to the former; if you can contrive a course for the conveyance of staves for these two troops, and what you can conceive they, with the other small number of foot, may be necessary and requisite for your own safety and defence, I will hazard much in that behalf; but to attend the prevention of other spoils,

or

To Mr. Wm
Parsons, the
6th of De-
cember.

Dec. 1641. or to pursue them far, I cannot attempt it with honour or judgment, nor leave my government for any time, without direction from the state, and a large supply of arms and ammunition.

I defer my present coming upon the former considerations; and likewise, that if they were bent to make any spoil of your town, it may be done before I could come thither; and for danger to your castle, I presume, it cannot be so sudden. By to-morrow night I shall be better informed of their proceedings and my own strength. I leave it to your own judgment, whether it was fit for me, or useful for you, that I should have appeared against them as I was to-night provided, though I was never in my life more troubled, and shall endeavour to redeem it the best I can, as one that is most really

Your affectionate true friend,

Portumna, the 6th of
December, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Mr. Parsons, the 7th of December, 1641.

NOBLE SIR,

To Mr. Wm
Parsons, the
7th of De-
cember.

THIS inclosed which I sent you last night, was brought me back this afternoon, the messenger being at Birr, but could find no possible means to convey it to you. I have made a second trial, that you might know the true state of affairs as they now stand with me; this morning early the bishop of Clonfert came to me, and many other intelligences, that the enemy made great spoils about Sir Arthur Blundell's, and were going to besiege Mr. Strange his castle, with some threatenings to come over hither; and that being a dangerous passage, I am enforced for the safety of this county to send the companies I had gathered together here to their several garrisons upon the borders, by the importunity of the bishop, and the gentlemen of these parts, who have laid home to me not to forsake my government in this time of danger, and with so little of ability (as this infection gathers) to do good in those parts. Some have much to answer, that none of us are supplied to make resistance against these incurfions; and now the passages are so stopped that it will be difficult to give intelligence to the state, but I shall try several ways; and if it can possibly come within my power to give you assistance, I shall still make it appear, that I am most faithfully

Portumna, the 7th of
December, 1641.

Your assured friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to lord Cottington, the 7th of December, 1641.

MY LORD,

To my lord
Cottington,
the 7th of
December.

THESE inclosed copies to the state here, and to my brother of Essex, speaks my mind freely to them, and gives your lordship an account of my proceedings, and the hard condition I am in. Since that time I receive continual tydings of ruin and desolation round about me; all the neighbouring counties flying into rebellion, and all the passages to Dublin stoppt, so that I have nothing from thence nor out of England, nor cannot be informed whether the king be yet returned out of Scotland.

My lord, if in all this time I should have obtained arms for one thousand men, I could have so assisted my lord president as to have secured and kept the whole province of Conaught in perfect obedience, and the other counties on this side of me. It seems a miracle that we are all like to be destroyed, and scarce know by what kind of people; but the reason is clear, the old army is for the most part called

called from several counties and shut up in Dublin; arms and ammunition for twelve thousand men (as I am informed) kept there and not distributed; the recent English planters run away; loose people start up, and none hath power to resist them; many enforced to go with them to save themselves, that would be otherwise faithful; and all discontented for want of trust and employment; neither do I hear for certain, that the Scots in the North, esteemed many and well armed, do stir at all against the rebels.

Your lordship being moved with so much compassion at the report of my drowning, will now, I am assured, use those means, best known to yourself, that life and honour be not shipwrecked in the harbour. Supplies of arms and ammunition will come speediest and safest by sea from England to Galway, the fittest place for a plentiful magazine, being fitly seated for the supply of this province and all parts of the kingdom. God send your lordship the contrary success to that destiny hath hitherto followed

Your lordship's most faithful and affectionate servant,

Portumna, the 7th of
December, 1641.

CLANRICARDE, and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 8th I received letters from Mr. Parsons, informing the enemy was 8th of Dec. gone without any prejudice to his town, taking some preys of cattle thereabouts.

My letter to my Lord Justice Parsons, the 8th of December, 1641.

MY LORD,

MY dispatch of the 4th of this month speaks my mind fully to your lordship and the state, informs you of the hard condition I am in, and of my proceedings to that time; since, I have received intelligence of insurrections and spoils made in the King and Queen's counties, and some appearance of wavering and revolt in the near part of Ormond: and Mr. Parsons from Birr, by importunate letters desiring my aid and assistance, my desire to relieve so good a neighbour drew a promise from me to be with him upon Tuesday last. But the night before the companies I expected being not come in, hindered by their remoteness and ill weather, and the arms received out of the stores proving unserviceable upon trial; and being informed that attempts were made upon Sir Arthur Blundell's castle and Mr. Strange's (a dangerous passage into this county) I was earnestly importuned to take care of my own borders with those small forces I had here, which enforced me, instead of my own presence, to write to Mr. Parsons, the copy whereof I send your lordship here inclosed. And now I understand, that the rumour of my coming with greater strength than I had ready, and Mr. Parsons own appearing in a good posture of defence, had caused them to retire back with some spoil of cattle, which, I conceive, was more successful than if my present weakness had been discovered, report giving them out to be twelve hundred, and no less esteemed by my servant sent to discover them. I must not forget to acknowledge the continuance of your lordship's favours to me by three several letters, one of them in the recommendation of Mr. Johnston, dated the fourth of the last month, I received but yesterday, himself not appearing to me, and I have some cause to believe, that his own fears and apprehensions will not make him capable of that comfort and countenance I shall be ready to shew him.

I am told, that all the passages to Dublin are stopped, and letters intercepted, which hath stayed my dispatches. I have taken the best course I can for the safe conveyance of them to your lordship, and do much long to hear from thence; many false and dangerous rumours being daily spread abroad.

Dec. 1641.

My lord, if I continue thus unarmed, and, in appearance, neglected, it must extremely impair and discourage the resolution of many well-affected able men within my government, and give cause of admiration to all in those parts of this kingdom; and if they once begin to esteem me undervalued, it may be of very ill consequence. I can say no more than I have already expressed; your lordship's judgment and affection to the king's service, and your particular professions of respect and friendship to me, will easily guide your lordship how to remove these difficulties, and to give life and comfort to the faithful endeavours of,

Portumna, the 8th of
December, 1641.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A letter from Mr. Richard Martin, the 7th of December, 1641.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

MONDAY night in Loughreagh I received information, that the Geoghogans in the county of Westmeath are up in arms, and join with the malecontents; within a fortnight they seemed as immoveable in their obedience as the poles, which makes me suspect, that men so settled, estated, and bred as they were, would not be so soon changed, if they had not apprehended some great distemper in their neighbours: this, my lord, together with the great and sudden embracing of this sudden and unexpected fire, makes me conceive, that your lordship, without extreme hazard to yourself, whose well doing is so absolutely necessary for the preservation of this province in his majesty's obedience, for your young children, for your poor friends, and this unfortunate country, that your going to Birr cannot but prove to be of very dangerous consequence for the reasons following: First, your lordship is descended of most noble, active, and deserving ancestors, from whose heir much is expected both by the state and country; being therefore so long a stranger in this kingdom, it would not be honourable for you to show yourself with inconsiderable and hardly half-armed forces out of your own government and country, wherein, though if your courage and valour were commended, yet your judgment may be for that questioned; and your power, and that of your followers more esteemed and revered, may be exposed to an unnecessary discovery. Secondly, in every action, that ever is to be considered of, if the honour and profit equal not the hazard, and to be feared loss, the attempt is ever held by all states to be more desperate than prudent; if you meet a few unarmed and dispersed crew, having no one man of quality in the front, the victory will never be worthy of your atchieving; if they be full in their numbers, and have the strength of the separatists gathered together, your retreat will make a great noise, and the more that your advancing was *de mero motu*. Thirdly, your lordship is here but for a small time, and knows not the ways, straits, and passages of the countries which you are to pass through, and which in war are most considerable, by the advantage whereof a few have many times discomfited many thousands; to trust that and your honour to one man's experience, whose life in the first step of the way may lie in the courtesy of a bullet, will be extreme hazardous; great princes repent such attempts; and Sebastian, king of Portugal, is a woeful precedent of it. Fourthly, the martial laws do forbid governors and commanders of forces to depart from their government, though, upon ever so great advantage, without licence from the chief general; the punishment of such as did otherwise, appears in stories of all nations, and in the common laws of this kingdom. Lastly, if in this action the want of arms in this county be discovered, the enemy, who now esteem the county stronger than it is, and pretend nothing to it, may be drawn over with a spirit of revenge, to kindle a spark of their fire here, where, I suspect, there will be found divers that, conceiving a full value not to be laid upon their merits, and suspecting themselves neglected

or difesteemed, will be found *in tempore tribulationis recedere*. I could wish the Maddin, and some more of your own name, were timely respected, *ne in quotidiano ministerio despici se putent*. My lord, my affection to your lordship makes me assume this boldness, to interrupt, with my poor opinion, your lordship's more precious time. Dec. 1641.

Your lordship's most humble and affectionate servant,

Loughreagh, the 7th of
December, 1641.

RICHARD MARTIN.

Upon the 10th I received letters from my lord president, giving me notice, 10th of Dec. that he had discovered much more iniquity to be predominant in the hearts of the people in those parts, than possibly could be foreseen or suspected to lurk under the shadow of so much profession of loyalty to the crown, and affection to the peace of the country; and that he was fully satisfied, that the infection was grown to that height that it would break forth violently. To endeavour a prevention, he desired I would speedily repair into the county of Roscommon with five or six companies of foot, and some horse, and that which might much advantage his majesty's service. This sad news, and earnest request, did infinitely perplex me, it being difficult to fail so noble a friend in distress, urging a great service to the king, his own preservation, and the honour of such an enterprize to me: on the other side, my forces being inconsiderable for number, and most unarmed, the long and difficult march above forty Irish miles, the leaving my wife and family, the English under my protection, and all those parts defenceless, and in imminent danger of being destroyed by those in action in the King's county and Ormond, even in view of the house, spoiling to the very ferry-passage; the little expectation of supply to second any attempts of mine, the state being either suspicious or careless what became of me; and indeed, to speak the truth, the little confidence I had, that the common soldiers would be drawn to fight against their neighbours, unless it were in defence of the county, did enforce this negative answer from me.

My letter to my Lord President of Conaght, the 10th of December, 1641.

MY LORD,

I Received your lordship's dispatch of the 8th of this present, this day at noon, To my Lord President of Conaght, the 10th of Dec. and am much afflicted to find thereby the bad state and ill affection of those parts, and that there is a general concurrence of the same distemper throughout the whole kingdom, which hath lately broke out in the next adjoining borders of Ormond and the King's county, and some small pillages already made here by some stealing over the river, as I am newly informed, the Molloyes, most of the Coghlanes, the Geoghogans, the Kenedys, all the neighbours adjoining to this county preying and spoiling to the very passage and entrance into this county; so that I am enforced to place garrisons at Clonsfert, Milicke, and Clontofkert, and my own company in this town, for the guard of this place, and my family therein.

I shall further offer to your lordship's consideration in what condition I am in to attend any service out of this county, if these distempers were not so near me.

The eight new raised companies have but twelve calivers, and as many pikes for each company, the most part of them, upon trial, proving unserviceable; that upon the matter they are naked, which doth much grieve my heart, to see lusty able men with nothing but batts upon their shoulders; so that indeed, my lord, I do not know which way to turn for the defence of this county within my charge, wanting arms and ammunition, and having intelligence of danger both here, and in the lower confines. By what I have expressed your lordship will perceive in what a hard state we are in, and of the impossibility of my coming

Dec. 1641. ing to your lordship's assistance. I can hear nothing out of Dublin nor out of England, but malicious reports, divulged by ill-affected persons, for the advancement of their own wicked designs. My lord, in brief, if strong force, or some other discreet course be not speedily applied, all will fall to ruin; and until we be so assisted, I know not what can be done; and I am tired with frequent solicitations for supplies, which had, in any reasonable time, would have prevented or suppressed these mischiefs; and were it not for the poor innocents I brought over with me, I should hazard any desperate course rather than live to see the shame and dishonour of these times, and that my name should be called upon within this province, and I not able to serve my prince, or assist my friend, &c.

Portumna, the 10th of
December, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my Lord President, the 12th of December, 1641.

MY LORD,

To my Lord
President of
Conaght, the
12th of Dec.

BY my last dispatch of the 10th, your lordship hath, I presume, been informed by this time of the impossibility of my attending upon your lordship with any considerable forces, and how unreasonable it is for me now to leave these borders, the distempers increasing much every day; they are robbing and spoiling even to the very ferry-passage over-against my house; but upon the receipt of your lordship's letter the last night, I have resolved for your lordship's satisfaction, and to express my respects the best I can, to be upon the borders at or about Athleague upon Wednesday, between twelve and one, there to give your lordship a meeting, if it may stand with your lordship's conveniency, that we may consider what is to be done in this danger and extremity we are in; but I can only bring with me some of my unarmed horse, and some few shot a horseback for a guard, and must hasten my return for the security of those parts, where I apprehend more danger than yet appears, as I shall inform your lordship when I have the happiness to see you.

I do much long to speak to your lordship, to give some vent to my confused and distracted thoughts, not so fit to be imparted by writing; and therefore for the present I will detain your lordship no longer, but still remain

Your lordship's most affectionate and

Portumna, the 12th of
December, 1641.

faithful friend and servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

13th of Dec. Upon the 13th I went to Loughreagh, with an intention to wait upon my lord president where his lordship should appoint; but the 14th I received letters from his lordship, dated the 12th, informing me he was brought to so low an ebb, that he feared there would be no possibility to prevent a general revolt in his whole government, the pale declaring had so animated them, that his thoughts were much perplexed for the safety of his children, and the preserving them from the miseries of a siege, desiring me to take care of their convoy to my lord of Thomond, who he was confident would see them safely delivered to the convoys of the earl of Cork; hereupon I suddenly returned to Portumna to settle a speedy course for the performance of his lordship's request.

My

My letter to my Lord President, the 14th of December, 1641.

MY LORD,

I WENT the last night to Loughreagh to have performed the resolutions of my last letter, which was to have waited upon your lordship about Athleage; this morning your lordship's letter overtook me there, giving me notice of your lordship's being at Athlone, and of what you were further pleased to propound for the conveyance of your noble daughters into Thomond. My lord, with a much grieved heart, that I am able to do no better service, I hastened back hither to confer with justice Donnellan, and his brother, how your lordship's desire therein might be best performed, and they conceive the best way is to send the ladies to Ballinasloe, thither I will send sure guards to convey them to Loughreagh, where I will be ready to receive them, from thence to Gorte, then to Ennis, where, I suppose, my lord of Thomond will send a convoy for them, upon your lordship's sending to him; if not, my guards, if you so please, shall wait upon them as far as your lordship thinks fit for them to go into another country. Mr. Dermot Shagnesy is known in the country, and returns into Munster to his father about the end of the week, unless I stay him. I will, with much confidence, recommend him, with some able and faithful attendants of his, to go along with the rest, and wait upon the ladies till they are safe with my lord of Cork, if your lordship shall so think fit, and shall stay him for that service, if your lordship approve thereof, to what time your lordship shall appoint for their remove; and my thoughts are at this time working for the safety of my own family, that I might be at the more liberty to act my part: but such is the strange misfortune of these times, and of this unhappy kingdom, that it is not in the power of any to divert them from bringing a most certain ruin and desolation upon themselves, as they are now a destruction to others, and so possessed and misled with false and scandalous rumours, that there is no place left for truth or reason, &c.

Portumna, the 14th of
December, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 16th I received letters from my lord president, with a dispatch inclosed to me from the lords justices, giving me power to reinforce my company to a hundred, and to arm them out of the store at Galway; his lordship likewise informed me, that the parliament had raised and voted large supplies of money for this kingdom; and that my lord lieutenant was certainly at the seaside with ten thousand men, which had so encouraged the ladies with him, that they were resolved not to depart from thence.

My letter to my Lord President, the 16th of December, 1641.

MY LORD,

I Give your lordship many thanks for the good news I received from you this morning, which hath much revived my sad spirits, and will, I hope, be a curb and stop to those insolent people that rage in several parts hereabouts. I am taking order for the reinforcing of my company according to the direction I have received, and, by the next dispatches from the state, I hope to be put into a good posture for service, having been very free in my expressions to their lordships, and likewise to my lord lieutenant, who, I am confident, will take these parts into their special care. In the mean time, I will put these borders in the best security I can, that I may be the better able, when I receive power and direction, to assist your lordship for the quieting of this province; and

To my Lord
President of
Conaght,
the 16th of
December.

L

though

Dec. 1641. though I want present force, my pen hath not been idle where I thought I had any interest to persuade duty and obedience; and since the noble ladies have taken courage to remain with your lordship, I hope I shall better the service I was ready to have done them here, by my care and industry to second your lordship's endeavours ere long; by which and all other acts within my power your lordship shall ever find me

Your lordship's most faithful and

Portumna, the 16th of
December, 1641.

affectionate servant,

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

Dated the
7th, received
the 16th.

This day I received letters from my nephew Thomas Burke then at Dublin, informing me, that the rebellion was grown to that height, as I was to expect no supplies from thence, and the passage hither being unsafe, he was resolved to repair speedily into England, as the best service he could do, to solicit the king and parliament, that I might be supplied with some considerable store of arms by sea to Galway.

I likewise received letters from Mr. Pat. Darcy of the 12th, confirming the general revolts in those parts; that all Fingall, Meath, Louth, Kildare, and all considerable parts from the sea in Ulster to Waterford in Munster, had declared themselves, and, by the manner of his expressions, I did then conjecture that his own inclinations were wavering and leaning that way.

From the borders of Roscommon and Mayo, I received daily and hourly intelligence from the captains of my garrisons there, and other friends, that almost the whole province of Conaght were revolted, my lord of Costello's house and estate seized on, and all the English pillaged in the county of Mayo; and that my lord of Mayo, with his unarmed new raised companies, had offered some resistance, but was too weak for them; and they did threaten to fall upon this county with all their force.

These sad informations did much afflict and amaze me, finding myself environed round about with this strange contagion, and no hope of relief from the state at Dublin; necessity did then inforce me to give over all thought of making any attempts abroad, but to employ my best endeavours to strengthen those lower borders towards Roscommon and Mayo; and to use all possible diligence to keep this county in obedience and unity within itself, until I heard from his majesty, and my friends in England, and received supplies from thence.

The same day Mr. Wm. Parsons informed me, that my lady O Faly and my lord Robert Digbye's children were besieged in Castle Geafill, and made a very strange and impossible request that I would go and raise that siege, being thirty Irish miles off, full of dangerous passages, and all that part of the kingdom in arms; I answered, none could be more afflicted for that noble lady's danger than myself, for her own merit, and my affection and intimate acquaintance and friendship with my lord, her son; that he was not ignorant I had no forces for such an enterprize, which would rather require the whole power of the state; and that being as near to Dublin as to this place, I made no question for her relief the state would take some sudden course; withal the forces of the county of Mayo did daily threaten to come into this county, and I could not neglect the charge intrusted to me.

My

My letter to the earl of Westmeath, the 17th of December, 1641.

Dec. 1641.

MY LORD,

MEETING with this conveniency of sending to your lordship, I cannot but take notice, with many thanks, of the information I have received from Mr. justice Donnellan of your care and favour towards my tenants and followers at Rathwire, and to desire the continuance thereof, that by your lordship's power and countenance in those parts they may find relief and comfort, as I should be ready upon the like occasion to serve your lordship. I thank God this county remains quiet and in perfect obedience, though many distempers be raised round about us, which, I hope, will be well appeased ere long, and false rumours suppressed that doth much divide and abuse the people. I have now no more to say, but that, according to my former professions, I shall most constantly endeavour to approve myself

To the earl of Westmeath, the 17th of Dec.

Portumna, the 17th of December, 1641.

Your lordship's most affectionate friend to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my brother the earl of Essex, lord chamberlain to his majesty, the 17th of December, 1641.

MY LORD,

I Am informed, that a kinsman of mine Mr. Jonacke Burke, having obtained licence from the parliament of England for the transporting of some men for the service of the king of Spain, was afterwards apprehended upon the intelligence of the commotions in this kingdom, and was committed; nothing appearing against him, but his not being conformable in religion. My particular knowledge of him, and his being the son of very able, faithful, and deserving parents, in whom I repose great trust and confidence for his majesty's service in these parts, doth invite me, with much assurance, to recommend him to your lordship's care and favour for his enlargement; and that he may for his repair hither meet with good recommendation; and that your lordship will be pleased to take notice of him, and assist him in all fair and just occasions of his. The distempers of the present time are so great, and passages stopt in all places, that I will not trust any more to this dispatch, than that this county, I thank God, continues firm, and in perfect peace and plenty, and will, I hope, by your assistance, be enabled still to continue so, and thereby preserve both in honour and fortune

17th of Dec. To the earl of Essex.

Portumna, the 17th of December, 1641.

Your lordship's most affectionate brother to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord of Westmeath, the 19th of December, 1641.

MY LORD,

I Received your lordship's of the 10th of this present, the last night, soon after I had written to your lordship, upon the information I had received of your lordship's care and favour towards my tenants of Rathwire; to which I can add nothing more than still to continue the professions of my respect and service. I am sorry to find by the relation of Mr. Nugent, and others, that there are many troubles and commotions stirred up in several parts of the kingdom. I hope God of his infinite mercy will give a timely remedy to the afflictions that are upon us. This county committed to my charge remains in quiet and good obedience, though other parts about us are not free from distempers. If the times had been quiet I had been with your lordship long before this, and shall not fail to

To the earl of Westmeath, the 19th of Dec.

Dec. 1641. to perform my promise therein, whensoever I shall be at liberty to repair into those parts, and these troubles quieted; and in all places I shall ever be found

Portumna, the 19th of
December, 1641.

Your lordship's affectionate friend to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the earl of Thomond, the 20th of December, 1641.

MY LORD,

20th of Dec.
To the earl
of Tho-
mond.

I HAD much sooner presented my service and respects unto your lordship, but that I was in daily expectation to have heard from Dublin, and out of England, what courses and resolutions had been taken for the appeasing of the great commotions and distempers that threaten much ruin and desolation to the whole kingdom, if the mercy of God do not give a timely remedy thereto. This county stands firm and well affected, and in perfect peace and quiet; I hope the same where your lordship commands. All other parts about me are in great combustion. I have placed garrisons in most of the important straits and passages into this county, and have ordered the able men to be in a readiness, and way of defence, upon all sudden occasions, in the best manner I can, being not well supplied with arms or ammunition; and my company, by direction of the state, is now reinforcing to one hundred, and the town and fort of Galway are in a very good posture of defence; and this is the best account I can give your lordship of our proceedings here. All passages are so stopt that I receive little true intelligence, either from Dublin, or other parts, and so many strange reports raised, that I resolve to give credit to none, but such as come warranted from very good hands; and when I receive any such, I will not fail to give your lordship speedy information, and shall desire and expect the like favour from your lordship; and will be most ready in all things to comply with your lordship, where I may best express my duty to the publick service, and my particular affection to your lordship, and all occasions of yours, as becomes him that accounts it much happiness to be stiled

Portumna, the 20th of
December, 1641.

Your lordship's faithful kinsman to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Having written several letters to the mayor of Galway, importuning him, from time to time, to be most careful and diligent to furnish his majesty's fort plentifully with all things necessary, as desired by captain Willoughby for the safety and defence thereof; I received a letter from him the 23d, informing me, that they had not only furnished him with two months victuals, but also with fifty pounds worth of timber, and other necessaries; that for farther supply they had no magazine, or town purse lying by, and their rents and debts in the country were grown desperate; and being therefore of themselves unable to perform what was desired, yet nevertheless they were willing to be bound with me to the customers and receivers who had money, to save them harmless for what they should disburse for the supply of the fort, as was desired; they withal much complained of great want of arms and ammunition for defence of the town in those parts where the fort could be no assistance to the town, and moved earnestly for my warrant to captain Willoughby to furnish them.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 24th of December, 1641.

Mr. Mayor,

24th of Dec.
To the
mayor of
Galway.

YOUR letter of the 20th I received, which gave me great content and satisfaction, to observe your care and diligence for the safety and defence of that

that important place; and I shall not only endeavour, from time to time, to ^{Dec. 1641.} give you all the comfort and assistance I am able, but likewise shall inform the king and state of your loyal and dutiful affections. I do very well approve of what you have propounded unto me for supplying the fort, and shall be ready to join with you in security to the king's receivers for so much as is, or shall be agreed upon by you and captain Willoughby, which as I conceive amounteth to two hundred and fifty pounds. I know not whether the receivers offer to lend it upon our security, or expect some warrant from me to that purpose; when you have concluded upon all, and prepared what is for my signature, I shall give a speedy dispatch; I do desire the same expedition from you at this present, as a business of very great importance. I have not been unmindful of your request, to be supplied with arms and ammunition, and am in daily expectation to receive a plentiful store both from the state of Dublin, and out of England, about the sea, the land passages being stopt. For the present I cannot with conveniency give order for your supply out of the fort, until I have a return of my dispatch from the state, for the disposing of some arms there. It will not be long before I shall be with you myself, to see you provided of all things necessary; and shall in the mean time be watchful to keep all dangers from you.

I have taken the best course I can to prevent all spoils and robberies within this county; and am informed, that some that were employed to drive cattle to your town have abused their masters, and sold some cattle, and then pretended they were robbed; it will be worthy your enquiry there, and I shall search into it in these parts. I have nothing more to say, but to conclude as I began, with thanks for your careful endeavours, and still to express myself

Loughreagh, the 24th of
December, 1641.

Your assured loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 28th, I received several letters from the mayor and recorder of Galway, Sir Richard Blake, and others, informing, that young Morrogh na doe O Flaherty, of an ancient Irish family, whom I much affected and esteemed, and had given the command of a foot company, with those forces, being nothing suspected, had treacherously surprized my castle of Aghnenewre in Irrconaght, and driven from thence my tenant Mr. Francis Forster; and the next day I received a letter from him with an absurd apology, that his conscience moved him unto it, having entered into the union and fraternity; that it was not to deprive me of it, or of my land, but for fear it should be taken by others, and he would keep it for my service.

My letter to Morrogh na doe O Flaherty, the 26th of December, 1641.

Mr. FLAHERTY,

I Have received your impertinent apology, which makes your proceedings much more odious, pretending conscience and religion to cover such foul ingratitude, betraying your trust and confidence I had reposed in you, by surprizing my castle with those arms I gave you for his majesty's service, and the defence of this county; the like not acted, I believe not thought of, by any the most violent in those or former discontented times: and whatsoever may be the intention of the union and fraternity you write of, certainly you will be forsaken of all men, if obstinate and persisting in your attempts upon me, with so great breach of trust, and disturbance of the peace and quiet of this county, which must force a resolution in me to assault and pursue you with the greatest severity, with the force and strength of this county; and I shall not be unmindful of the advice I lately received from you, to bring store of shot from all parts, and out of the magazine at Galway; until which time I have nothing more to say, but that

Dec. 1641. that I conceive when you consider what I have been to you, it must make you blush and feel remorse, when you see written with great and just displeasure

Portumna, the last of
December, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the last of December, 1641.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

To captain
Willoughby,
last of Dec.

I Shall not need to make any relation to you of the perfidious dealing of young Morrogh na doe O Flaherty, it being acted so near those parts where you are. The occasion of my now sending to you is to acquaint you with my resolution to draw thither with strong forces, and for the better and more speedy prosecution of that business, I hold it necessary to use two pieces of ordnance. I have written to the town to borrow them, or out of the ships that are riding there, for the short time I shall have occasion to use them; and, if they may be had, I shall desire the assistance of your workmen to view them, and put them into good order against my coming. The situation of that castle, as I am informed, is in such a country that horse can do no service there, and store of shot must do the work, it being probable that he may have large numbers of loose desperate people; I must therefore intreat, that you will have some calivers in a readiness to lend me only for that service, if I do find upon the raising of my forces that there shall be want of some. I shall be at no rest until he receive due punishment for his treacherous attempt. I have much to do, which must excuse this hasty scribbling, and shall still remain

Your assured true friend,

Portumna, the last of
December, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Copies of several warrants issued by me this month of December, upon several occasions.

A warrant for the taking of two barrels of powder of Mr. Clarke, a ship in Galway, read.

By the lieutenant governor of the town and counties of Galway.

Warrant for
two barrels of
powder out
of Mr.
Clarke's ship.

WHEREAS I am given to understand, that one Mr. Clarke, master of a ship now riding in the port of Galway, hath in the said ship five barrels of gun-powder, and that there is present occasion for his majesty's service, and the defence of this county, against any invasion, or attempt of the rebels now on foot in the King's county, counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, and Sligoe, to make use of some; these are to require and authorize you the undernamed persons, and every of you, to take out of the said ship two barrels of the said powder, paying for the same unto the said Clarke as much ready money as the said powder is worth, or usually sold for, which Mr. Alexander Bodkin will, upon the delivery of the same, see paid, unto whom you are to deliver it, to be sent me to be employed in his majesty's service when I direct him; the other three barrels of the said powder the said Mr. Clarke is to retain upon his own hands (being a competent proportion) for his own and his ship's defence, until she arrive at the next harbour they are, or will be bound to from Galway; and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at Portumna, the 29th day of December, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

To the mayor of Galway, and lieutenant Willoughby, and the officers of his majesty's customs in that port, and every of them.

A warrant to Sir Ulick Burke for fortifying the bridge of Bellamoe.

By the lieutenant governor of the town and counties of Galway.

FORASMUCH as I conceive it necessary for his majesty's service, and the defence of this county, against any invasion, or attempt of the rebels, or any ill-affected subjects of this kingdom, to have some fortifications made at the bridge at Bellamoe, which is upon a strait, and the common passage to and from the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, and Sligoe; these are to authorize my well beloved Sir Ulick Burke, knight and baronet, to cause such fortifications as he shall conceive to be needful to be made there, as half moons, redoubts, and the like; and likewise such houses and cabbins for the lodging of soldiers as he shall think necessary. And for the speedy doing thereof, I hereby require the high sheriff of this county, his under sheriff, the constables and petty constables of the half barony of Bellamoe, and every of them, to cause and command such labourers as dwell in that half barony to contribute their best endeavours and helps thereunto; and for his and their so doing this shall be their warrant. The 29th of December, 1641.

A warrant for fortifying the bridge of Bellamoe.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A warrant to Sir Ulick Burke for command of forces.

THESE are for the special trust that I repose in your fidelity, valour, and sufficiency, to authorize you, as often as his majesty's service, or the defence of this county, shall, in your judgment require, to send for the companies now garrisoned at Bellamoe, Ballinasloe, Bellagare, and the towns adjoining unto them, and over them to command in chief, for the ends aforesaid, until I signify my pleasure to the contrary. The 30th of December, 1641.

A warrant to Sir Ulick Burke, for command of forces upon the borders in my absence.

A warrant to the captains at Bellamoe, Ballinasloe, and Bellagare, to obey Sir Ulick Burke in my absence.

THESE are for special reasons me thereunto moving, to require you, and every of you, to rise with the companies of foot under your commands from Bellamoe, Balligare, and Ballinasloe, and the other places that I have appointed you to garrison in, and to march to such place, or places, and at such time, or times, as you shall receive directions for, from Sir Ulick Burke, knight and baronet, whom I have authorized upon any urgent and sudden occasion, whereof I shall not have timely notice, as his majesty's service, and the defence of this county, shall require, to command in chief, under myself, and during my pleasure, in those parts, until I come thither myself in person; and therefore you are from time to time, and, as often as he calls upon you, to repair with your companies unto him, or to such places, and to perform and execute such things as he will direct you, until I signify my pleasure to the contrary; for which this shall be your warrant. Given at Portumna the 30th day of December, 1641.

A warrant to the captains upon the borders to obey Sir Ulick Burke.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

There hath several letters past between me and captain Willoughby, commander of the fort of Galway, the mayor of that town, and several other persons, and warrants issued out by me, too long to be here expressed, being for supply of the fort with victuals, some ordnance from a ship lying in that harbour, for timber for carriages and planks for his ordnance, carriage horses, and other things, belonging to the safety and strengthening of the fort; in all which he received so full satisfaction to his own desire, that by his letter of the 30th of this month

Dec. 1641. month he writes unto me, that he is in so good a condition, as he hath no cause to fear any enemy.

Captain Willoughby's letter of the 13th of December, 1641.

Right honourable and my singular good LORD,

I Have received your letter, and likewise your three warrants, for the which I render you many thanks, and am sorry to hear that there is no forces come out of England, which I conceive is a great cause the rebels grow so strong. I have received intelligence, that the Costelloes in the county of Mayo are all in rebellion, and have robbed divers Englishmen of their cattle.

I have mounted this day two pieces of ordnance, with more carriages and wheels, and will make all the haste I can to mount the rest; and for my own part, I make no doubt, by God's assistance, but to render a very good account of his majesty's fort, for I have six score able men in already, and think to make it within these six days two hundred; so that your lordship may assure yourself, I do neither day nor night take any rest, but still studying to strengthen this place; so that I am resolved to be found dead or alive in this place, and if here were 5000 rebels, I make no question but to give them very hot entertainment; so with my humble service unto your honour, I rest,

From the fort, the 13th of
December, 1641.

Your honour's humble servant,

ANTHONY WILLOUGHBY.

This resolute and comfortable undertaking concludes this month of December 1641, though not inserted in the right place, nor so well performed by the undertaker in June 1643.

The several letters of this month, and the brief relations between, doth so plainly set forth the neglect, or rather suspicion of the state towards me, the weak posture I was in, the high increasing of the distemper, by the addition of the lords of the pale declaring themselves, the almost general revolt of the whole province of Conaght (this county excepted) wherein a breach was likewise made by the treachery of young Morrogh na doe O Flaherty, and the falling off of many of the neighbouring counties, as Ormond and the King's county, only divided from me by the river of the Shannon, as there needs not much addition to set forth the calamity of the times; and the imminent danger that daily increased upon me, with very small hope of any relief or assistance, and the motives already alledged, will, I presume, give full satisfaction for my declining my promised assistance to Mr. Parsons, which, all things considered, was an attempt impossible to be undertaken, though my own thoughts and desires were mainly for it; having rashly engaged my promise, without consideration, or advice taken of those that could better judge of those actions, being myself ignorant of my own strength, the power of the enemy, and situation of the place, and the difficulty of transporting of forces over the river of Shannon, or making any safe retreat.

A letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 24th of December, received the first of January, 1641.

MY LORD,

Lords Justices the 24th of December, received the 1st of January.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, your lordship's letters of the 4th and 8th of this month were so long in coming, as they came not unto our hands until the 21st. By those letters we still find the continuance of your lordship's great care and successful endeavours towards the safety of those parts, and particularly in settling there the strength you mention of four hundred foot and one hundred horse, for which we render you special thanks.

We

We would most willingly send to your lordship arms for that number, and a ^{Jan. 1642.} far greater, and would also replenish the store at Galway, but that we are not able to do it, until our expected succours forth of England arrive, which we daily expect. The arms that were in the stores here are altogether exhausted by our raising of forces here to preserve this place; but powder, match, and lead we might send you if we knew how to send them, so as they might not be intercepted by the rebels, whose greatest distress is want of ammunition; some of the forces we raised here we sent for the defence of Drogheda, which hath been for this month past, and now stands, besieged by the rebels; and we hope, by God's help, the strength we have laid there (which still holds out manfully) will give the rebels the price of their folly, and send them away with loss and disadvantage.

We have put our strength here in such a condition, as if the rebels proceed so far in their disloyalty, as to presume to advance upon this place, which they threaten to do; we doubt not (by the blessing of God) to let them feel the weight of his majesty's power, and to put upon them the shame and confusion due to their wretched disloyalty.

Your lordship mentions, that divers have had large proportions of arms, and particularly the lord of Gorman's town for five hundred men, which were issued to him for that county; but soon after his lordship made known to us, that he heard the rebels meant to surprize his house, and possess themselves of the arms; in prevention whereof, we then immediately caused those arms to be removed to Drogheda, where so many companies were raised for the further strengthening of that place, as hath taken up all those arms.

What your lordship means, that some who are nearer to make their applications to the king and state in England have gotten the start of you, we know not, but are sure for our parts that we have not (nor indeed have we found any cause) to put any such prejudice upon your lordship, who have merited so well in the course of your government, even in that short time you have been there, and acquitted yourself towards that trust, as becomes a person of so great honour, and trusted in so eminent a condition, as we will not fail to value it to his majesty for your lordship's advantage; and if any have been so unworthy as to let fall any thing which may but in the least construction reflect upon your honour, we shall be ready, upon notice of the person, and proof of that particular, to do your lordship that right which is due to you, and inflict such punishment on the offender, as may be exemplary for others to take warning by.

By our letters to your lordship of the ninth of this month, (which we hope you have ere this time received) we signified unto your lordship, that we held it fit you should reinforce your foot company under your command, so as to make it up an hundred, and that you should arm them out of the store at Galway, which we hope you have done. Concerning your lordship's request for a troop of horse in his majesty's pay, we do so far concur with your lordship in the fitness of it, at this time, as we were thinking of it, and are indeed desirous to do it, only we meet with this difficulty therein, that we have yet no arms to arm them, nor money to pay them, considering the other great charges daily growing upon us; and to engage your lordship to such a charge, without being able to supply you with those two most needful incidents, were a prejudice too great to put upon you; but we now daily expect the lord lieutenant's arrival with plentiful store of arms, and reasonable supply of treasure, and then, as we shall not fail to mention your lordship to him, with that right which is due to you, so we will propound that particular unto him, when we conceive it may be done with as much honour, and more advantage to your lordship than now.

Touching captain Willoughby's motion for cutting down a hill belonging to John Blake, we have advised therein with Sir Francis Willoughby, who conceives, that the fort may be preserved from annoyances from that hill without cutting it down.

Jan. 1642.

As to the two pieces of ordnance within the town of Galway, which captain Willoughby desires may be removed to the fort, seeing yourself writes that they belonged anciently to the town, and that they alledge they are for the necessary defence thereof on that side where they can receive no relief from the fort; we pray and require your lordship to inform yourself of the truth of the reasons on both sides, and give such orders therein as you shall in your judgment find to conduce most to the publick service, both in the safety and preservation of the ordnance; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 24th of December, 1641.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.

ORMOND OSSORY.

JO. TEMPLE.

FRA. WILLOUGHBY.

JO. BORLACE.

ADAM LOFTUS.

CHA. COOTE.

ROB. MEREDITH.

A letter from my Lord Justice Parsons.

MOST HONOURABLE LORD,

Lord Justice
Parsons, re-
ceived the 1st
of January.

BY this bearer your lordship will receive answers to your letters, by which you have given ample satisfaction to this state, who do find reason to applaud all your actions, and will be ready so far as can be in their power to give you full content. My lord, we are yet in an ebb, as it pleaseth God to have it; but doubtless our flood is at hand, and then your lordship shall partake of all our good fortunes, as is justly due to you; for my part, I acknowledge myself engaged to your just and fair designs, wherein you may rest as confident as in any friend, and therefore I beseech you be not sparing to command

Your lordship's humble Servant,

24th of December, 1641.

WM. PARSONS.

About this time I received daily and hourly intelligence from all parts of robberies and spoils committed both upon English and Irish; and some, whom I have trusted with companies and commands for preservation of the English and safety of the county, were suspected to be faulty themselves; whereupon I appointed a meeting at Loughreagh to consider of some speedy course for punishment of those disorders and prevention of farther mischief, and to settle a course for drawing forces together for the recovery of my castle of Aghnenewre, and from thence intended to go to Galway, to try what assistance I might have from thence, and from the fort; but upon debate at Loughreagh it was conceived best to defer my journey to Galway, and the expedition into Irrconaght; some friends of Morrogh na Doe being confident to draw him to a submission and restitution of my castle, and that for a time it were better to attend the publick affairs of the country, and punishment of offenders, than to go into that remote corner of the county, where my own interest seemed to be most concerned: this being resolved upon, men and orders were sent into several parts, and divers malefactors brought in and executed by martial law, which did much good for a time, until the general revolt of the whole kingdom made it an impossible work for me to preserve the goods of the English, more than what they could preserve and bring to Galway, and to my towns of Loughreagh and Portumna; and all the neighbouring counties did threaten to come in and destroy all here, or force them into action with them.

Upon

Upon the 10th, by a servant of the lord marquiss of Winchester, I received ^{Jan. 1642.} letters from his majesty, orders from the parliament, and letters from several friends in England.

His majesty's letter, dated the 10th of December.

To our right trusty and well beloved cousin Ulicke earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right beloved cousin, we greet you well. We have ^{Received the 10th of Jan. from his majesty.} received from many very good hands so good assurance of your fidelity and good affections to us in these times, as we have thought it requisite by these to give you our royal thanks, and to let you know how graciously we accept of your faithful endeavours to continue our subjects of that province within the bounds of loyalty and obedience to us; whereby you call to our remembrance the loyal services heretofore performed to our crown by your noble father, whose true heir you approve yourself. Now to the end that you, and all our good subjects there, may know that we remain constant in what we formerly resolved upon for the good of our loyal subjects of that province, we have thought it requisite hereby to command you, in our name, to assure all our subjects there, who, (notwithstanding the ill examples there) have remained faithful to us and our crown, that they shall receive the fruits and effects of whatsoever we have promised, and formerly directed, for the settlement of their estates. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 10th day of December, 1641.

Orders of parliament, *Die Veneris*, 26th of November, 1641.

WHEREAS the earl of St. Albans is now in Ireland, where there is ^{Received the 10th of Jan. Orders of parliament in England.} special cause of his continuance for the good of that kingdom, and his majesty's service, by reason of the rebellion that is lately broken out there; and for that his lordship's solicitor Mr. Brewer, who only knows his affairs here, and understands his law suites, is a recusant, who, with all others of that religion, are commanded to depart this town by an order of this house, dated the 10th of this instant November. Now forasmuch as this case is extraordinary, it is thought fit, and so ordered by the lords in parliament, that the said Mr. Brewer, for the reasons aforesaid, and for the service he is able to do the said earl of St. Albans above any other man, shall not be enjoined to depart this town according to the injunction of the said order; with this proviso nevertheless, that this liberty given unto him shall not be drawn into example for other recusants to continue about this town, contrary to the said order.

Vera Copia.

JO. BROWN.

Orders of parliament, *Die Lune*, 29th of November, 1641.

UPON the reading of a letter of the right honourable the earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde, directed to the earl of Essex, lord chamberlain of his ^{Received the 10th of Jan. Orders of parliament,} majesty's household, which manifested his lordship's great care of preserving that part of Ireland where he is; it is ordered by the lords in parliament, that the said lord chamberlain, who presented the said letter to their lordships, shall give his lordship thanks from this house for his said honourable endeavours for freeing that part of the kingdom from the incursions of the rebels, and for his good affection to the crown of England in this service.

Vera Copia Exper.

TO. THROCKEMORTON.
Orders

Jan. 1642.

Orders of parliament, *Die Lunæ*, 29th of November, 1641.Received the
10th of Jan.
Orders of
parliament.

IT was this day ordered by the house of commons, that Sir Philip Stapleton desire the lord chamberlain from this house, to return thanks to the earl of St. Albans for his readiness and care in preserving that part of the kingdom, where he lives, safe from the incursion of the rebels, and his affection in his endeavours to suppress them.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. Domus Com.

Orders of parliament, *Die Mercurii*, 1^{mo} die Decem. 1641.

IT is this day ordered by the lords in parliament, that the right honourable the earl of Leiceſter, lord lieutenant of Ireland, shall have power by virtue of this order to give warrant, that thirty compleat arms for horse and men of the right honourable the earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde, remaining now in this kingdom, shall be forthwith transported over unto the port of Galway, or in any other port in Ireland, for the said earl, to be made use of by his lordship in the said kingdom of Ireland, as his lordship shall think fit.

Vera Copia.

A letter from the earl of Bristol, dated the 12th of December, received the 10th of January.

My very good LORD,

Earl of Bristol.
Received the
10th of Jan.

I Received your lordship's letter of the 15th of November, which should not have been so long unanswered, but that I stayed the opportunity of this bearer your servant. I have acquainted his majesty with what your lordship writeth, in whom I found so settled an opinion, and belief, not only of your lordship's fidelity, but also of your lordship's particular affection to him, that there needed no endeavour to add any thing thereunto; and hereof your lordship will receive assurance both from the king himself, and my lord of Essex.

The parliament hath been made acquainted with the letters you wrote unto the earl of Essex, and received great satisfaction by them, and have appointed thanks to be returned unto your lordship. His majesty doth well approve of what your lordship writeth, concerning a declaration to be made of his majesty's resolution of confirming the graces which he hath promised unto that kingdom, and to all such as shall remain firm in their loyalties and duties to him; and hath (as I am informed) given such orders to the lords justices of Ireland, that it be so published, and declared in that kingdom.

The parliament doth take into their care all the means of sending supplies both of men, and money, and ammunition; but as all great bodies move slowly, so I fear that there will be more time spent than will be suitable to the necessity of so pressing and dangerous a business, especially for that there is an inclination to have the greatest strength of the supply of men out of Scotland.

I shall intreat your lordship to believe, that I shall not be wanting to contribute my best service, not only to the publick, but to any thing that may concern your lordship, which truly I shall do with great readiness and affection. And so wishing unto your lordship all happiness and comfort in these sad distracted times, wherein we have here likewise deeply our shares, I recommend your lordship to the blessed protection of Almighty God, and rest

London, the 12th of
December, 1641.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

A letter

A letter from my brother the earl of Essex, lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, dated the 12th of December, received the 10th of January.

Jan. 1642.

Dear Brother,

YOUR unquestionable worth and loyalty was well known to all, and more near to me, that have so particular a relation to you, both in blood and friendship; yet, I confess, I was in great pain till I heard from yourself, that I might deliver to the world that authority which now I have from yourself, your servant bringing the first news of you, only Arthur Jones, by word of mouth, did you all faithful service.

Earl of Essex,
received the
10th of Jan.

Upon the receipt of your letter I shewed it to his majesty, and, I hope, by his letter you will find his good intentions towards you; afterwards I reported it to our house, and am commanded by them to give you thanks for your diligence and care in the preserving those places, where you live, in so good obedience to the crown: I had it likewise read in the house of commons; this order here inclosed will testify how well they took it. I confess I may justly run into your displeasure to make your private letter publick, but the best excuse I can make is, I did it for the best, finding it so full of wisdom and goodness, as I thought not fit to be concealed, and truly it was received in both houses with great applause. I received about the same time a letter from my nephew Burke, which was in like manner shewed to both houses, being very discreetly written; and besides, it set forth your power, and, I doubt not, it hath given a stop to any of my lord Dillon of Costello's undertakings that may be to your prejudice, which, I am confident, is secure in both houses of parliament; here is great noise of his coming, but yet he is not come. Concerning your horse you wrote to me about, I believe it will be hard raising them in England, but if you have that commodity there I shall serve you, and am not in despair to prevail. We are levying men here with what expedition may be, and are upon passing a bill for a press, but there are some difficulties, that it is feared the haste of the expedition will not permit. There is a treaty to send some Scots into the North, to stop the fury and cruelty of the rebels. For news, Sir H. Vane hath lost both his places, the lord Saville, treasurer, Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary. I will not at this present put you to farther trouble, that am

Whitehall, 12th of
December, 1641.

Your most faithful and loving brother to command,

Essex.

P. S. The prince elector and the duke of Richmond present their service to you.

A letter from the lord marquiss of Hertford, the 14th of December, 1641.

My noble Lord and Brother,

ICANNOT let slip this opportunity, in a few lines to enquire after the health and safety of you and yours in these troublesome times; sure I am no friend you have more zealously (if this would be not puritanical) wishes you the height of all prosperity. My lord, let me tell you, without flattery, the great affection and fidelity you have expressed to the king and this state in these dangerous and trying times, have left a sweet odour of your name amongst all sorts of people, and a commemoration of all the faithful services your ancestors have done this state. For your own particular affairs here, I am sure Mr. Brewer will give an exact account; I will assure you I will not be wanting in any thing may concern your lordship, or himself. For news from hence, here is such store, and such variety, I dare write none, but only tell you, though we have no blood-letting here as you have in Ireland, yet our distempers are so great that

Lord Marq.
of Hertford,
received the
10th of Jan.

Jan. 1642. we may fear the opening of a vein, if the wisdom of the king and parliament prevent it not. Being loth to turn a new leaf, I have only room to subscribe myself

Your lordship's most affectionate brother and humble servant,

Essex-house, the 14th of
December, 1641.

HERTFORD.

A letter from Sir Lewis Diue, dated the 4th of December, received the 10th of January.

My most honoured LORD,

Sir Lewis
Diue, receiv-
the 10th of
January.

THES E letters your lordship last sent over have given us more comfort than any news that hath come out of Ireland since the first beginning of the troubles there; and it is to be received as an omen of good fortune your lordship's happy arrival into that country at so just a nick of time, to preserve, by your authority, so great a part of that kingdom firm to his majesty's service, and this crown, which is much to be feared might otherwise have been drawn to incline to the ill example given them by others; yet this great service seems only in your lordship, as a fruit of that hereditary virtue bequeathed unto you by your ancestors. The times, my lord, are such as may be dangerous for any man to trust matters of consequence to the weak guard of a letter. I presume your lordship will receive a far better account of the condition of our affairs than I am able to give you; I shall therefore forbear to give your lordship farther trouble for the present, and conclude these few lines with my prayers to the Almighty to bless you and yours, with the same blessings which I wish to the family and to the person of

London, the 4th of Your lordship's most humble and most faithful servant,
December, 1641.

LEWIS DIUE.

A letter from my lord Robert Digby, dated the 13th of December, received the 10th of January.

MY LORD,

Lord Robert
Digby, re-
ceived the
10th of Jan.

I Was very glad to hear of your well-being, and that all was quiet in your parts in this so general a disturbance of that kingdom; it is much attributed (and that deservedly) unto your care and vigilancy, by which you approve yourself right heir to your father's virtues, as well as his lands; and that will for ever redound to your greater honour, the increase whereof will crown the daily wishes of

Essex-house the 13th of
December, 1641.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

ROBERT DIGBY.

A letter from Sir Henry Vane, dated the 10th of December, received the 10th of January.

MY LORD,

Sir Henry
Vane, re-
ceived the
10th of Jan.

YOUR letter found me a publick minister; but since it hath pleased his majesty to discharge me of that service, to which, with all humbleness, I did submit, judging it to be ever best for all men to submit to God's pleasure and the king's; this I know your lordship hath known long since, so as you will not expect from me an answer for what concerns the publick affairs, and distressed estate of your country. As a private man I shall beseech your lordship to believe, I shall be ever ready to serve you with my best affections and endeavours, as

Charing-cross, this 13th of
December, 1641.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

HENRY VANE.

Jan. 1642.

A letter from my lord Cottington, dated the 3d of December, received the 10th of January.

MY LORD,

I Have received your lordship's letter of the 15th of the last month, which was very welcome, being the first I have received from you since your arrival in Ireland, and this is the second I have written to you.

Lord Cottington, received the 10th of Jan.

I have sent this letter of yours to the king, as judging it fit for his majesty's view; so also have I written to solicit him for such a declaration as your lordship desires touching the settlement of your estates, notwithstanding these troubles, according to the cause in your letter to Mr. secretary Vane; I have written likewise to Sir Edward Nicholas (now the secretary of state) to put the king in mind of it.

I am here at Funthill, where I spend my time in hawking, and such like country entertainments; but I assure your lordship I do now wish myself with you more than when you were in quiet, as presuming I should have more occasion to let you see how much I love you.

Many do write from London, how much reputation you have already gained amongst all good men there, for the expression of your gallant fidelity and affection to the crown, and service to the king, which makes me hope that the troubles will end with great advantage to your honour, and the advancement of your house.

I am very sorry you did not send me the letter which you had written for me, therefore I pray let me have it in your next dispatch; more I cannot write from hence, but with presenting my humble service to my good lady, do rest

Funthill, the 3d of
December, 1641.

Your lordship's humble servant,

COTTINGTON.

A letter from Mr. Richard Harding, dated the 3d of December, received the 10th of January.

MY LORD,

I Received a letter from your lordship, dated from your palace at the sea-side, which filled my heart with a double joy that you were well, and I so in your favour; it is against my custom, and my conscience too, that I have thus long deferred my most humble acknowledgment of this so great courtesy; and it is my hope your lordship can never believe, or doubt, I can ever forget those many and great obligations you have been pleased to throw upon me: the truth is, that about the time of the receipt of your lordship's, there was a letter of mine which missed its way, and (if it had not fallen into cautious hands) might breed me some trouble; this made me take up a resolution to forbear that exercise altogether, and I had maintained that error longer (in spite either of civility or duty) if the sight of your lordship's servant here had not provoked me from it; for though I am far from having any ill or dangerous designs, as must profess I have no meaning at all, and businesses are here now in so perplexed a posture as I scarce know what to wish in particular; yet lest other men in this captious and busy time should teach my words a sense which I never meant, and find a bias which I knew not of myself, I thought it the safest way to say nothing, and shall not think it the worst if your lordship shall in mercy and favour accept it for a reason (as well as an excuse) of my dull silence.

Mr. Richard Harding of the prince's bedchamber, received the 10th of Jan.

The lord mayor and citizens received the king, upon his return from Scotland, with the highest expressions of joy, and ceremony too, that hath been ever seen upon such an occasion; this, or something else, makes the report current here, that my lord Nuporte must quit his place of constable of the tower to the

Jan. 1642. the lord mayor. This day the king took away the seals from Sir H. Vane, his staff was put into my lord Saville's hands at York; there are other discourses of some other great officers removals, which (as not yet fit for a letter) I shall not trouble your lordship with, knowing your lordship will receive them fuller from better hands. I pray God turn all those difficulties and changes to the best, keep your lordship, and my lady, in a disposition, and calm happiness, fit for Sir Henry Lee's mirth and mine, in the reputation and quality of,

My lord,

St. James's, the 3d of
December, 1641.

Your lordship's most affectionate humble servant,

RICHARD HARDING.

Received several other letters out of England, but all so cautious in their informations, that I received nothing considerable to be here inserted. At the same time I received letters from Dublin, as followeth:

A letter from the earl of Ormond, dated the 24th of December, received the 10th of January.

MY LORD,

Earl of Ormond, received the 10th of Jan.

I AM very sorry the condition of the times has taken from me the assurance I had of much happiness in another way of correspondence with your lordship; but since it has pleased God so to order it, I shall satisfy myself in my resolutions to serve you all I may, even in this sad alteration, with much cheerfulness, and ready obedience to your commands. The disorders now breaking forth in Conaght have been long expected, and that with reason, since it has not been in the power of the state to furnish men able and well affected with arms, whereby commotions might be crushed in their beginnings, and when they have risen under poor and inconsiderable heads, but have suffered them to grow, till either fear or affection have involved all conditions of men in the common calamity of being ruined, or called traitors. Your lordship, by your providence, has done more than any, more than could be expected from any other, but necessity is a great master, and must be obeyed, and you acquit, if you work not without tools. The lords justices and council will write to your lordship at large, therefore there rests for me only truly to profess myself to be

Dublin, the 24th of
December, 1641.

Your lordship's most faithful friend and servant,

ORMOND OSSORY.

A letter from my Lord Justice Parsons, dated the 2d of January, received the 10th.

MOST NOBLE LORD,

Lord justice Parsons, received the 10th of Jan.

THIS bearer can so well inform you of the occurrences here, as I shall be but troublesome to give you any present narrative. We lately wrote to your lordship of several things concerning your affairs there, which I hope is come to your hands, and therein I shall say no more, but wish you all happy success in all your noble designs. We have signified into England how happy that country is in a peaceable state in these general combustions, which we truly ascribe to your lordship's vigilancy and providence, wishing heartily that the king had more such governors.

Here are some letters out of England directed to the lord Ranelagh, which I know not how safely to convey to him; and therefore I send them in a cover to your lordship, beseeching you to convey them as you can find opportunity, which will be a great favour to him.

I also

I also send you a letter to my cousin Parsons; I beseech your lordship cause it ^{Jan. 1641.} to be conveyed to him; and in what you may lend him your helping hand and relief, he may by your goodness live to do you service, as shall be ever done by

2d of January, 1641.

Your lordship's humble servant,

WM. PARSONS.

My letter to my Lord Justice Parsons, the 13th of January.

MY LORD,

BY this conveyance I dare not adventure much more, than to let your lordship know that I have received your lordship's letter, and the dispatches out of England directed to myself, and my lord president of Conaght; to-morrow I hope to convey these letters safe unto his lordship, which I could not sooner do, all passages being stopped between us. I have received a most gracious letter from his majesty, and thanks from both houses of parliament, for my endeavours to preserve peace and obedience in these parts, which doth much revive my dejected spirits, and the publishing of them will, I hope, divert much of the danger apprehended of a defection here, as well as in all other parts of the kingdom, it being an effect that can hardly be prevented, when there is no means, nor no power given to maintain authority, and that all other places have joined into one body of discontent, either through fear, affection, or want of timely supply and employment; that which doth yet publicly appear is most to my own prejudice, my castle of Aghnenewre in Irrconaght being surpris'd by young Morrogh na doe O Flaherty, and my islands of Ennis-Boffin and Clieria by the O Malies; and such is the unsteady dispositions of some of the churls, so bent upon night robbing, and spoiling of cattle, both of English and Irish, that I dare not yet adventure to leave the heart of the county to vindicate my honour, or recover my right in those bordering parts, where they are allied to many in the neighbouring counties. I wrote unto your lordship and the state last week, for a commission of oyer and terminer, and goal delivery, which I humbly desire may be speedily sent me, being most useful for the present time here. I am doubtful that I then omitted to give your lordship notice of my receipt of your dispatches of the 24th of December, and that those then directed to my lord president were safely conveyed to him. My lord, I have occasion to enlarge myself much farther, but at this time I find it fit to draw to the conclusion, which is ever to express me

Loughreagh, 13th of
January, 1641.

Your lordship's humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my cousin Thomas Burke of Anbally, in answer to a letter of his, desiring that his nephew Richard Burke of Dermaclaghny, and himself, might be employed to bring Morrogh na doe O Flaherty to a submission, the 13th of January.

Good Cousin,

I HAVE stay'd the messenger these two days, being informed, that young Morrogh Flaherty's mother did intend to apply herself unto me with her own intercession, and his submission; and yesterday I received a letter from her husband, with one inclosed from him, wherein he maketh a plausible show of submission and conformity, but with such conditional restrictions, and concludes with such expressions, as destroyeth a possibility in me to consent to his propositions; and for your clearer information, I send you the copy of his letter, where in another place he recites, that he hopes that I would have as much care of him, his wife and children, as of any foster; certainly if that were the state of the question, or

Jan. 1641. the rents and profits of the place, which he likewise mentions, the disputes would be soon ended without other force, or mediation of friends; but that which I must insist upon is, his surprisal of my castle by violence, and foul ingratitude, and breach of trust, of very ill example, and bad consequence, as to my own particular, and to the disturbance of the general peace of the whole county; for if I be assaulted in that manner, what safety can others expect in their own private fortunes; and such an act being done, what can I less expect, either for satisfaction to my own honour, or an obligation to the publick, than, as you very discreetly propound, that he confess his error, relinquish his possession, and submit to my pleasure in all things else; and if this had come freely from him, his near connexion with me, the value I put upon his friends, and the constant care I ever had of his good, would have been very great advancements to me to have ordered the business nearer to his own desires, and it may be with more advantage to him than he hath cause to expect; and now, though late, to express, that I am not inclined to destroy where I once favoured, nor willing to disturb the peace of the county, nor put too great a trouble upon my friends and followers, if it may be avoided. I am well pleased to expect for a time, and to authorize you, and my cousin Richard, to make use of your interest in him, and to use such means as in discretion you shall think fit, to reduce him to the conformity and necessary acknowledgments you have already expressed, and without which I can receive no satisfaction by any mediation of friends, but shall be then enforced to vindicate my honour by force and severity. For the hundred men you raised, I cannot but much commend your forward care and diligence therein; but for the disposing of them, the course I take in other parts, and so conceive it necessary for you for the present, is to book them, and have them in a readiness to answer any sudden occasion under your command, when I shall send directions to you, or that your intelligence shall of necessity find cause to call them together for defence of the county; for as yet, to keep them all in garrison would be too great a charge for the county to bear, and what your opinion is in this particular, I shall be willing to receive from you. I yesterday received a most gracious letter from the king, commending my care and diligence for the preservation of those parts in quiet obedience, and declaring great and large assurances of his royal care and constant resolution for the securing our estates, and other graces, which I have shewed here to the joy and comfort of many, and will shortly publish the same; and if the indiscretion of some do not divert me (which may be yet easily remedied) by putting a blemish upon my endeavours, and the publick duty of this county, I do not doubt, by God's favour, to be a happy instrument to procure for the kingdom in general, and this county in particular, whatsoever may be fitly required or expected; and the end of war being peace, if there be not a fit and unblemished mediator that naturally loves and affects this country, I am afraid that misfortune must follow instead of happiness, which might be easily gained by what I have expressed. You may discern my willingness to give you a right knowledge of my intentions for the general good, and my opinion, that your judgment may contribute much thereto in those parts where you lie, &c.

Your loving cousin,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my Lord President of Conaght, the 15th of January.

MY LORD,

To my Lord
President of
Conaght, the
15th of Jan.

I Received lately several dispatches out of England by an express of my own, and those directed to your lordship I do now send you in two several packets, having taken the best course I can for their safe delivery. Some of my letters bear date.

date the 16th of last month, which mention the removal of your noble friend ^{Jan. 1641.} and mine Sir Henry Vane from the court, and both his places, the lord Saville, treasurer, and Edward Nicholas, secretary, and the duke of Richmond, lord steward, a speech of my lord Newporte to be called from being constable of the tower, and a change of the other officers at court, which with some other circumstances, makes me apprehend a great alteration of government there. I have received a most gracious letter from his majesty, and two declarations of parliament, which I send your lordship herewith. If my faith and affection had been supplied, or seconded in any time, I should certainly have given a good account of my employment and endeavours; but in the condition I am now in, what was meant for precious cordials to me are but additions of grief and vexation. This county now breaks out into great disorders, the certain effects that ever follow, when means and power are wanting to maintain authority; most of the English have their cattle destroyed; their persons, and other goods of value, I hope to preserve, though, as things are now carried, I have no reason to oppose the desires of many that are willing to depart by sea, lest a further mischief should follow; and such is the confusion and robbery both of English and Irish, that I know not which way to turn me, or how to vindicate my honour, or recover my own right. My castle of Aghnenewre surprized by young Morrogh O'Flaherty, and my islands of Clieria and Ennis-Boffin taken by the O'Malies; what will further ensue I must submit and leave to the divine pleasure and will of God. Fifteen hundred men are landed at Dublin under the command of Sir Simon Harcott, and your lordship's dispatches will inform you where my lord lieutenant remains, and in what forwardness the other great forces are. I have not yet received any addresses or propositions from the county of Roscommon; if any come, they shall find me prepared with faith and honesty, whatsoever may be the defects of judgment; and if this county, and other bordering parts, would hear advices without passion and disorder, it might be possible to find remedies to cure those confused distempers before they grow more desperate. My lord, I will no longer detain you with these sad discourses, but draw to the conclusion, which is still to express me

Your lordship's affectionate servant,

15th of January, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 18th, hearing nothing of the submission of young Morrogh na doe ^{18th of Jan.} O'Flaherty that was undertaken by several of his friends, to terrify him the sooner to it, and to possess the people with the injury done me, and his ingratitude, I published this following declaration.

By the lieutenant governor of the town and counties of Galway.

WHEREAS, having the honour to serve his majesty in chief as lieutenant governor in the county and town of Galway, according to the duty of my place, and in pursuance of an order of the honourable house of parliament, and of my instructions from the lords justices and council, and with the general consent of the said county, I have of late raised several companies for the better securing his majesty's well-affected subjects inhabiting therein, and constraining and reducing the rest to obedience and submission in these times of fear and distraction, which companies were divided into several garrisons under commanders, to be ready to answer all occasions, and to suppress all sudden commotions and insurrections: And whereas (among much good choice which drew envy on him, and jealousy of my good friends on me) I gave the command of fifty men, to be maintained at the charge of the county for forty days, fitted with competent arms and ammunition, unto Mr. Morrogh na doe O'Flaherty, to be garrisoned at Mucallen for the safety of his majesty's subjects dwelling within the

My declaration against Morrogh na doe O'Flaherty, the 18th of Jan.

Jan. 1641. the territories of Irrconaght: And whereas the said Morrogh na doe O Flaherty taking advantage of the distempers of the times in other places of the kingdom, not regarding his duty and loyalty unto his royal majesty, unto whom he had the honour and advancement to serve as captain, nor his many connexions with me, by whose mediation he was preferred, (he being one whom I used with much familiarity and respect, both in England and here since my coming, and being recommended unto me as a gallant man, and one whose loyalty might be relied on, and being my tenant of a considerable farm at an easy rent, and one upon whom I was willing to place a special mark of more than ordinary respect and favour) hath of late most treacherously, perfidiously, and ungratefully, under the colour of friendship, come into my farm of Aghnenewre with his said company of fifty men, and others, and, on a sudden, with weapons drawn, and great power and violence, surprized Francis Forster my tenant there, his mother, sister, and others of his family, and with the points of the weapons to their throats, threatening to kill them if my castle of Aghnenewre were not rendered unto him the said Morrogh, which was accordingly delivered unto him for safety of their lives, and which he doth yet, with like power, detain, having thrust the said Francis Forster, and his family, out of doors, and destroyed several parcels of their goods. After which the said Morrogh, or some of his confederates, by his contrivance and direction, took several preys from the gates and suburbs of the town of Galway, and, by his letters did threaten the mayor and town of Galway, if they did not send him supply and succour for his army. And forasmuch as it hath been, and still is, and shall be my chief care and endeavour to preserve his majesty's peace, and defend his majesty's liege people, within this government, from open acts of violence and hostility, until his majesty's special pleasure be to me declared (to which purpose I have by several messengers made addresses and application into England and the state here) lest any of his majesty's loyal people residing within this government, for want of true understanding and intelligence of the true state of affairs abroad, might be seduced and withdrawn from their true allegiance to the open disturbance of his majesty's peace, and terror of his highness's people, and to the hazarding of their own lives and estates: and that if so high an act of hostility and disobedience as this man hath ventured upon, by forcibly entering with that power which was trusted unto him for defence of the country, upon the quiet and peaceable possession which hath continued in my father and me for many years, without claim or interruption, (my said father having purchased the said lands for a great and valuable consideration from those that formerly enjoyed the same by a title derived from the crown, and a great rent being reserved unto the crown out of the same) should escape condign and exemplary prosecution and punishment, it might be drawn into example by others ill affected, to attempt the like upon several of his majesty's people that enjoy long and peaceable possessions by title derived from the crown, upon old and dormant pretences: For timely prevention whereof, and the like inconveniencies, and having a true sense of the ill effects and consequences which my neglect or connivancy in a matter so important might produce, I do hereby publish and declare, that if the said Morrogh na doe O Flaherty shall persist in his wilfulness, and not speedily render back the said castle, and conform himself unto that due obedience which he oweth unto his most royal majesty, and to me his governor under him, that I will forthwith raise the power of this county, and such other power as shall be needful for that service; and, having secured the rest of the county, will march in person towards the said castle, and, by God's assistance, will batter the same to the ground, not regarding my own private interest therein, and that I will pursue the said Morrogh, and all his accomplices, confederates, and adherents, as enemies to the king and state; his carriage and proceedings in the gaining of the said castle being against his majesty's laws and peaceable government, and contrary to all the remonstrances and declarations of late made by some, that seem to be discontent at the present,

present, or late government ; and that I shall represent unto his most excellent ^{Jan. 1641.} majesty and state the weight of his insolency and behaviour therein ; and if any distemper should happen in my absence in any part of this government (which God prevent) I shall not doubt but to make it evident, that the same, and the ill effect which may ensue, ought to be ascribed and laid to the charge of the said Morrogh, who being the first within this government that hath attempted any such violence, hath diverted me from the other parts of the county, and involved and engaged me in so unseasonable a time in so important and remote service. And I do hereby, in his majesty's name, charge and require all his majesty's liege people, that none of them do assist, harbour, relieve, or supply him, or any of his confederates in this his rash and indiscreet indertaking, with any manner of necessary whatsoever. And I do, in his majesty's name, require all the officers and soldiers that were under the command of the said Morrogh, that they depart forthwith from him, and return to me, to be commanded by another commander, and that they bring back to me his majesty's arms which they received for defence of the county, and not in the first place to offend me, and therein the rest of the county ; and that the said county, nor the collectors of the monies allotted for the soldiers, give him no manner of allowance, nor make him any payment, from the said time of his defection and committing of the said publick act of hostility.

Also I do hereby, in his majesty's name, require all his majesty's loyal people residing within this government, that they provide themselves with the best armour they can procure, and with other necessities, to be ready on a sudden, when they shall be called upon, to march to encounter the said Morrogh, and his adherents, or unto such other places as they shall be commanded for the advancement of his majesty's service, and the safety and protection of his majesty's loving and liege people ; whereof they may not fail, as they will answer the contrary at their extream peril. Dated at Loughreagh, the 18th day of January, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 15th of January, omitted in its right place to be set down.

Mr. Mayor,

I Send you by Sir Richard Blake, a late letter I have received from his majesty, ^{To the} with an order of both houses of parliament in England, which I pray you to make ^{mayor of} known to the corporation ; that his majesty's sense and just indignation against the great distempers of this kingdom, and his good and gracious acceptance of the services that were performed against the authors and actors of those troubles may appear unto them, and be an encouragement for their continuance of that affection to his majesty's service, and the defence of that town and fort, that hitherto they have shewn, which to their advantage I shall be always ready to represent unto his majesty ; and so I commit you, and them, to God's protection, and rest

Your loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 15th of
January, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 20th, I prepared dispatches into England unto his majesty, and to several of my friends there, and sent them away upon the 23d by Teige M^c Cooge, the keeper of my park at Portumna.

Jan. 1641.

My letter to the king, the 20th of January.

To the King his majesty.

To his majesty, the 20th of Jan. inclosed in a letter to my brother the E. of Essex.

YOUR royal and gracious letter did vouchsafe me the greatest honour and favour that could be possible, reviving my dejected spirits, and putting life into my endeavours, and the minds of those here that are faithful to your majesty, and have dependence upon me; and now after publication, as precious records of your royal goodness, I shall strive to preserve them to all posterity.

To inform your majesty in brief of the sad condition of affairs here, give me leave to express, that either fear or want of affection, or timely relief and employment, hath in a manner joined the whole kingdom into one body of discontent and taking arms; the suspicion they hold of the state at Dublin, the rumours of the great persecution in England, and the designs laid (as they give out) to put the same laws in execution here, and themselves, by several ways, into desperation both of lives and fortunes, together with their plausible declarations, work upon the minds and dispositions of most men.

Now to give your majesty an account of my own particular condition; as soon as I heard of the commotion in the North, and the attempts upon Dublin castle, I made a search into the strength of this county, and found it very ill furnished with arms, and but my own company of fifty foot in this large county, and one hundred in the fort of Galway; and instead of assistance, fifty of those under my command, of Sir Lorenzo Carey my kinsman, in whom I reposed much confidence, were called by patent to Dublin, after distempers began to grow in the neighbouring parts about me, notwithstanding my request to have them stay here. For my other proceedings, to preserve these parts in obedience your majesty, hath been informed by my letters to others, before my knowledge of your majesty's safe and happy return into England.

I have frequently and earnestly importuned the state for supply of arms and ammunition, but could never receive any other return than a commendation of my care, except one hundred calivers, and as many pikes, the main part of them unserviceable, and lately power to add fifty more to my old company; and the copy of some of my dispatches to them, I presume have come to your majesty's view, by which, I hope, in your royal judgment I am acquit. If I have not wrought (wanting fit materials) answerable to the expectation held of me, I may say, that when the whole kingdom in a manner declared themselves for the present action, I kept this county from it: and to preserve a face of peace the best I could, and keep men's minds that way employed, with the assistance of the chief justice of Conaght, I lately kept the only court of justice that hath been in this kingdom since these troubles began.

Many great spoils, and stealing of cattle, both from the English and Irish, I could not possibly prevent, done in the night by inferior people; some have been executed, and many imprisoned, which, I hope, will stop those disorders. I have sustained most prejudice in my own particular, putting some blemishes upon the obedience of this county; one of my castles in the mountainous borders being surprized by a rash young man, a tenant of my own, and two small islands of mine by another; until I am better supplied I dare not adventure into those remote parts for the recovery of them, lest some ill-affected persons might take advantage of my absence, to make attempts upon my English protestant tenants, who have made very good plantations near my two principal houses. I likewise meet with another great difficulty, that I have no considerable place of strength for the safety of my wife and children, or to make my own retreat unto upon any occasion. It will not be possible for me long to support the authority of this government, which, without power and means, must in short time grow into contempt, and myself and followers unable to bear the present great charge,

if

if I have not arms, and command in your majesty's pay, to employ many able ^{Jan. 1641.} men, that may otherwise be drawn to believe that I am mistrusted, or little regarded, those apprehensions having been an occasion to increase the distempers of this kingdom.

I am watchful, and upon my guard, the best I am able, being threatened to be assaulted by the neighbouring counties for labouring to relieve the English protestants here; and though the endeavours of some gentlemen of quality in those parts hath hitherto kept the storm from me, it cannot be long prevented.

My lord president of Conaght is forced to retire to the castle of Athlone, and cannot move far from thence. My lord of Thomond is in little better condition, as I am informed, and all his English and Dutch plantations forsaken. My lord Mayo, who hath command of that county under my lord president, in the same distress. These sad examples round about me foretels what I must shortly expect, if not speedily supplied out of England by sea to Galway.

Whatsoever happen, I shall with my best blood seal my duty and loyalty to your majesty. And God of his infinite goodness direct and guide all your majesty's actions and designs, bless and preserve in safety your royal person, and grant your majesty constant victories over all your enemies, is the daily prayer of

Your majesty's most humble and faithful subject and servant,

Portumna, the 20th of
January, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my brother the earl of Essex, the 20th of January, 1641.

MY LORD,

HIS majesty's gracious letter, and the orders of both houses of parliament, ^{To my brother the Earl of Essex, the 20th of Jan.} taking notice of my good intentions, though weak endeavours, (as the state hath used me) hath very much revived my drooping spirits, oppressed with the strange violence of these times; and as I shall strive to preserve them to posterity, as precious testimonies of honour to myself and family, so, I hope, they will divert some defections likely to break out in this county for want of power and means to uphold authority, and the many bad examples of our neighbouring counties. Many great spoils and robberies in the night, both upon English and Irish, by churls and inferior sort of people, I could not possibly prevent, nor punish so fast as occasion was given; the greatest prejudice as yet is fallen upon my own particular, a good castle of mine called Aghnenewre, in a mountainous corner of this county, being surprized by a rash young man, a tenant of my own, and two small islands of mine by the O Malies, ancient pretenders to those places; and being not supplied with arms and ammunition, but only good words from the state here, until I am furnished out of England by sea to Galway, it will not be possible for me to do the king considerable service, vindicate my own honour, or recover my right; those small forces I have, or can raise upon the charge of the county, being not to be removed out of the important straits upon the borders, my own company lately made a hundred, divided for the defence of my poor protestant tenants that have planted very well near my two principal houses, others of them are placed in three good castles of mine, better fitted for defence than my own family, too many for those places. An archbishop, a bishop, and many of the clergy, are in the town of Galway, inclined to go for England by sea for fear of the people, not so much for religion, as their great extortions upon them, this being a time to be mindful of former injuries; and to speak truth, I believe the greediness of some of them, and reports out of England, hath drawn much prejudice upon the other English inhabitants of this kingdom; it is now told me they make orders among themselves to relieve and preserve English tradesmen.

For

Jan. 1641.

For intelligence from most parts of the kingdom, your lordship doth receive much better and quicker than by my relation, all passages being so stopt that the truth of affairs moves slowly hither. My neighbours, my lord president of Conaght keeps in the castle of Athlone, and cannot move far from thence, my lord of Thomond in little better estate, and my lord of Mayo, governor of that county (in the same distress) under my lord president. I should be glad to hear of my lord lieutenant's arrival, the proceedings of the state here giving discontent, and nothing advancing the king's service; they have been very careful of my safety, allowing me no means to fight, but good opportunity to those that are out to furnish themselves with arms and ammunition, both out of the English plantations, and from abroad, where your lordship knows they have a nursery of good and able commanders. I am threatened on all sides to be assaulted, and therefore I beseech you take into your consideration to procure store of arms and fit employment; for the storm cannot be kept much longer from me, which hath been diverted by ancient friends of my father's in those parts; and your lordship will give me leave, with some compassion and tenderness of nature, to commiserate the unfortunate condition of my poor wife and children, all ways and passages being blocked up that I cannot possibly send them into England, and here I have no considerable place of safety for them.

My lord, the great charge myself and followers are now at cannot be long supported, if I have not speedy good commands in the king's pay, this not being a course to discharge forty thousand pounds debt; and though I may shift well in this country, I have lost for the present a great estate in other parts of the kingdom. Whatsoever may be the suppositions of some in England, or the informations from thence, be assured, that nothing shall ever alter my constant faithful endeavours to serve his majesty to the utmost of my power.

I send your lordship herewith a letter to his majesty, raised to that presumption by his most royal and gracious favour to me. What humble acknowledgments or retributions to make to both the honourable houses of parliament, is far beyond my practice or knowledge; your lordship hath my proxy, and cannot express more happiness and prosperity than my heart doth really and faithfully wish to both of them; and my thoughts are so distracted with the times, that I know your lordship will not make a custom to publish my private letters, without good comments upon them, to supply my defects. I have presumed far upon your patience, it is now time to draw to the conclusion, which is ever to express me

Your lordship's most faithful and

Portumna, the 20th of
January, 1641.

affectionate brother to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the King, the 22d of January.

May it please your Majesty,

To his majesty, the 22d of January, inclosed in a letter to Mr. secretary Nicholas.

I HAVE used my best industry for your majesty's service, to find out the first causes and grounds of the unhappy commotions, and what might be their chief aim and desires that are in action; and this inclosed is newly sent me from very able and intelligent persons, and which, in discharge of my duty, I hold most necessary to convey speedily to your majesty. The first motives and the increase of these distempers are offered to be proved by the testimonies of several persons of worth and quality. For the remedies to appease these troubles, I cannot but conceive they raise their demands, that what shall appear reasonable and fit to be granted may be the more easily obtained.

I have likewise made enquiry into their strength, and it is affirmed unto me, that they begin to be well armed and furnished with ammunition; meeting with no resistance all this time, they have had leisure to provide themselves out of the English

English plantations, and from abroad, neither will they want able and good ^{Jan. 1641.} commanders.

I shall humbly offer it to your majesty's consideration, that a careful and vigilant eye be kept upon the proceedings and designs of those in the North that first began this business; they are generally of more haughty and ambitious spirits than those in the other parts of the kingdom; the remains and branches of those that were anciently in rebellion, who lost large and great possessions, and are now grown very strong and powerful. I express nothing of knowledge or charge in particular against them, but by way of caution, and do hope they, with the rest, will be brought to a fit conformity to your royal will and government, whensoever your majesty shall be pleased to send my lord lieutenant over, or commissioners that shall be of honour and worth, to inform them of your majesty's gracious resolutions to give them relief and redress in their just grievances, and your merciful inclinations to appease these distempers with the least loss of blood; though considerable English forces will be necessary for your majesty's honour, and the advancement of your service, those that now govern here having given a general discontent and distaste to the whole kingdom.

There is an oath of combination that passeth generally throughout the whole kingdom, and some of acquaintance and relation to me have offered some defence for the taking of it, demanding why it might not be more lawful, and much more pardonable, to enter into a covenant for the preservation of their religion, your majesty's rights and prerogatives, and the just liberties of the subjects, than for others to enter into one, that hath been an occasion to lessen and impair your majesty's lawful power and interest; my answer was, persuasions to some, and commands to others, not to engage themselves in any thing that was not warranted by your majesty's authority.

It is newly reported here, that the parliament of England are resolved to make it a war of religion, and to grant no toleration thereof in this kingdom, and to enter into some other severe and strict courses for the prosecution of this war. I am very sorry (if I may presume to speak my sense, besides religion, as it hath relation to your majesty's service) that such declarations should appear, and no considerable forces in any readiness here, which, in my apprehension, can be of no other use but the more firmly to unite and combine this whole kingdom for their conscience, and their own preservation; besides the drawing in forces from foreign parts, who may be ready to assist in this cause, that would not countenance rebellion upon other pretexts. I hope your majesty's wisdom and gracious goodness for preservation of thousands of your subjects lives, will direct a just and moderate course between those intentions, and the high demands of them here, as they were delivered to me, that may bring a good and happy conclusion to those unfortunate troubles, to your majesty's honour and glory, and the peace and safety of all your dominions.

The late distempers of Scotland, the high proceedings in England, and the present commotions of this kingdom, suffered to grow to so great a height by your majesty's ministers here, are matters far above my apprehension; the passages stopt, and all men's tongues and pens so bound up from giving any right intelligence, that I walk in a strange darkness, from which I cannot be freed, but by the light of your majesty's gracious pleasure, and royal commands, to guide my steps and actions; which being known, and made able by your majesty's power, none shall give better testimony of his loyalty and diligence than myself; and to enable me the better for your majesty's service, give me leave to make it my humble suit for the command of the fort of Galway, having no other place of safety for my family, or to support the honour of this government. The captain that now commands there, I wish well for his father's sake, Sir Francis Willoughby; but the truth is, he has neither temper nor judgment to command in chief in that place. I will presume to hope, that the name of papist will not put that blemish on the ancient and constant merit of my house, and

R

your

Jan. 1641. your majesty's own knowledge of myself, as to be an impediment thereto, or to any other service that your majesty shall design to be most faithfully performed, that shall come warranted, and assured to be your majesty's own command, wherein when I fail in my duty, may I feel the weight of God's displeasure, and your majesty's just indignation.

I have presumed far upon your majesty's patience, for which I humbly crave your pardon, and a favourable interpretation, that nothing fallen from my pen may receive any other construction, than zealously and constantly to approve myself

Your majesty's most humble, faithful,

Portumna, the 22d of
January, 1641.

and obedient subject and servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my brother the earl of Essex, the 23d of January.

MY LORD,

To the earl
of Essex, the
23d of Jan.

IT is now reported here, that the parliament hath resolved to make this a war of religion, that no toleration thereof shall be granted here, nor no pardons but by consent of parliament; to send one thousand Scots into this kingdom, and yourself come over lord lieutenant. If such be the resolutions of England, I should esteem it the greatest misfortune possible to see you here upon such terms; but if you come over as becomes the person, honours, and gallant dispositions of the earl of Essex, and not as an agent of persecution, it may produce much happiness to your own particular, and to this kingdom in general; and, if I may presume to speak my sense, it will not agree either with the honour, or safety of England, to make use of such a power of Scots to destroy and over-run us here. My lord, recollect yourself, and draw together your best and bravest thoughts, and consider, that by this violent proceeding in religion here, contrary to the faith of a whole kingdom, you will put into desperation, and so hazard the destruction of many most noble families. The ancient colonies of the English planted here, that with their valour gained glory to the English nation, are now inforced, for want of employment, by hard measure of the state, and constant apprehensions, to stand upon their guards, that would easily be again united to a fair and noble government; and your name appearing, as it ought, would do more good than armies. But it cannot misbecome my affection to you, to put you likewise in mind, not only of the hazards which you will find before you here, but likewise of the distractions you will leave behind you, and a near example of your own cannot be forgotten: God divert the same effects! This subject would admit much more discourse; this for the present I could not neglect, in discharge of many obligations due unto you, as I am

Portumna, the 23d of
January, 1641.

Your lordship's most faithful and affectionate brother,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the duke of Richmond, the 23d of January.

MY LORD,

To the duke
of Richmond,
the 23d of
January.

IN the midst of my misfortunes, it was a great comfort to be informed by my brother, that your grace was pleased to remember so unuseful a servant at so great a distance from hence. I can inform you of nothing but calamity and misery, the whole kingdom being now in a strange combination and confederacy by vows and covenants; some through fear of their stronger neighbours, who assault all that will not come with them, and engage themselves as deeply as the rest; others through affection to the cause, their declarations being taking; and some for want of means, or vexation, that they were not trusted and

and employed; and all generally discontented with those that manage the af- Jan. 1641.
 fairs of state here, whom they charge with secret practising both here and in
 England, before the commotions began, to raise parties and factions, to destroy
 their religion, to divert and hinder the king's graces intended towards them,
 by that means to put them into desperation that they might forfeit their lives
 and fortunes; and since the distemper began, that they have so disposed of affairs,
 as if the design were laid to put the whole kingdom in rebellion, as now it is,
 the persons of my lord of Kildare, Ormond, Thomond, and very few others ex-
 cepted, and myself, and this poor county, which with very much difficulty I en-
 deavour to preserve, and yet cannot keep it without some scars and blemishes,
 which will turn to deeper wounds, if I be not speedily supplied with good store
 of arms and ammunition by sea to Galway, and with some fit command in the
 king's pay, to support the infinite charge myself and followers are now at, and to
 keep up authority and reputation amongst them, this not being the way to dis-
 charge almost forty thousand pounds debt. That which doth most perplex me is
 the consideration of my wife and poor children, all passages being stopt, that
 I cannot send them into England, except by long sea, which were a cure worse
 than the disease, besides the doubt of their being welcome there, as reports are
 brought hither; and I have no considerable place of strength or safety for them,
 the fort of Galway being commanded by captain Anthony Willoughby, in the
 absence of his father Sir Francis, placed there by the lord of Strafford, long be-
 fore my coming over. I am not willing in these cautious and doubtful times to
 meddle farther with it, than to furnish him plentifully for the defence thereof,
 until I receive order and direction from his majesty to have the full command of
 it, having written earnestly to the king to that effect; then my chief care were
 taken for the preservation of my family, and they shall have a sure retreat upon
 all occasions, and without which it is not possible for me to perform any consider-
 able service; and it did, and doth most properly belong to this government.
 Give me leave earnestly to entreat you grace to move the king effectually there-
 in, as that which most nearly concerns me. I have not written to any other
 friends thereof, lest it might meet with disputes and long delays, and by his ma-
 jesty's own gracious favour I only desire to have it, and not coming speedily, I
 have cause to fear it may come too late; all the neighbouring counties threaten-
 ing to assault me, hitherto kept off by some friends and former acquaintances of
 my father's, and the state here having neither power nor will to relieve me; and
 I am confidently informed, that those that are in action grow very much armed by
 the leisure that hath been given them to rifle the English plantations, and to send
 beyond sea. Whatsoever may be the suspicions of some in England in regard of
 my religion, your grace may be fully assured, that no accident, fortune, or de-
 sign shall ever rob me of the ancient honour my family hath gained, or put any
 stain upon my constant faithful endeavours to serve his majesty to the utmost of
 my power; or fail, with much true respect, to acknowledge your grace's many
 noble favours, and upon all occasions to approve myself

Portumna, the 23d of
 January, 1641.

Your grace's most humble and affectionate servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant, the 23d of January.

MY LORD,

THERE hath been no failing of desire in me, nor indeed of industry, so
 far as my ability or judgment could direct me, to preserve those parts
 faithful to his majesty; but this commotion being suffered to grow on, and
 spread in all parts of the kingdom, meeting with no resistance, and myself ne-
 glected, and no supplies considerable allowed me, I begin to observe affection to
 cool

To the earl
 of Leicester,
 lord lieute-
 nant of Ire-
 land, the 23d
 of January,

Jan. 1641 cool in some, and authority to grow in contempt for want of fit support, and some blemishes begin to grow upon the obedience of this county, so that if not speedily relieved, I have cause to fear a defection, and from that a certain ruin to myself and family, all parts about me threatening to give me an assault, no place of considerable strength, no fit proportion of arms, nor much confidence in some at home. I wrote to your lordship the 6th of the last month, which I hope your lordship received; since that time the passages being stopped, the continual expectation of your lordship's happy and safe arrival hath diverted my intended dispatches. All right intelligence moves so slowly into those parts, that I know not what to believe, or how, or to whom to make my applications, report declaring three lord lieutenants at this time; but my former knowledge, and the desires of my heart keep your lordship still in that employment for my comfort, and the general good of this unfortunate and distracted kingdom. Whatsoever happens, my lord, be most confidently assured you shall never hear any other of me, than what by descent and inclination doth become a most loyal and faithful subject and servant to his majesty; and in all things where my service may be of use to your lordship, I shall most certainly appear

Portumna, the 23d of
January, 1641.

Your lordship's most humble and affectionate servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord marquiss of Hertford, the 23d of January.

MY LORD,

To the lord
marquiss of
Hertford, the
23d of Jan.

I WILL not trouble you with repetitions of the general calamity, and my own unfortunate condition, which, I presume, will come to your lordship's knowledge out of my dispatches to others; since the writing them, I am informed, that besides the great armies in the North, and those before Tredagh, and the lords of the pale, that the lord viscount Mount-Garrett in Munster, assisted by the lords of Ikerin, Dunboyne, the baron of Luochmo, and divers others of quality, have appointed a rendezvous about Cashel, and that they will make up one thousand men; they have declared Mount-Garrett to be general, and in his patents and orders to his commanders he styles himself lieutenant general of his majesty's army. My lord, want of timely supplies hath brought a certain ruin upon me, my authority in this my government growing into contempt, and many in their affections falling from me, by reports of the resolution of the parliament to make it a war of religion, and that no toleration shall be granted; and some do not spare to tell me, that though I insist much upon the king's favour, upon my great and powerful friends in England, and the good opinion of the state here, yet it is apparent, that there is no sign or intention of trust or employment for me, but only leave to destroy myself, and them, by unsupportable charges, with little hope of recompence. These are objections I cannot answer; it rests in the king's grace and goodness, and the solicitation of friends, to let them see their error; for my own particular, my mind is settled, and thoughts prepared for the worst that can happen to me; and though my life hath been unfortunate, I doubt not to carry to my grave the title of an honest man, the king's true faithful servant, and

Portumna, the 23d of
January, 1641.

Your lordship's most affectionate brother,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My

Jan. 1641.

My letter to my lord Cottington, the 23d of January.

MY LORD,

THOUGH most near and dear in my affections, yet being far from court, To the lord Cottington, the 23d of January. whither I must hasten my dispatches, your lordship must be pleased to accept, according to my lord Goring's rule of friendship, of copies of my letters in foul sheets, which will inform you of the unfortunate state of this poor kingdom, and the sad condition I am in; to which I may now add, that this night I am informed, that some of the neighbouring counties intend to send some propositions to me, which in few days, not consenting to them, are resolved to give me an assault to force me to join with them, or take my person; the one I am sure can never be, and the other I hope I shall ever have the resolution to prevent. The miserable state of my poor wife and children wounds me deeply, and no possibility to convey them away; if it may fall within the compass of your lordship's intercession, I beseech you procure a speedy warrant for the command of the fort at Galway, the least delay destroying poor innocents; I have cause to fear it can hardly come time enough, the report of forces at Dublin making them violent to secure me. If the king conceive he can dispose of it into better or more faithful hands to serve him, I shall no ways desire it, but willingly render myself, and mine, a sacrifice of loyalty. I am afraid it may be in much danger in his hands that hath it, if I be once put to extremity; for besides the discontent he gives the town, I am informed his own garrison are not well pleased with him. In obedience to your last commands, though very unseasonable, I send your lordship my peaceable letter. I have no more to say, but still be pleased to keep in memory your own

Portumna, the 23d of
January, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Having sent away these dispatches, and stayed for some few days for the settling and securing of these borders, and the safety of my family, I repaired to Loughreagh, to advise and consult with my officers, and the gentlemen of the country, for the prosecution of my expedition against Morrogh na doe O Flaherty, for the recovery of my castle of Aghnenewre. There I received constant intelligence of the general defection of the whole kingdom, and of the particular malice against me for my opposition against their proceedings; the disorders, spoils, and robberies increasing in the county itself, and under-hand receiving countenance and encouragement from those whom I had intrusted for preserving the peace, quiet, and obedience of the country, amongst whom, most notice was taken of Richard Burke of Dermaclaghny, his uncle Thomas Burke of Anbally, by whom he was wholly guided, and Redmond Burke of Killcornan, all my cousin Germans, notwithstanding my several letters, persuasions, threats, and menaces to divert them from giving any countenance to those disorders, and their often disavowing them, and promising all due obedience to my orders and directions to them; some others were wavering, and had privately taken the oaths of association; that Morrogh na doe was nephew to my lord of Mayo, and allied to many of quality; and that those of that county would be glad of the occasion to draw their forces into those parts; withal much dissention did arise between the town and fort of Galway, captain Willoughby being of a rash violent nature; and the townsmen, not wanting a large proportion of pride, would not be curbed by so young and heady a commander; and having supplied him with four months provision, were not willing to be farther assisting without ready money; and both of them unwilling to give me the assistance I expected, without which I could not prosecute that business. It was the general advice, that I should lay that design aside, and indeed not think of any other attempts, abroad or at

Jan. 1641. } home, that might exasperate the neighbouring parts ; and to satisfy myself with preserving and supplying his majesty's fort, and to labour to reconcile the differences between the town and the commander of the fort, and to succour and relieve the distressed English in Galway, Loughreagh, Portumna, and some castles of mine, which could not but be accounted a good service, as affairs then stood generally throughout the kingdom. Upon these considerations, and the little expectation I had to receive any assistance from the state, who fed me only with good words, I resolved to defer that expedition until I were so seconded with power, that I might undertake it with honour, and probability of good success.

There passed several letters this month between me and many of my neighbours of quality, and I did endeavour the best I could to preserve provision for them, and more particularly Sir Charles Coote, Sir Arthur Blundell, and Mr. William Parsons, having several thankful letters of theirs, too long to be here inserted.

In the letter from the lords justices, received the first of this month, appears a formal shew of favour and regard, but little intention to repose any trust or confidence in me, or to afford me any kind of supply, as is apparent by that clause [powder, match, and lead we might send you, if we knew how to send them, so as they might not be intercepted by the rebels], when then, and frequently, they did send the same to captain Willoughby by sea, without any direction to him to supply me at all; and the captain himself, after all my constant endeavours for the safety and preservation of the fort, did seem to mistrust me, some of his letters to his father being intercepted, wherein he desired to know whether he should lend me any calivers, which I had requested of him when I intended the expedition against Morrogh na doe O Flaherty ; and, probably, this suspicion of his was grounded upon some cautions sent from Dublin.

• The king's majesty's letter I joyfully received as a mark of very great honour to me, and the orders of parliament as an unusual favour to any of my profession, and the congratulations from so many other persons of quality was no small satisfaction to me : but I was soon deprived of those comforts, when I observed (by the obstruction made by the state at Dublin) little probability that those favours done me would be seconded by any trust, power, or strength, to answer the expectations held of me, or make good the designs of service I had proposed to myself of reducing this province of Conaght to obedience, if timely assisted ; and likewise finding almost the whole kingdom growing into a settled combination against the government, and my own resolutions unalterably fixed, not to participate therein, it was not difficult for me to discern my sudden and apparent ruin in the quick increase of their strength, and the daily impairing of my power, much unequal to give them opposition. These considerations (I may not improperly say) enforced the presumption of offering at some timely remedy by my private applications to the king of the 22d, and some remoter touches to my brother the earl of Essex. The paper I ventured to send his majesty was a kind of remonstrance of the grievances of the kingdom, together with some proposals to quiet the spreading dangerous distempers delivered to me by some able knowing persons, not confederated with the rest ; some of the propositions I conceived absolutely necessary, others not improper, for the grant of a gracious prince, if any otherwise acquired than by rebellion, but withal somewhat unreasonable, and too far opposite to the present disposition of England, exasperated by the loud clamours and outcries of many of the destroyed British nation here ; which justly invited me to implore his majesty, by his own royal judgment and gracious consideration, to set fit bounds and limits to the desires and expectations of the one, and to the over-heated passions and violence of the other.

Febr. 1641.

A letter from the lords of the Pale to the nobility and gentry of the county of Galway, dated the 29th of December, received the 2d of February, 1641.

Our very good Lords and Gentlemen,

OUR just fears, and the apparent practices of such as thirst after our ruin, have, at length, brought us to declare ourselves in behalf of our king, our conscience, and our country. You, we believe, with the same resentment, have observed how much the majesty of our prince, in what concerns this kingdom, hath suffered in the essential rights of it by the management of the affairs of this state, and by the parliament of England, as if not content with the blessing of the presence of our common father his sacred majesty, they would force upon us a further subordination at the same time. You have had a part also in our grief, to see the distrust and publick upbraidings of the Roman catholicks, and the marks of indignation fixed upon our religion (notwithstanding our often candid and sincere expression of our loyalty, by which we are rendered incapable of any office beyond being a justice of peace; and the executing of the same place, without swearing the oath of supremacy, made penal, at the will and discretion of the state. You, we are confident, with the same affliction, took notice with us to how little purpose we sat in parliament, when the redress of our grievances must not only first move, but receive the approvement of those who commonly were the authors of them. These, with the late demeanors of some ministers of the state since this commotion, by cruelly putting to death some of his majesty's subjects in the county of Wicklow, as also at Santry, and burning several gentlemen's houses and haggards, and taking away all their goods, without any other cause than that they were catholicks; as also the inhuman advice of Sir Charles Coote to the lords justices, to execute a general massacre upon all of our religion, which he offered to perform, had the council consented thereto; having induced us to enter into an association, wherein we desire you will be pleased to join, that, with an unanimous consent, we may vindicate the honour of our sovereign, assure the liberties of our consciences, and preserve the freedom of this kingdom, under the sole obedience of his sacred majesty, whom God long preserve; and thus being confident of your zeal herein, we rest

29th of December, 1641.

Your lordships humble servants.

This letter was brought me from Galway without knowledge of the messenger that brought it hither, nor none to call to me for any answer; I thought it best not to impart it to any, nor give any answer thereto.

The 2d of February.

The same day I received letters from Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Hugh Oge O Connor, desiring a safe conduct, to impart unto me some propositions from the county of Roscommon; and upon my sending a safe conduct to them, they repaired the next day unto me, and delivered this following letter.

A letter from the gentlemen of the county of Roscommon, directed unto me, dated the 23d of January, received the 3d of February.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

WE, in behalf of ourselves, and the major part of the inhabitants and freeholders of this county of Roscommon, upon serious consultation, and weighty motives, have made bold to employ Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Hugh Oge O Connor, to acquaint your lordship with some resolutions which we have taken concerning the state of the said county, and to offer to your lordship's view and consideration the causes necessitating us at the present to rise in arms, and to unite some number of forces within the said county; as likewise to signify to your lordship, that in the great confidence we have in your lordship's zeal

From the county of Roscommon, received the 3d of Febr.

Febr. 1641. zeal to his majesty's service, and the good of this poor afflicted nation, we have made choice of your lordship to govern and command those forces in chief, to regulate and order, with the assistance of council, the affairs of the country, to represent unto his majesty the heavy pressures and grievances under which we groan, and to solicit redress and reformation from his sovereign goodness, whereunto is our only appeal, and to none other under God.

I was born in Clanricarde-house, Great Queen street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, London, not in the castle of Athlone, in the county of Roscommon, as these gentlemen suppose; however, in these dangerous times, I judged it prudent to keep them in temper, therefore did not contradict their opinion.

May it please your lordship, we conceive, that such is the obligation you owe to the country from which you derive your birth, and as you will give all the concurrent helps you can tending to the conservation thereof, and consequently will correspond with us in all our just designs, being very hopeful that the rest of the province will make the same application to your lordship, that so we may, with hearts and hands, join unanimously in one right way, faithfully and loyally to serve God, the king, and country, wherein we beseech the divine omnipotence to guide your lordship and us, who are

Your lordship's most humble servants,

HUGH O CONNOR.
WM. DELAHOID.

CHA. O CONNOR DUN.
CHA. O CONNOR ROE, and many others.

Upon discourse with these two gentlemen that brought the letter, they made great protestations of their loyal and dutiful intentions, that mere necessity enforced them to take arms, being left subject to the spoil and destruction of the forces in action in the counties of Leitrim and Sligo, oppressed and mistrusted by the English garrisons in their own county; withal they were informed from other parts of the violent resolutions of the parliament of England, and state of Dublin, to make a general destruction upon the nation and religion; that they could find no means to represent their grievances to his majesty; neither had the puritan faction left his majesty any power to redress; and, in conclusion, either through craft or affection, or both, they did privately assure me, that it was the resolution of the united forces of the province to fall upon me, if I did not correspond with them in their request to me.

Upon consideration thereof, finding my own small strength to resist such forces, that the passages to Dublin were all block'd up, and no assistance to be expected from thence, and indeed, by several observations, having cause to mistrust that the state did not much care if this government were destroyed, or myself forced into action, I thought it best, by some moderate expressions, to gain time, in hope of some relief by sea out of England; and thereupon I wrote this letter following.

My letter to the gentlemen of the county of Roscommon, dated the 4th of February, 1641.

SIRS,

To the gentry of the county of Roscommon.

YOUR letter sent to me by Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Hugh O Connor I have received, which gives me good occasion by them to return you many thanks for the great respect and affection you have hereby shewed unto me; and the confidence you repose in me, doth easily invite me, together with his majesty's service, to have a particular care and regard of you, and a fit consideration how my advice and assistance may be most useful to you in those times of distemper and distraction. For the first proposition, to take upon me the government of that county, and to command the forces raised there, I conceive at this present it can no ways stand with my duty to the king, nor will agree with what you have farther proposed unto me, to take that command upon me, (being in another's hand, established and settled by the king's authority) without order and direction from the king, or some other, that derives a power from him, would put me into a condition, that would render impossible all mediation, or interposing

posing of mine either in your behalf, or the rest of the kingdom; none since the ^{Febr. 1641.} beginning of those distempers having attempted to take a government upon them, though some have taken arms in opposition to the proceedings of the present government; and though your intentions, and mine, might both be very good for prevention of disorders, and preservation of the country, yet it would meet with that construction, as would totally divert my careful endeavours for yours, and the general good, wherein these noble gentlemen can in part inform you. And I truly protest unto you there hath no pains, nor industry, been omitted by me, as his majesty's favour, my interest in many noble and powerful friends, or my own judgment could guide and direct me; and it is my desire that it should appear without ambition, or particular aims, or ends of my own. I have been, and shall ever be ready to serve God, my king, and my country, with all true faith, duty, and affection.

By what I have expressed, I hope you will take in good part my not entertaining, at this present, that command you have with so much kindness and confidence offered me; since I assure you if I could dispense with my duty therein to his majesty, as it hath merely relation to yourselves, according to those rules I have set down in my own apprehension for your future good and benefit, as affairs now stand, I should not think fit to take it upon me. For the present, in discharge of my duty to the king's commands, I am to offer to you the benefit of his majesty's gracious letter directed unto me, the copy whereof I send you here inclosed; and your former taking arms may be well excused by the danger of your neighbours coming upon you, to suppress the unruliness of the common sort of people, greedy of booty and prey, and upon some mistakes and suspicions between you, and those in garrisons; and for the better representation thereof, and for mediation for obtaining the benefit of those graces, or remedy of other grievances, I could wish that my lord president and myself should be joined, and he, undertaking it with me, I am confident he will cordially perform it, I having, as I conceive, a very great and particular interest in him; and upon knowledge of your resolution therein, I can employ to his lordship a worthy and able friend of mine that is powerful with him, and bears good affection to you, and the welfare and preservation of this province.

This will be a work of great and good example to the rest of Conaght; by that means the province may be again settled, and united by themselves, the trouble and compulsion of English and Scottish forces prevented, and the country fairly and securely preserved; and be assured, whatever might be the intentions of those that took arms in other parts of the kingdom, it hath been, and could no otherwise be, than a great prejudice and disadvantage to this poor province, so near a happy settlement, which, by reasonable direction, may yet be brought to perfection.

Having thus discharged my duty to his majesty, and expressed my present apprehensions unto you, I will add nothing more at this time, but to give you notice, that I am now going to Galway, where upon further conference with persons of ability there, if I meet with any thing of further use, or benefit to you, I shall send you their opinions, and my advices, with a constant regard to the king's honour and service and your preservation. And if God of his infinite mercy send a blessing thereto, I hope you will very speedily have the good effects thereof, and that there shall be no failing in me to approve myself

Loughreagh, the 4th of
February, 1641.

Your assured loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The same day, after the departure of Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Hugh O Connor, I received a letter from my lord viscount Gorman's-town, accidentally delivered me, not sent by any express from himself.

T

My

Febr. 1641.

My lord viscount Gorman's-town's letter to me, dated the 24th of January, received the 4th of February.

My very good LORD,

My lord Vis-
count Gor-
man's-town,
received the
4th of Febr.

ALTHOUGH the general dispatch which by command of the lords here was sent into Conaght might come into your hands, and by that your lordship might have gathered, how we are necessitated, and how just motives we had to take arms, yet I thought it very fit to give your lordship a particular account of our occasions and proceedings, that I might establish in your lordship a firm affection to assist a cause wherein you are equally interested. First, it is not unknown to your lordship how the puritan faction of English, since, by the countenance of the Scottisshar my they invaded the royal power, have both in their doctrine and practice laid the foundation of the slavery of this kingdom; they teach, that the laws of England, if they mention Ireland, are, without doubt, binding here; and the parliament hath wholly assumed the management of the affairs of this kingdom as a right of preheminance due to it; and what may be expected from such zealous and fiery professions of an adverse religion, but the ruin and extirpation of ours? Then your lordship will observe, how fit instruments the state here have been to further all instructions to our disadvantage. When first this action was discovered, most of the lords towards Dublin, to whom the design was not communicated, resorted to the justices for arms, thinking, at that time, the Irish had revived the old quarrel, and thought to expel us, who these four hundred years have been possessed of the most considerable parts of this kingdom; but they, who in conformity to the resolution of their patrons the parliament of England, determining to suppress our religion, put some few arms into our hands with that caution and diffidence, that it was a blessing from God the Irish had proposed to themselves fair ends, for otherwise, by the distrust of the state, we might have been compelled to seek new dwellings.

My lord, the cause is God's in the first place; and I know you too noble to subject the merits of your ancestors, and the estate which you derive from those that have made way unto it over the bodies of their enemies, to be subject to the dispose of any other parliament than their own; or that we should see the majesty of our prince so far abridged of the rights of it, as that his subjects will presume to cloath themselves in his power, and limit him how far he shall be just and merciful. These, my lord, are the grievances we resent, and redress of them the principal thing both the commanders of the catholick army and we do look after; and we are very confident your lordship in so necessary a work will contribute your assistance, and will value, beyond all respects, the name of a zealous catholick, and a true patriot, and seek to restore to its former lustre the much obscured majesty of our sacred sovereign. This, with the remembrance of my humble respects unto your lordship, and your much honoured lady, I rest

Your lordship's humble servant,

Gorman's-town, this 24th
of January, 1641.

GORMAN'S-TOWN.

My letter to the earl of Thomond, the 11th of February.

MY LORD,

To my lord
of Thomond,
the 11th of
February.

THE condition of the time gave me occasion to take into consideration the places of greatest consequence in this county, for keeping the fort and bay of Galway from the incursions of any that might discommode his majesty's fort, and prevent the relief which his well-affected subjects in that county, and in this, may well expect; and among all, I find none more necessary to be preserved

served than the isles of Anon, which lie in the mouth of the bay at an equal distance between both counties, through whose narrow bounds all ships do fail that pass to or from the said port; these are in the possession and the inheritance of Sir Robuck Lynch (Sir Henry Lynch's son, who was my father's ancient and faithful servant) of whose fidelity and zeal to his majesty's service, particular respects to me, and affection to your lordship, I am very well satisfied. Being therefore informed, that Boetius Glancy the younger, and the sept of the Clanteiggs in Thomond, do, under pretence of some antiquated claim that could never yet endure a legal trial, intend to invade the said islands, I thought it fit to advertise your lordship thereof, that you may give a timely interruption to an attempt, that may make a rupture of the good correspondence desired to be continued between both counties; for the preventing whereof, I believe a signification of your lordship's pleasure and dislike of that design to your kinsman, friends, and tenants in Ibreham, Corcumro, and Buren, could much conduce, &c.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

From the 5th unto this day I remained in the town of Galway, to reconcile the differences between the fort and the town, and to procure money and provision for the fort, which was accordingly done, and all things left in present good order there.

I received several letters from Sir Charles Coote the younger, giving me an account of their proceedings in the county of Roscommon, and that the several English garrisons, as Carrickdrumrusk, James-town, Boyle, Elphin, Roscommon, and Castle-Coote, were well manned, and victualled for six months; but that my lord president was streightly besieged in Athlone: withal he informed me, that some of the rebels of that county had gotten some pieces and powder out of Galway, packed up in flock beds; whereupon I immediately wrote to the mayor of Galway.

My letters to the mayor of Galway, February the 18th and 19th.

Mr. Mayor,

I GIVE you many thanks for your care and diligence in those examinations you have taken, and the expedition you have used in giving me intelligence thereof; and my endeavours shall not be wanting to keep all such attempts and dangers far from you; and, by God's favour, and the assistance of my friends, that I am confident will stick very firm unto me, I do hope to appear speedily in a very good posture to resist any invasion upon this country; and now most especially, I must strictly charge and require you, and your corporation, to keep all fair correspondence and intelligence with the fort, and be assisting to one another in all things, without niceties and disputes; and, I doubt not, by what I have written to captain Willoughby, and his own good inclinations, he will readily join with you therein; and I earnestly intreat you, that there be no delays, or time lost, for before whatsoever pretences may be given out, they that will attempt upon the fort, will have more mind to the spoil and booty of a rich town; and you two joining together firmly for his majesty's service, and your own safety, need not fear any invasion. You shall hear very speedily from me further, what my intelligence shall bring in, whereby you may be any thing concerned; and I shall not fail to be as careful of all your safeties as my own, and still ready to approve myself

To the mayor of Galway, the 18th of Feb. One Rowland French examined, affirmed it was reported by some soldiers of Morroghnadoo's, that several companies of this county, 4000 from Mayo, others from Sligo, would besiege the fort by Shrove-tide.

Portumna, the 18th of February, 1641.

Your assured loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My

Febr. 1641.

Mr. Mayor,

To the
mayor of
Galway, the
19th of Feb.

SINCE my letter yesterday, I am very credibly informed, that the last week Mr. Teige O Flyn and Mr. Oge O Connor received out of Galway thirty-two pieces, barrels, and locks, made up in flock beds, and some powder; and Mr. Teige O Flyn hath bought a piece of ordnance there, with hope to have it privately conveyed from thence; this is a business of so great danger and consequence to you, and your corporation there, that I thought fit to give you a quick information thereof, that a speedy course may be taken for a careful search and examination of what hath passed, and to prevent the real intentions of some among you, that hath, or shall attempt any such things, so much to your prejudice, and at a time when you make daily complaints unto me for want of defence; it will be necessary, that a strict account be taken of all the ordnance, arms, and ammunition in the town, and likewise in the ships, that are, or shall come within your harbour, that none may be sold, or taken from thence; that this hath been done I am confidently assured; and I shall expect that none be past by that had any hand therein, of what quality soever they be; and be watchful over the actions of all men, for this is an age that passion, and not reason, bears the sway. I do not doubt of your care therein for his majesty's service, and your own preservation; and without further trouble shall still remain

Portumna, the 19th of
February, 1641.

Your assured loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 19th of February.

Captain Willoughby,

I RECEIVED yesterday a large relation of the inhuman and barbarous massacre of the poor English from Pierce Lynch, my tenant of Shreull, who was an eye witness of that cruelty, being done upon, and on each side of the bridge, before the castle; the number of the English one hundred. He affirms, it was done by those in the county of Mayo, and who, being before with my lord of Mayo, would fain have lodged within my castle, but neither intreaties, nor threats could prevail; he also relates, that the bishop of Killalla, his wife, and some of his company, were preserved by Mr. Ulick Burke of Castle-Hacket, who sent carriages to convey them to his castle, being sick, and almost starved, and that some others were kept alive in other places thereabouts; if any of this county had a hand in that work, I shall hazard much to give them their due punishment.

The mayor of Galway sent me some examinations, which, I presume, he hath likewise acquainted you with; the copy of my answer I send you here inclosed, which will express my mind unto you in that particular, and save me some labour of writing, having much to do at this present; and as I writ yesterday, so I must now earnestly intreat you to let the town have the barrel of powder, for if they should miscarry for want of such a small supply, it would very much reflect both upon you and me.

The man you sent to Dublin arrived safe, but divulged such strange reports, and as from you, that may be of very dangerous consequence for the king's service in this county, fixing many heavy aspersions personally upon men of quality, which, if they had been clearly proved, might have been better kept private for a time, than in such a manner published; for according to the present state of affairs, it is more discretion than force that must do good, by gaining time; and the straits I am put to, and the danger I am in, will much increase, by raising suspicions and discontents within the county. He did (as I am informed) particularly charge my lord Clanmorris to have a design upon the fort, and for him

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I do pawn my life he never harboured such a thought, and is as careful and com-^{Febr. 1641.}passionate of the English as any man can be, and as obedient and diligent to my commands and instructions, and as averse to those bad proceedings of others; and to have such an imputation laid upon him he cannot but very much resent it, and I in his behalf; and the general calamity of the time, and the misery of other parts, much greater than here, and my constant care to be assisting to you upon all occasions, might deserve more respect than to have the worst colours put upon all things, especially no remedy being at hand. This particular, and some other reports, are so far from truth, that I am sure you could have nothing to do with those relations; your messenger, through simplicity, or ill intention, taking up all idle rumours; and however I do much wonder, that they were permitted to be publicly spoken at Dublin; I do intend to send up thither, to have a strict examination taken of that fellow, for your justification, and my satisfaction. It will not misbecome you to let me be no stranger to your intelligence, who cannot be exceeded in duty and affection to the king's service, and likewise confident, that my story will be as soon heard, and as much regarded throughout the king's dominions, at least, as any subject in this kingdom; and however, no errors, nor mistakes, shall ever make me neglect, to the utmost in my power, the safety and preservation of the fort, and to comply with you in all things that may best conduce thereto. Let twenty pecks of wheat, and as much of malt, be directed to be sent him out of my own provisions, and more bespoken, and the ways and passages cleared to Galway, that the markets may reach him. My security, and others, to Mr. Smith, for as much beef as he will think fit to have; all other necessaries and provisions the town is to supply him out of the customs upon Mr. Ratcliff's account charged upon some merchants; his father's harshness to my servant, and refusal to supply him with money for England, contrary to former letters, was occasioned by some strange informations from hence. A kind conclusion, and a desire of a right understanding for the future.

The 19th of February, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 20th I received this following letter from the bishop of Killalla, who happily escaped out of the massacre at Shreull.

May it please your Lordship,

IT may seem truly to be a presumption above an ordinary strain, that so unfortunate a wretch, in so poor and despicable a condition, should attempt to trouble your honour in such a way as I am cast upon by an inevitable necessity; but the knowledge and confidence I have that goodness attends inseparably your greatness, answerable to your honour's noble birth, worth and breeding, consummated and made complete by that trust his royal majesty hath put on you in this county, hath emboldened me to cast myself at your honour's feet, and humbly to beg for God's, the king's, and your honour's sake, to be a protector, and benefactor to me, your humble suppliant. What my misfortunes and sufferings were on Sunday last at Shreull, as without tears I cannot, so with good manners I may not relate unto your lordship; only lest I should be ungrateful to God, I remember his mercies; first, that miraculously of God's undeserved mercy, I, my wife, three children, two women servants, and one man servant, were preserved; I pray God it be in mercy: next, though all stripped naked, yet none wounded, but myself, and my man servant; and that, blessed be God, not deadly or dangerously: thirdly, which is a mercy above all, that a noble gentleman, captain Ulick Burke, and his noble bedfellow, sent a surgeon of his own to me, and other servants, who, with all tender care, brought me on Tuesday last to Castle-Hacket where I have been, and am so tenderly and heartily attended, as it surpasseth all expression; I pray God that they may find mercy

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Febr. 1641. in the day of their need, and to enable me to be a servant to this family: to all these I add, the last, which encourageth me most, that God is dealing with me in mercy; that now I am under the shadow of your wings, and protection of him, who is known to be piously devout, generously noble, and most faithfully loyal. Let me then humbly supplicate your lordship, that you would compassionate a poor, miserable, yet innocent man, provide for him, and his safe convoy to Galway, or any where else you think fit, from whence I may be transported by sea to see king Charles, the thing worldly I wish most; not, in the word of a priest; to complain, for God's grace, and my afflictions here, and elsewhere, have taught me to forgive, and pray for them that wrong me. Next I beg (alas I am ashamed to express, but necessity exhorteth it) that you would be pleased to help with some money to supply me and mine. My lord, I dare to promise, however I be low here, and not much known, yet I am neither so much forgotten by my gracious sovereign, nor undervalued for my past service to and suffering for him, but what your lordship shall expend, either for my conduct, or support, shall not only be well taken, but nobly repaid and rewarded. I could say more in this kind, but modesty, and my poor condition, commands my silence. Would God I were as well known to your lordship as to some of your noble friends at court; or, at least, as near to them in place as to you. My lord, pardon my expressions in this case, I thank God it is the first in this kind, and I must forbear for many reasons to enlarge myself in this subject; closing with begging humble pardon for my unmannerly importunate boldness, and praying God almighty to keep you long alive for his majesty's service, and for the increase of honour upon your noble family. These are, and ever shall be, the fervent and constant prayer of, my lord,

Your honour's daily orational humble suppliant and devoted servant,

The 18th of February.

JO. ROSSENSIN.

P. S. May it please your lordship to do me the honour, to understand by two lines from any of your lordship's servants, your lordship's pleasure.

21st of Febr. Immediately, upon the receipt of this letter, I wrote myself unto his lordship, and congratulated his lordship's happy escape out of that bloody and inhuman massacre; and gave him assurance, that he was arrived into a place that should afford him all possible comfort, and sure protection, with all fit accommodation for his intended journey into England; and that, without expectation of reward. It was a duty I was obliged unto, as his majesty's servant, and a charity and respect due to his quality and calling; and that, very speedily, some officers of mine should attend upon him, to supply him with all things necessary, and to provide for his lordship's safe convoy to Galway, where I would myself be ready to receive him. The copy of my letter is either lost, or mislaid, but was to this effect, and much to his satisfaction, as will hereafter appear by a letter from his lordship; and at the same time I wrote to Mr. Ulick Burke, much commending his fair carriage and respect to my lord Killalla, and earnestly pressed the continuance of it, which would not only satisfy for some reports of miscarriage in him, but invite me to reward and cherish him for such an acceptable service.

The same day I received letters from my cousins Richard and Thomas Burke, of Dermaclaghny and Anbally, expressing their willingness to repair unto me, upon a letter I had sent unto them, but that they heard I was so highly displeased with them, that they durst not adventure without a safe conduct for themselves and servants, and the fort did threaten to destroy them; to which I returned this following answer.

My

Febr. 1641.

My letter to my cousins Richard and Thomas Burke, of Dermaclaghny and Arbally, 21st of February.

Cousins Richard and Thomas Burke,

I AM sorry you should conceive such jealousy of me, as to think that my invitation of you to a conference (as I did the rest of the chief gentlemen of the county) should betray me to ensnare you to your disadvantage, having in one of my letters given you assurance, that your repair to me should be without your prejudice; yet because I am willing to please you in words, as well as in deeds, I do assure you, that if you please now to meet me at Loughreagh (where I purpose, God permitting me, to be to-morrow night, and for two days after) that you and your servants shall go to and fro freely, without any stay, or disadvantage by me, or any of mine. I am so tender of your credit, that I conceive to desire any more formal protection would argue your guilt, and diffidence in me, both which I desire to make the least show of; for the reports spread abroad of danger by me intended towards you, methinks, considering what formerly I have written unto you, your own judgments, and my moderate proceedings with others, might satisfy you therein; as my own plain intentions, and best construction of your carriages and actions do me, not to give ear to several rumours spread abroad of many great meetings, and preparations intended against some places in this government, the preservation and peaceable ordering whereof is intrusted to me by his sacred majesty.

I did not before now understand of any disgust between the fort and you; and I believe the distance of place between you, and my former advice to them, (they are not to intermeddle within my command, without my directions) may well secure you from any danger that way; and, upon further conference with you, I shall not doubt to remove the cause of any such fear. I have no more for the present to say, but that I desire to be

Portumna, the 21st of
February, 1641.

Your very loving cousin,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Being informed of several private meetings, and correspondence kept with other counties, and of the violent proceedings of the clergy, enforcing men to take the oath of association, both by excommunication, and keeping them from mass, and by threatening to set all others upon them that they had drawn to their party; and that there was likely to be a speedy and violent defection, and falling from me; no assistance to be had from the state, or any other part of the kingdom; no knowledge of the condition of England, or probability of supplies from thence; I found myself in a very perplexed state, and my wife and family in great danger, there being no possibility of conveying them to any place of safety. Upon conference and debate with some persons whom I knew to be faithful, and of able judgment, in this extremity, it was resolved, that I must adventure somewhat to comply, in a civil way, for the gaining of time with some of the lords of the pale, and to try how they might be wrought upon to keep off the storm that was raising here against me, until I could receive some comfort out of England. And having received letters from the earl of Westmeath, who stood firm, though I conceived he could not but keep some private correspondence with those that were out for his safety, and likewise letters from my lord of Gormanstown, I resolved to write to both their lordships, and to fasten a courtesy upon the good old earl of Westmeath, who though he would not embrace their ways, yet he was nearly allied to most of the nobility of the pale, very affectionate to me, and likely to be powerful with them.

My

Febr. 1641.

My letter to the earl of Westmeath, the 21st of February.

MY LORD,

21st of Febr.
To the earl
of West-
meath.

YOUR letter of the 29th of the last month, I received the 16th of this present, I being upon the remote borders of this county when your lordship's servant came into these parts. I am very sorry to find by your lordship's letter, that your noble grandchild is in restraint in England, and your lordship thereby debarred the comfort of his company, and attendance upon you; though considering the great and general distempers here, I cannot much wonder that the parliament of England are careful and desirous to keep as many pledges as they can, to preserve obedience in this kingdom. But my knowledge of your lordship doth readily invite me to give my best assistance for his speedy repair to your lordship; and to that purpose I have now written to my brother of Essex, lord chamberlain, whose interest and power is most likely to prevail, both with the king, and with the parliament; and I am confident, that any request of mine will be carefully entertained by him; the copy of my letter I send your lordship here inclosed.

Concerning the bill of exchange your lordship desires to be paid in England, I do assure your lordship it is not within my power to perform it; these unfortunate troubles here having put my affairs in England into that perplexed condition, that I know not how to relieve many of my friends and officers there, that are deeply engaged for me; and I have no doubt that they suffer very much; and that my estate there is, or will be shortly extended for debt; and it is not the least part of my misfortune, that I know not how to send them any relief, and it addeth much thereto, that your lordship should move me in any thing that I cannot compass the performance thereof. This unfortunate province is in all confusion, tumult, and disorder, thinking of nothing but mischief and distraction, without any consideration of what may happen hereafter, as how to defend themselves, or that cause they pretend unto, endeavouring the most they can to destroy the chief means of their future preservation; the infection breaking unto this government of mine, and their displeasure high against me, that have, with my duty preserved to his majesty, made it my constant care to work all ways, and try all means, to appease and conclude all these unhappy distempers, with most happiness and advantage to this poor afflicted kingdom; and they will not have patience to attend the return of my dispatches out of England, nor the direction to employ themselves with any rule, order, or civil command. And I do much wonder, that so many noblemen, and persons of quality in other parts, that have declared themselves in this action, do not timely (before much blood be drawn, or the weakness of the kingdom discovered, how strong soever some are pleased to apprehend it) apply themselves to the king by some fit remonstrance, declaring the cause of taking arms, their just grievances, and their humble desires of remedy and redress; and that such noblemen, and others of quality, that, by reason of their employments and commands from the king, or other good motives, have not thought fit to take arms, may be called upon to join in that declaration, or else, by application and mediation, personally, or otherwise, in England, to be assisting therein, as the act and desires of the whole kingdom; which, I presume, would produce much better effects than the tumultuous compulsion that is used to force men to appear in arms, without knowledge or understanding how to behave themselves afterwards. My confidence in your lordship draws my pen to a larger way of expression than is usual with me; and whatsoever construction may be made, either of my words or actions, my conscience assures me of true faith and zeal to the service of God, my king, and country, and that in particular to your lordship I shall ever approve myself

Portumna, the 21st of
February, 1641.

Your lordship's affectionate friend to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my brother the earl of Essex, the 22d of February.

Febr. 1641.

MY LORD,

I Lately received a letter from the earl of Westmeath, giving me notice, that his grandchild the lord of Delvin being at Chester to come over hither, was stayed by direction of the parliament, and returned back to London, which I observe doth work much upon his weakness and infirmity, not only to have such a mistrust put upon him, but the being debarred of the comfort of his grandchild's company and attendance, himself being unable to stir abroad. I am so many ways obliged to this noble lord, and so confident of his fidelity and affection to the king's service, that I shall presume to recommend it to your best care to use your power and intercession, both with the king, whose licence he had formerly, and with the parliament, that he may be permitted to come over; for besides the want my lord hath of him, it will not be possible for him, or any here, to maintain their children in England, there being now no monies to be exchanged over, nor indeed to be had here, wherein, I fear, myself and friends engaged for me there do suffer very much. And if you do think fit to undertake this business, I do assuredly believe, I have so much interest in that noble lord, that he will never forfeit your favour and respects to him, nor my engagement therein. I am in a dangerous corner, kept from the true knowledge how affairs go in other parts of the world; and what my sufferings are, I must refer to a better time. I beseech God to direct you in England to a just and moderate course to appease these high distempers here, and give us grace to comply fitly therewith, that all may not fall to ruin and desolation; I hope I shall not be passed by unconsidered, but shall be still remembered as

Portumna, the 22d of February, 1641.

Your lordship's most affectionate brother to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord viscount Gorman's-town, the 23d of February.

MY LORD,

YOUR lordship's of the 21st of last month I received about a fortnight after, being then in the remote borders of this county, engaged in many troublesome employments, that did not allow me a fit opportunity to return my acknowledgments of your favour and respects to me until this present. I cannot deny, as your lordship expresses, that before my coming over I did observe an inclination in some to put a pressure upon the subjects of this kingdom, in their religion and liberties; but withal I did conceive, if those troubles had not so soon fallen out, there would have been good means used to have prevented such attempts, after the settling of those graces then obtained. I must likewise acknowledge, that the state at Dublin have been very sparing of allowing defence to any of this kingdom, and have not reposed that trust and confidence in the nobility, and other persons of worth, that they might well expect; and that the discontents thereupon may have drawn much calamity upon this kingdom, that might otherwise have met with timely prevention; and by the knowledge I have of the judgment, ability, and ancient fast fidelity of your lordship, and many other noble persons, I am easily invited to believe, it must be a very great occasion, and urgent necessity, that could invite you to take arms, and to appear in opposition to the state settled by his majesty's authority. My lord, for my part there is none doth more faithfully desire, nor more carefully endeavour the preservation of our religion, and the honour and safety of our nation, by all ways that I have liberty to work, and good testimonies will be found thereof; but for me to break the trust and engagement conferred upon me by his majesty's own special favour, could, in my apprehension, meet with no other construction than a foul blemish,

Febr. 1641. blemish, or deeper stain, both upon the religion and loyalty of this nation, and divert the disposing of places of trust on deserving natives, which is justly to be desired and expected. And I presume your lordship, and others in those parts, have taken into your consideration the best ways and means to procure redress, in those grievances that do most oppress the kingdom, by your applications to his majesty, that his royal pleasure may come seasonably hither to all our comforts, to prevent much ruin and bloodshed, that threatens all parts of this kingdom. The bearer, father Oliverus Burke, in whose ability and integrity I repose much confidence, can inform your lordship at large what my constant endeavours have been for the general good, and what my sense and opinion is for the present preservation of this much afflicted nation, which my leisure will not permit me to express by writing. God of his infinite mercy guide and direct us to perform what may be most to his glory, the king's honour, and our own safety. I will now add no more, but to wish for all good occasions that may best approve me

Portumna, the 23d of
February, 1641.

Your lordship's affectionate friend to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Propositions conceived necessary to be propounded unto the Earl of Clanricarde, that his lordship may move the lords of the pale therein, and others that have taken arms, as the best means for the general good, and his own safety.

Propositions
offered to my
considera-
tion, by some
gentlemen of
this county.

1. **T**HAT his lordship doth not doubt their lordships, and others, are fully assured of his settled zeal for the preserving, advancing, and settling of catholick religion in this kingdom.

2. That upon all occasions his constant affection to the good and welfare of this kingdom hath, and shall still appear, by all the best ways that may procure a remedy to their just grievances, advance the honour of the nation, and settle peace and quietness; and for the better effecting thereof, to propose these following considerations.

3. To inform them of the true state of the province of Conaght, and some other bordering counties, where are no arms or ammunition considerable, nor plenty of corn, cattle or salt to maintain the army, nor experienced captains or commanders.

4. That many strong forts and garrisons are well provided, and possessed by the English, daily annoying and spoiling the country, especially in Roscommon and Leitrim, and in Longford and the King's county.

5. That there is no clear intelligence, nor correspondence between the several counties, nor between them and other parts of the kingdom, and much faction, tumult, and disorder in each county amongst themselves.

6. To desire their lordships, and others, to look carefully and seriously into their own strength, and the rest of the kingdom, not upon report, but certain knowledge; how it is or may certainly be supplied with arms and ammunition, or other necessities to maintain a war, when England and Scotland shall join against them that have plenty of all provisions, who, with their great fleets at sea, without sending other forces hither, will, in a short time, endanger the starving of this kingdom.

7. To propose unto them, that the end of war being to obtain the better peace, their lordships, and others, with expedition, before much bloodshed, or that any weakness be discovered in the kingdom, which yet stands strong, and fairly represented unto England, will consider a fit remonstrance to be sent unto his majesty, as the act of the kingdom, with such moderation as may not justly endanger a denial, or provoke others to sail needlessly, but such as may give best satisfaction for the taking arms, and be easy and facile for his majesty to grant in honour and justice, and that a draught be by them regulated, according to their knowledge of the state of the kingdom, and their regard and duty to his majesty.

8. To

8. To offer it to their considerations, whether it may not be necessary for ^{Febr. 1641.} them to move such other lords, and persons of quality, as, by reason of their employments, commands, or other good motives, have not thought fit to take arms, that they will join in that remonstrance, or express their desires and approbation thereof by mediation and sollicitation, either here, or in England, personally, or otherwise, as shall be thought fittest.

9. That they may be pleased to consider, whether that course may not be better, and with more honour and safety advance the present cause, than to join in arms with breach of trust, especially for your lordship's own particular, whose fortune, alliance, and experience in England may work (being left free) great and good effects there, for the safety and preservation of this kingdom; and your lordship continuing firm, being the only catholick in the king's dominions that hath command, which will much advance one chief proposition, that the catholick nobility, and others of quality and judgment, may have employments and commands in the commonwealth.

10. To acquaint them, that by letters to the king, and by many other dispatches to your friends in England, according to your knowledge of their abilities and inclinations, you have written very effectually, and do shortly expect a very good return thereof, and certain intelligence of the intentions and proceedings there.

11. To inform them likewise, that the invitation to arms throughout the kingdom, by the too forward zeal of some, and ignorance of many others employed therein, have much impaired and disgraced the cause, inciting the younger sort of gentry, and others of meaner quality, to spoil, licentiousness, liberty, and much barbarous cruelty, without any order or government, when letters and instructions to gentlemen of quality and judgment would have kept all things in good order at home, preserved a fair reputation abroad, and have been better prepared for any further occasion.

12. To inform them, that at this present the over-earnest zeal of some, and the disorderly and greedy inclinations of others within this province, and the indiscretion of some of this county, is likely, if not timely prevented, to endanger great confusions and bloodshed, and put hazard and danger upon your lordship's person, family, and friends that shall assist you, by making a breach, and some sudden attempts upon your lordship, and the government, for not complying with them in their proceedings, which though your lordship were satisfied in other particulars, and should think fit to declare yourself in this general cause, yet we should not advise your lordship to any such course at this present; having made your application to his majesty for the general good of the kingdom, it were an unpardonable breach of trust and loyalty not to attend his gracious return, and declaration of his royal letter.

13. That your lordship, upon these considerations, may move them, if they think fit, to write speedily to the chief of the clergy of this province, to let them know, that having taken the state and condition of the kingdom into serious consideration, they do conceive it necessary that your lordship should be preserved free, to be mediator in this cause in England, or at least, that for a time there should be no attempts made within your government, nor no interruption of the orders and direction for the peace and quiet of the county, being confident of your lordship's faith and integrity to the service of God, and the good of the kingdom; and what other advices and intelligences shall be thought fit for their proceedings in other counties. And if some such course be not taken to prevent these distempers like to grow in those parts, the cause will be much weakened and impaired, and your lordship endangered, whose endeavours hath deserved better respect.

14. That some fit excuse be considered in the representations over into England, for the great cruelties and spoils done upon the English in several parts, and

Febr. 1641. and consider what reparation to offer, if not in value, then in punishment, where any foul treachery hath been acted.

15. That a general cessation of arms may be humbly desired of his majesty, until his pleasure be declared.

Not to be
shewed as
from me, or
by my know-
ledge.

My letter to my lord of Gorman's-town I sent by father Oliverus Burke, a dominican fryar, both in regard that none but a churchman would be permitted to pass through the several counties to Tredagh, and for that I did conceive, and do believe he then was very faithful in the king's service, and affectionate to me, and more likely to persuade, and gain belief, than any layman; and to him I delivered the above written propositions to help his memory, and to make use of them as he saw cause; and with instructions, to observe their strength at Tredagh, and other places, and their humours and inclinations, and what might really be their aims and intentions, reports being so various, and their proceedings so different and unsettled, and in some places very bloody and inhuman.

I received letters on the 22d from my lord of Mayo, that had been long in coming, informing me of the bloody massacre at Shreull, with high expressions of grief and resentment, but most unjustly laying upon this county, and affirming it was done out of malice to both of us, and we could not prosper if we did not join in a most severe punishment upon those wicked offenders; and, for the better doing of it, desired a present meeting between us. I thereupon wrote to his lordship upon the 24th, not holding it fit to give a meeting as was desired. His lordship's letter I have not, but as I do remember I sent it to the state, with some other papers of that business.

My letter to my lord of Mayo, the 24th of February.

MY LORD,

To my lord
of Mayo,
24th of Febr.

BESIDES your lordship's letter, I have received many sad relations of the barbarous and bloody massacre done upon the poor English on the bridge of Shruell, and on each side thereof; and as your lordship rightly apprehends, it cannot but fix a lasting blemish upon the actors and assistants of such a cruel mischief, and cry for speedy vengeance upon them, and, we may justly fear, on your lordship and myself, if we be not diligent in the true and clear examining, and punishing the same, with that severity that such a high offence deserves; and for the better effecting thereof, that it may be well prepared and digested for a meeting between your lordship and me, I have thought it the fittest course to send three prime gentlemen of this county, and if your lordship approve thereof, to send three other gentlemen of the county of Mayo, to meet upon the place where the fact was committed, and there to call it to a strict examination, and to give us an account thereof, that we may further proceed therein as we see cause. Your lordship's letter came not speedily to me, and I have taken a day or two respite to consider of the best course, and to enquire of some of the gentlemen of those parts what they could say for this county, who do affirm, that none of this county had a hand therein; and the information your lordship received, and directed to me, speaks the contrary; so that it will be most necessary to have it speedily cleared, that our honour may not suffer by what part soever it was acted; the meeting is on Thursday next, if your lordship please to send accordingly. My lord, I have given a check to Pierce Lynch for his disrespect to your lordship, and my cousin your son, for which I doubt not but he will crave your pardon; but for admittance into the castle, I must clear him in that particular, having formerly given him strict directions not to suffer any to come thither, without a warrant under my hand and seal; and the same directions for all my other castles. Your lordship's dispatches I have still by me, all passages being

being so stopped that I could not promise them any safety; I adventured some of my own, but wary in my expressions; some got thither, and others were intercepted, but those I sent to England to the king, and others of my friends, have met with a safe passage, and I expect a speedy return. Your lordship's I will keep or send unto you, according as you shall direct, and in all things constantly approve myself

Loughreagh, the 24th of February, 1641. Your lordship's affectionate cousin to serve you;

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

I received the latter end of this month several letters from captain Willoughby, and from the mayor, recorder, and corporation of Galway, making high complaints each against the other; and growing into great heat and violence upon the arrival of some ships there, the fort shooting both great and small shot at one of the sheriffs, and some merchants going abroad; and the townsmen restraining, and keeping within the town some of the fort soldiers, and imprisoning, upon some pretences, one Turner, clerk of the stores, and one Mr. Clarke, master of a ship; and captain Willoughby putting guards of musketers in the ship upon the townsmen's goods. Upon advertisement of these distempers I resolved to repair to Galway; but having many great diversions abroad, I first made trial of Sir Richard Blake's good offices, who was very constant in his care and endeavours for the preservation of the fort, and powerful both there and in the town; and, in conclusion, he had good success in the reconciling those differences; yet so much rancour remained between them, as did necessarily require my own repair thither to make a more perfect reconciliation.

The clergy began this month to be very violent and busy in persuading the people to join in a general commotion, and in tendering the oaths of association, which together with the plausible declarations, and letters of divers of the nobility, and persons of quality, setting forth, the inforcement put upon them to take up arms for their just defence, through the mistrust of the state of Dublin, and the parliament of England taking upon them the whole management of the affairs of this kingdom, with resolutions to fall upon all without distinction, and that, with the concurrence, if not by the incitement of the state here, as they alledged, made many persons of note and quality to be wavering in this county, besides the loud threats of the counties of Mayo and Roscommon, and several other places to fall heavy upon me, as came frequently to me by the gentlemen living upon those borders, of very good judgment and credit. Upon consideration of these particulars, I was compelled (as the least of evils) to adventure upon a civil kind of compliance with some of quality, engaged in the present action, to keep off the pressing violence of the present storm, until I could receive some return to my dispatches sent into England, and could learn the certainty of the growing troubles there, which came but very sparingly to me from any, but those in action, who probably would frame their relations to the best advantage of their own proceedings. And in the course I had resolved on, I found great difficulty how to dispose of my affairs and expressions, so as might give a temporary satisfaction to those whose power was above my resistance, and yet keep myself as intire within the limits of my duty to his majesty, and those that governed by his authority, as my weak condition, and the distraction of the times could possibly permit. And how I managed this intricate affair appears without disguise to the gentlemen of the county of Roscommon, to the earl of Westmeath, and the viscount Gorman's-town; and though it may appear with errors of judgment, yet, I hope, it may be free from any other construction than that I aimed at a present preservation, to enable me the better to serve his majesty when his clear commands, seconded with timely assistance, should arrive unto me.

Upon the first of March I repaired to Galway, though I was informed by Sir Richard Blake, that the differences were composed between the fort and town;

Mar. 1641. the townsmen having their goods and some small proportions of arms and ammunition delivered them, and the fort soldiers released, finding them apt upon very small occasion to dispute and fall into great distempers; and both sides were so stubborn and suspicious, that I was forced to stay there thirteen days before I could make any settlement between them, the town being much discontented and exasperated at the captain's rash proceedings.

A letter from my lord justice Parsons, dated the 7th of February, received the 7th of March, at Galway.

My much honoured LORD,

Lord Justice
Parsons,
dated the 7th
of February,
received the
7th of March.

YOU will now receive the joint letter from the table, wherein are such things as they can yet impart unto you. I am very sorry to find by your letters, that some of the better inhabitants in that county do shake in their duty; perhaps your letters out of England, and the sight of your noble constancy may somewhat stay them, which God grant. It is the same that we find here daily, and so will be till God send us more aids, which we expect as soon as the wind serves; yet God be thanked we grow here a little more confident than we were when we wrote last unto you; we have lately beaten the rebels in several places about us, we have pillaged the Naas, and burnt several towns about it, and five miles further; and God will, I hope, enable us to maintain ourselves till aid comes, and then God willing your lordship shall hear of us. We have sent you a commission as you desire, wishing it may take right effect. I beseech your lordship take that to heart, to keep Galway in due obedience, which I wish first for the publick, and specially for many of my good friends there, who I hope will be faithful; and specially your lordship will be pleased to see the fort finished, which you know much concerns his majesty's service, and will give good testimony of the town's loyalty. I beseech your lordship convey these letters as you may safely. I am most thankful for your last conveyance, and will ever remain

The 7th of February, 1641.

Your lordship's humble servant,

P. S. I will help your man away all I can.

WM. PARSONS.

A letter from the Lords Justices and Council, the 7th of February, received the 7th of March.

MY LORD,

Lords Jus-
tices and
Council, the
7th of Febr.
received the
7th of March.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, on the 5th of this month we received your lordship's several of the 15th and 25th of January, in answer whereof, we think fit to let you know, that as we are very thankful to your lordship for the faithfulness and zeal wherewith you now employ your good endeavours for his majesty, and his service, against those disturbers of the publick peace of the kingdom, so we have done your lordship right in fully representing it into England for your advantage.

We have intelligence that there are powerful succours of men, arms, and money at the water-side in England, ready to be shipped for this kingdom with the first fair wind; when those shall arrive here, your lordship may stand assured we will not neglect to strengthen you with all the power we can; and in the mean time, we hope by the continuance of your lordship's good endeavours (which for your lordship's honour have been hitherto more prosperously successful, than the endeavours of others in other parts) those churls you mention, who have destroyed much cattle of the English and natives, and those of better quality, by whom you doubt they are countenanced, will be restrained from breaking forth into further disorders, to the terror or annoyance of his majesty's good subjects in

the Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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in those parts; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 7th of February, 1641. Mar. 1641

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.
ORMOND OSSORY.
JA. DILLON.
AD. LOFTUS.
FR. WILLOUGHBY.

JO. BORLACE.
CHA. LAMBERT,
JOHN TEMPLE.
ROB. MEREDITH.

P. S. We pray your lordship to speak with captain Willoughby at your going to Galway, lest any attempt be plotted against the fort there, and to contribute your best assistance for the preservation of the fort for his majesty.

The same day I sent my own guard of horse, and some gentlemen to receive and convey the bishop of Killalla to Galway, placed him with dean York, warden of the college there, gave directions unto Sir Richard Blake to agree, and weekly discharge his diet there for himself and family, and gave him twenty pounds.

My letter to Sir Charles Coote, the 8th of March, 1641.

NOBLE SIR,

BEING informed by Sir Ulick Burke, that upon a fall of yours, in your return, you took one William M^c Egan, a fosterer of his, and my collector in that half barony, and divers cattle on Sir Ulick's land; I have enquired, and could never hear but well of the man; and if you please, at my request, to set him at liberty, I shall acknowledge it as a courtesy; and it is undertaken to me that he shall appear at any time hereafter, to answer what shall be objected against him; and for Sir Ulick Burke, I assure you, I never heard him mention you, but with very good respect; he is my kinsman, that I do very much esteem. I am very sorry, that some heat and unkindnesses remain between you and my cousin Hubbard; I hope you will both keep it from growing to any height, that may draw a prejudice upon either. As soon as my leisure will permit, I intend to draw into those parts, and should be very glad to settle all right between you. I had gone thus far when I received your most welcome news of the landing of considerable forces at Dublin, and the expectation of much more. The packet which I received from thence came when those ships were in sight, but I heard no certainty of their safe landing but by yours. The number that was prepared to come over by my intelligence out of England, was sixteen thousand foot and one thousand horse, and that the ten thousand Scots were not willing to come, except they had so many arms sent them from London. I conceive, by your letter, you have received no news out of England, which moves but slowly; God send when it comes we may receive it with comfort. The ships armed in this harbour have brought but small stores of arms or ammunition, for the supply of town or fort; and when more plenty comes, I believe I have settled a course that it shall not be issued out without my particular warrant, and strict account of every ounce that shall be spent; and those that conveyed the former have not been since in those parts. The town had carefully examined that business before I received your letter that gave me notice of it, I am now in a second pursuit thereof. I believe you will not suddenly be in danger from the county of Mayo, there being little agreement amongst themselves. I expect very speedily much certain intelligence from all parts, and shall soon impart it to you when it comes; and with many thanks for what I have now received from you, shall still be

Galway, the 8th of
March, 1641.

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.
My

Mar. 1641.

My letter to Sir Ulick Burke, the 8th of March.

Noble Cousin,

To Sir Ulick
Burke, the
8th of March.Boetius
Egan, styled
bishop of
Elphin.

I HAVE received your most affectionate advices and assurances of your best assistance, which, I hope, I shall be able to make use of for the present good, and future benefit of us both. The storm that was reported to come from the county of Mayo into these parts, I conceive is dissolved by their own divisions, and the necessities of other places. My cousin Richard and Thomas of Dermaclaghny and Anbally, have been with me upon a letter of protection, and, by my own expressions, and the bating of several friends, I have gained resolutions and vows from them of all future diligence and obedience to my commands. And this inclosed copy from my lord of Mayo hath so exasperated them, that I am confident they will not comply that way, but will be rather assisting to me, if there be occasion in those parts. I am very sensible of the hard condition of the county of Roscommon; I could wish that your friends there would withdraw themselves, and persuade others from the rash error they have fallen into, and excuse past proceedings by want of power; but now countenanced by the strength of the garrisons, to offer to join to reduce them that will continue obstinate, which I believe is now the only way of preservation of that county, and will strengthen this, and on the other side of Portumna. I am confident of the like correspondence for some other counties; if good example do not work with them, they may well deserve to suffer much for many strange inhumanities committed by them; but if all this province could be timely reduced, and enormous crimes punished by ourselves before a severer prosecution comes, it would be a great advantage to them, and honour to me; and God knows Conaght hath least reason to be unruly; and if the clergy might be persuaded to turn their invitations to arms, to prayers and tears, to pacify God's wrath, and expiate our offences, it would produce happiness, instead of the miseries we must otherwise expect. I desire you will present my love and respects unto the reverend father with you, and beseech him to consider the honours, fortune, and blood of his dearest friends he and others must be accountable for, if persuaders of most hopeless and desperate courses. Let him, and others, be pleased to recollect their former reading and experience, wherein, though far more knowing, I will presume to say he can find nothing to contradict my smaller studies, having the examples of Christ, his apostles, and the best of all succeeding ages, to shew us, that religion did ever increase and flourish by humility and obedience, good life and sufferings, and not by shedding of the blood of martyrs; and when the temporal sword was at any time called to assistance, it was begun with a lawful war, not by rapines, spoils, horrid murders, and disobedience to the lawful prince. For whatever pretences may be put upon this action, I must never yield that any native of this kingdom is more knowing of his majesty's intentions than myself; in all this I am confirmed by the rules and instructions I have from my childhood received from very able and devout spiritual fathers, and from the living examples, and dying expressions of my natural father, the memory whereof must be ever most dear and precious to me. If what I have alledged will not prevail to alter their otherwise settled resolutions, I shall expect that there be no interruption given within my government, nor no withdrawing of their duties and affection from those rules I have or shall prescribe for the king's service, nor no thralldom put upon their consciences by compulsory oaths, not warranted by any authority, nor understood by few that proffer, and, I believe, by none that take it; and as little observed, or rather the contrary done by those that have run into the error; and if any shall proceed, notwithstanding this warning given, in discharge of the duty of my place, I shall be forced to stricter and severer courses than will agree with those respects I ever desire to shew to men of their reverend callings, though some put great prejudices upon me, and overthrow my

my careful endeavours for the general good by untimely zeal. And let them try ^{Mar. 1641.} what ways they please, they will in conclusion find there can be no such way of preservation, as the quiet and good government of this county within my commands, &c.

Galway, the 8th of
March, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 10th, many of the best quality of the English within the town of Galway repaired unto me, and delivered me a declaration under all their hands, testifying the good usage they had received from the corporation, desiring me to give order for the publishing it, as a clear testimony of their gratitude, the which I received with great content and satisfaction, hoping it might be a good means to keep all quiet, and a good example to unite captain Willoughby and the corporation to the like correspondence. And to deliver my observation clearly, the town had behaved themselves very well towards the English therein, but not in such full manner as was expressed, to gain them the more safety, they having been sometimes frightened by unruly people who were not duly punished.

The declaration of the English within the town of Galway, the 10th of
March, 1641.

To all christian people, to whom these presents shall come.

WE the protestant prelates, dignitaries, clergy, gentlemen, and others of the English and Scottish nations, whose names are hereunder subscribed, do send greeting, in our Lord God everlasting: Whereas, by means of the general distempers and troubles of this kingdom, for safeguard of our lives, and preservation of our wives, children, and such part of our estates as we could bring with us, we were enforced to repair into his majesty's town of Galway, in the province of Conaght.

Know ye, that we the said persons whose names are hereunder written, do hold ourselves obliged by the ties and bonds of gratitude and justice, of our own motion, to make the ensuing free and voluntary declaration, to be made known unto his most excellent majesty our sovereign lord king Charles, and the states of his highness's three kingdoms, and unto all posterity, as occasion shall be administered, for the best advantage and behoof of the said ancient and most faithful town and corporation of Galway; we therefore hereby declare, that our own persons, our wives and children, and goods, and all others of the nations aforesaid that came to the said town, are, and have been received, protected, and defended by the said corporation, amongst the great dangers and troubles of those times, and used and intreated in the said town with all courtesy, humanity, love, and charity, by the magistrates and all other members of the said town, as in case we had been of their own flesh and blood; and are, and have been freed and exonerated from all cesses, taxes, and tallages whatsoever, which, by the necessity of the times, were imposed upon the freemen and natives of the said corporation. And we do further declare, that no manner of injury, prejudice, or violence was heretofore offered unto us, or any others of the nations aforesaid, either by the said corporation, or by any member of it; neither have we any just cause to fear any hereafter. Lastly, we do declare, that the protestant warden, vicars, and ministers of the said town have, since these troubles began, enjoyed, and do as yet enjoy, all their tythe, church duties, offerings, and other benefits, in as full, large, and ample manner as at any time heretofore, without the least molestation or hindrance of any of the said corporation; and have freely and openly exercised, and do exercise our functions in the parochial church of the said town, as accustomed in the time of peace. In testimony of all which, as of a known and undoubted truth, we have subscribed unto this

Z

our

Mar. 1641. our said declaration, as a loving mark of our remembrance of our thankful acknowledgment to the said corporation. Given at Galway, the 10th day of March, 1641.

Signed by

JOHN YORK, decanus, duar. colleg. regis gardinus.

Immediately upon the delivery of this declaration to me, I sent for the mayor and aldermen, and gave it to them, with special recommendation of the good affection and gratitude of the English towards them, and my expectation that they would readily and chearfully acknowledge it, and give some publick testimony of their loyalty, and fair intentions, both towards the English in the town, and to the captain of his majesty's fort, for the settlement of all former differences, and the assurance of a future amity and good correspondence. Whereupon the next day they brought me a draught of their intended declaration, and another which they conceived necessary for captain Willoughby reciprocally to sign to them, both which I sent to captain Willoughby with a letter, as followeth.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 11th of March, 1641.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

To captain
Willoughby,
the 11th of
March.

I Have been endeavouring to procure you one hundred pounds for supply of his majesty's fort, in regard, I find, that ready money will save much for his majesty, and will be a means to prevent many small differences between the town and you; the money I can obtain, if those declarations between you and the town may receive perfection, which I wish may be, so that his majesty's service nor yourself may be at prejudice. The times are such, that good words ought not to be spared for prevention of the great inconveniencies that may ensue. If the conclusion be with a breach, I intend not to advise you to any thing, but what you conceive may stand with his majesty's service, and your own good, and I am,

Galway, the 11th of
March, 1641.

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The next day, being the 12th, captain Willoughby wrote unto me, acknowledging my great care of him, and his majesty's fort, and that he had by the dean of Tuam sent a draught of a declaration which he conceived fit for him to sign; but if that would not give satisfaction to the corporation, he would be ready to sign any that I would send a rough draught of under my hand. I immediately conferred with the mayor and townsmen, and persuaded them to accept of the declaration offered by captain Willoughby, and they gave me another little differing from their former, and would not, upon any conditions, alter from it, which I sent to captain Willoughby with this letter.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 12th of March, 1641.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

To captain
Willoughby,
the 12th of
March.

I Send you here inclosed the declaration which the corporation is very importunate you should sign, to accompany theirs made unto me. I have perused it, and according to the present state of affairs, I am not unwilling to recommend it to you, taking it for a good argument of their future real intentions, that they are so careful to have former errors past by; and though it may be probable, that, upon some occasions, you might have resented them in another manner to the state, yet I conceive it no wrong, nor disparagement to you, to make this present declaration; I having observed, both by reading, and my own particular knowledge,

ledge, that not only commanders of forts, but governors of provinces, and great princes themselves, have counted it no dishonour to recall their severer and publick expressions. The inconveniencies that may otherwise happen are great, and it will be of very considerable advantage for his majesty's service to have it done, not only for securing of the town and fort, but for the settlement of the whole county. I shall desire to receive your resolution as speedily as may be; and if my credit be not impaired by a disagreement in this particular, I shall forthwith be able to give you satisfaction, and the supply promised, to your full content. I have stayed long, and drawn it now to a point that will not admit further dispute, or alteration. Whatsoever happen I shall not be failing to the utmost of my power for his majesty's service, to give you my best assistance at all times, as likewise approve myself

Galway, the 12th of
March, 1641.

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P.S. If you please to write to your father, and acquaint him with my persuasions, and what other motives you please, I shall be very willing to take it upon me, and will send the copies of both to the state, and do believe I shall find means to convey them safely to Dublin some time this week.

Together with my letter, I sent captain Willoughby this following declaration the next day, signed by the mayor, in behalf of the corporation.

HIS majesty's most humble, faithful, and loving subjects, the mayor, sheriffs, free burgeses, and commonalty of this his majesty's town of Galway, calling into remembrance the fast fidelity of their ancestors to the crown of England, and how far this ancient English colony hath been trusted, and loved by their kings successively, and in what happy condition and prosperity they lived under their powerful protection; and apprehending that in these times of distraction their actions (how innocent, sincere, and loyal soever) may be subject to misconstruction, misreports, and misrepresentations; being desirous, as well in words as in deeds, to prevent the disadvantage which calumny and false aspersions might bring upon his majesty's service, have thought fit to express the candour and sincerity of their intentions, and constantly loyal resolutions. They do therefore freely, voluntarily, and chearfully profess, protest, and declare, that they are, have been, and ever will remain faithful subjects to his sacred majesty king Charles, and to his heirs and lawful successors; and that they will from time to time, with the hazard of the loss of lands, lives, and goods, keep, conserve, and contain this town, and all the inhabitants of it, in their due natural obedience and allegiance to his highness, his heirs, and lawful successors; and that they will, to the utmost of their power, maintain and defend their said sacred sovereign, his heirs, and lawful successors, and his and their lawful rights and prerogatives, against all traiterous practices, assaults, plots and conspiracies, and against all foreign powers, princes, and potentates, or any other whatsoever. And they do hereby declare, that upon all occasions wherein his majesty's service is concerned, either for defence of the said town, or his majesty's fort near it, and his majesty's subjects in the said fort now or hereafter residing, they will contribute their best endeavours, and be vigilant and assisting for the discovering, preventing and punishing of all plots, assaults, or conspiracies intended against the said town or fort; those that reside within the said fort complying with them, in a mutual defence of the said town and fort for his majesty's service. And they will effectually and really shew themselves to be such as they are, his majesty's most humble, faithful, and loving subjects, who will always observe this declaration in every particular, according to the literal sense of the words therein expressed.

The declaration of the town to the fort of Galway, the 13th of March.

WALTER LYNCH, mayor.

Upon

Mar. 1641.
The 12th
of March.

Upon the receipt, and the declaration, captain Willoughby wrote unto me, that he was much distracted within himself, some having promised to subscribe what I would advise him to; that to sign the declaration were to put his hand against the truth, his own knowledge, and honour; that if he had cause to complain hereafter, the state would not believe him; that there was a decree at council board, that three thousand foot should come into those parts, which would be by this means diverted; but if it were for the publick good and my satisfaction, he might sign unto it; whereupon the next morning early I returned this answer.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 13th of March, 1641.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

To captain
Willoughby,
the 13th of
March.

FOR your engagement to me I do freely release it, having no intention to put any further ties upon you in this particular than your own judgment shall direct you. For what concerns the faith and loyalty of the corporation, if that be contrary to the truth and your own knowledge, I shall desire you will prepare a charge, and the proofs to make it good. It concerns me very nearly to have that point cleared, for to me there appears no doubt thereof. The offering to take the oath of allegiance throughout the town, and to expulse any that shall refuse it, with their other declaration, gives me full satisfaction. For the other part which mentions the supplies, though some delays have happened through mistake and passion on both sides, yet, I conceive, it will appear upon account that they, with my assistance, have not sparingly supplied you; and this intended unity between you, would have given much strength to my endeavours, to have it plentifully continued upon all fit occasions. To the other objection, that it may impair your credit or belief with the state, the present motives may well clear that particular; and certainly I shall not be failing to join with you in any just information. And as my thoughts are clear, so I am confident my actions and writings shall ever appear free from partiality to any, or neglect to his majesty's service. And for the forces ordered to come down, I do much doubt they are not in that forwardness you do expect; and I shall so represent the state, not only of some parts of this county, but of the whole province, that though this place were in perfect security, there will be occasion enough to hasten forces into these parts, as soon as they are able to send any. And lest the malice or ignorance of messengers, that pass between this and Dublin, hath, or may draw a prejudice upon me, I shall hasten my dispatches thither, and send the copies of these declarations, which I expected would have received perfection, and the motives that induced me to desire it, and then leave it to their lordships judgment where to place the error or mistake, and the ill consequences that may succeed to this government. I must desire the speedy return of my paper, in such manner as you think fit. I have freely imparted my apprehensions; I have nothing more to say at this present, but still to remain

Galway, the 13th of
March, 1641.

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Captain Willoughby having received this letter, did soon after sign the declaration, and wrote unto me, that he did not intend, nor could he accuse the town of any disloyalty; he meant matters of inferior nature, as their backwardness in supplying the fort, and observing the directions of the state, or those received from me; that finding it tend to the publick good, he had speedily dispatched it to me, his tender care of his charge having made him use some former delay; and desired my assistance and commands upon the town to supply him with some necessaries.

The

Mar. 1641.

The declaration of captain Willoughby concerning the town and corporation of Galway, the 13th of March, 1641.

I Do freely acknowledge and declare, that since the beginning of the present troubles of this kingdom, the corporation of Galway have approved themselves faithful and loyal subjects to his majesty, and have supplied his majesty's fort from time to time, according to such directions as they received from the lords justices and council, and their lieutenant governor the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, as otherwise upon all other occasions hitherto offered that I know of, wherein his majesty's service is, or hath been concerned. Through mistakes, some misapprehensions did, or might happen between them and me, but I find no cause to doubt of their faith and loyalty to the crown. And forasmuch as the said corporation made a declaration of late unto the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, concerning their loyalty unto his majesty, and constant resolution to continue therein, and their willingness and forwardness to comply with me in a mutual defence of the said town, and his majesty's fort near thereto, in these doubtful and troublesome times: I do likewise publish and declare unto all whom it may concern, that I will upon all occasions chearfully and really hold a fair correspondence with them, and do all things which may conduce to the advancement of his majesty's service, and the mutual defence of the said town and fort, and use my best skill and uttermost endeavours, both by advice and assistance, that I can contribute, to comply with them, not only for their defence, but for the offence of any that shall wrong or assault them, or plot or conspire against the said town and fort, and likewise endeavour to prevent and punish them. All which declaration being voluntary, I do protest and promise effectually to perform and make good, in every particular thereof, according to the literal sense of the words herein expressed. Dated at his majesty's fort near Galway, the 13th of March, 1641.

ANTHONY WILLOUGHBY.

Having received this answer, and the declaration signed by captain Willoughby, I sent for the mayor and council, and delivered it them, and did earnestly exhort them to keep a perfect good correspondence with the fort, wherein his majesty's service was highly concerned, their own safety, and the preservation, not only of this county, but the whole province of Conaght. They seemed to receive it with much chearfulness, and forwardness to comply with captain Willoughby, to whom I sent their declaration. And having lent him one hundred pounds in money, furnished him with many other necessaries, and directions for his further supply, I departed from Galway, and went to Loughreagh, with great content and satisfaction, having, as I conceived, overcome great difficulties, and so settled two important places, fort and town, that I should have good opportunity to put the rest of the county into some good order.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 16th of March, 1641.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

AFTER my long stay at Galway I parted with much content, having settled such publick declarations of good correspondence between the town and you, which, I hope, will long continue, by both your desires, and endeavours to comply one with the other, the contrary whereof would make a very dangerous disturbance of his majesty's service in all these parts of the kingdom; and, as it is now settled, it will be of great use and advantage to me, for the quiet settlement of this county, and shall be no impediment to any succour or assistance that can

To captain Willoughby, the 16th of March.

Mar. 1641. be spared from Dublin hither. The English forces that landed there, by particular information, were but fifteen hundred foot, and four hundred horse.

I send you herewith a copy of instructions to the town for the preserving a right understanding between you; and if you conceive them too large, or favourable in their behalf, upon better consideration I can add, or restrain, as shall be found convenient, intending to send them speedily to the state, to receive their further directions therein. For the present, considering the late reconciliation, I held it not fit to put any publick mistrust or restraint upon them, until their minds are better settled, by fair proceedings between you, and such private instructions as I have or shall give to the discreetest and ablest persons there. And upon your giving me notice of any large portion of arms or ammunition come into the town, I can by my own presence, or warrant, issue out for the fort, and the county, as much as shall exceed their necessary defence; both town and county being yet scrupulous, that if all were carried to the fort, I have not that power or interest in you, as that my warrants shall be obeyed for the disposal of it; but a short time will gain a fair understanding. And as you have been hitherto very respectful and observant to me, so if you please to rely still upon my knowledge of the humours and conditions of men, and the present state of all affairs abroad, I doubt not to give his majesty and the state a good account of my proceedings, and likewise satisfy you that I am not failing in my good affections to yourself, nor the respect due to your employment.

The lord archbishop of Tuam, and the bishop of Clonfert, have been earnest with me for the pressing of Mr. Clarke's ship for the transporting of them, and some others of the English in Galway. If you can persuade Mr. Clarke thereto, or find any means how he may be satisfied near to his other intended freight, that may not be at too great a prejudice, I shall be very willing to comply with their lordships therein, upon notice from you that it may be conveniently done, and shall speedily send my warrant to that effect.

For the pressing of the French ship, I conceive the going and coming back will take up so much time, that it cannot be of any use or advantage to you; and whether being a stranger, he will be intrusted to that employment, besides his prejudice of losing his other voyage. There are store of ships at Dublin, and if you send any letters to me, I can speedily and safely convey them thither, which will much expedite what you desire.

I left an account to be signed by you, I having nothing else to secure my engagements for supply of the fort, which I desire may be sent me by the next conveniency; and for the one hundred pounds I lent you on Mr. Radcliff's security out of the two hundred pounds the state directed him to pay you, if supplies come not seasonably unto you, I shall endeavour, upon notice given me, to forbear it longer, and let you have the full benefit of that direction besides, though monies be very scarce with me.

The billet money for one hundred men, the town are ready and willing to continue, being more, as they conceive, than they are obliged to, having delivered in beds, and other things, into the fort, for accommodating the soldiers. I am at this present so much pressed with country affairs, that my memory is much disturbed. When I come to Portumna, whither I am now going, I shall recollect myself better, to which if you add any thing by your letters to me, I shall be very careful to supply the defects of this time, if what I have now directed be not to your satisfaction; and shall still remain

Loughreagh, the 16th of
March, 1641.

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My

the Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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Mar. 1641.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 16th of March, 1641.

Mr. Mayor,

I Am hastening a dispatch to Dublin with the declarations, and shall give such further testimony of your good inclinations and affections to his majesty's service as will remove all suspicions, that hath or may be raised by any other misinformations; and I intend likewise to write to their lordships, that there may be no stop nor restraint put upon any of the goods of the town, remaining now at Dublin. The day before my departure from Galway, you publickly propounded a general taking the oath of allegiance, and though you have several other ways, to the same effect, given full and clear satisfaction, yet in regard it was, and may be discoursed of, lest it might be thought that you have refused or declined it, I hold it fit to advise you to proceed therein. I send herewith several instructions for the present settling and preserving of good correspondence with the fort; and what hath been added or omitted of what I first intended, you may give assurance is for the good of the town, according to my knowledge how affairs stand abroad; and when I find the minds of the multitude in your town quiet, and well settled, I can and shall be ready to add any thing that may give you content, and best express my own good affections to you. I must particularly recommend it to your special care, that no arms or ammunition be secretly conveyed out of your town; it is much spoken of in the country, and may be remembered to your prejudice, if you be not vigilant and active in the finding out and punishing such abuses. I am now very full of country business, by reason of my long stay in town, which disturbs my present expressions; when I am a while settled, and better recollected, you shall hear farther from me; and I shall still remain

Loughreagh the 16th of
March, 1641.

Your loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Instructions to be observed by the fort and town of Galway, dated the 16th of
March, 1641.

By the lieutenant governor for the county and town of Galway.

WHEREAS some differences have of late grown between the town of Galway and his majesty's fort near it, upon the arrival of some shipping in the harbour there, and upon other occasions, which tho' of their own nature small, yet being aggravated with some circumstances, and accompanied with some misconstructions on either side, were like to kindle a flame, and make a great rupture between these two places, of so great importance for the advancement of his majesty's service, and defence of themselves, and in a considerable measure of the whole county, and in some degree of the whole province of Conaght; I have thought fit, for the more speedy accommodating and composing thereof, and prevention of the like for the time to come, and of the sad effects which might ensue thereupon, to lay down the rules and directions hereafter following, the same to be continued during the great distempers now spread abroad in the kingdom, not intending thereby to invade upon, or violate any privileges, liberties, or trust appertaining to either party, but leaving the same free for debate in more peaceable and settled times; and I do, in his majesty's name, require and command all magistrates, officers, and others his majesty's subjects whom it may concern, that they obey and observe the same, wherein if I shall find their neglect, averfeness, or obstinacy, I have taken a resolution to present it unto his majesty, and the lords justices, or other chief governors and council of this kingdom, to their disadvantage, and to resent it as a wrong and disaffection to

Mar. 1641. to me and this government, and exemplarily to punish it in any under my command, according to the nature and circumstances of the offence.

1. Upon the arrival of any ship, or vessel, in the port of Galway, or that commonly called the new haven, that no merchant, or other, go aboard the same without directions from the mayor of the said town for the time being; and that such as first go on board, shall take one or more of the officers of the custom-house in their boat; and likewise, as they pass by, take into their boat one, two, or three out of his majesty's fort (such as he that commands the same shall employ) unless there be a boat belonging to the said fort, and officers then ready to go aboard; to the end, that, with fair correspondency, the magistrates and members of the corporation, and his majesty's officers (who are first on board) may know, and be able to give an account what the lading is, and of the persons that are in such ship, or vessel, and receive the first and best intelligence concerning all foreign affairs, the better to guide them in the execution of their places respectively.

2. That being done, and an entry made in the custom-house of all the imported commodities, and his majesty's customs answered, or compounded for, as is usual, that no delay or interruption be put upon the owner, or merchants of such ship, or vessel, by the governor of the said fort, the magistrates of the said town, or any other, but that they may, with all convenient speed, unload, and bring to shore their said commodities.

3. That an exact account be taken, and kept by those that go from the town, fort, and officers of the custom-house, severally, and respectively, of all pieces of ordnance, and of all manner of armour and ammunition that shall be in such ship, or vessel, and that a note thereof, with all conveniency, be sent to me by them respectively.

4. That no piece of ordnance be taken out of any such ship, or vessel, landed, or brought into the said town, without my special directions, or the allowance of him that commands the said fort in my absence, when necessity requires the same, for preservation of the said ordnance, or safety of the said town and fort; and that no arms or ammunition be landed before that account be taken thereof, let the same belong to the ship, or merchants; and that the same, and every part thereof, when it is landed, shall be brought into one or more rooms in the town, and put under the locks; the keys thereof to remain in the hands of the mayor and council of the said town, or such as they shall appoint; and that no part of the said arms or ammunition, under any colour, be issued or delivered unto any whatsoever, without a warrant of the said council, or three or more of them, under their hands, and that only to the use of the said town or fort, or by my special directions; and that an entry in some book be made and kept of each quantity of powder, and each armour that is delivered, and to whom, and of the time of the delivery thereof; and if any such arms or ammunition be put into wrong hands, or employed to the prejudice of his majesty's service, or of the commonwealth, I shall impute the blame, and lay the punishment upon those so intrusted, by whose warrant the same was delivered; and that a strict watch be kept over the place where the said arms and ammunition shall lie, in case any considerable quantity thereof shall hereafter arrive: And that no armour or ammunition be disposed of to any, but to the said town or fort, without my special directions; and that once in every fortnight an account be taken by the said council, or the greater number of them, of all such armour and ammunition, to see if any part thereof be wanting, and if they find that there is, that speedy notice thereof be sent to me, that such punishment may be inflicted upon the delinquents, as an offence of so high a nature doth deserve.

5. That his majesty's fort for ready money be first supplied with reasonable and a proportionable provision, having regard to the quantity imported of any commodities to be exposed to sale, that shall be brought in any such ship, or vessel.

6. That

6. That an exact account be forthwith taken, and kept, through the care and direction of the said mayor and council, of all pieces of ordnance, small and great mortars, and all manner of arms and ammunition that now are in the town of Galway, and be sent or delivered unto me with all convenient speed; and that the like be done for all manner of arms or ammunition, that shall hereafter come unto the said harbour or town. Mar. 1641.

7. That notwithstanding no one doth go out of the said fort in any boat that doth go aboard such ship, or vessel, yet the master, or owner thereof, or merchant, that doth arrive in the same, shall, upon his first landing, come into the said fort, to give advertisement unto the commander of the said fort of such occurrences within his knowledge, as he shall desire to know.

8. That no commodities of any kind, arms or ammunition, belonging to the said town, be brought ashore in any other place, creek, or river, but in the usual landing places, in or near the keys of Galway; and that no boat go aboard such ship, or vessel, but from the said usual landing places, unless it be upon a special occasion, and that to be done by direction of the said mayor, or him that commands the fort, and that in cases merely concerning his majesty's service, who will take care that his majesty be not defrauded of his custom, nor the commonwealth take prejudice thereby in those times of distempers.

9. That the mayor and commander of the fort, respectively, take care severely to punish all such, under their several and respective commands, as carry false messages, and spread false whisperings and reports in town, or fort, or elsewhere, or breed or cherish misunderstanding, jealousies, or dissention between the said town or fort; and that the like course be by them taken, to punish all such as come into the said harbour, town, or fort, and scatter untrue reports without good grounds, intimating, or importing things to be done, or intended in this kingdom, or any of his majesty's dominions, which may encourage any to the breach of his majesty's peace, or of that accord and unity that ought to be cherished and maintained between his majesty's subjects.

10. That no guard be sent into any such ship, or vessel, but where his majesty's service is specially concerned, unless the owner or merchant thereof desire the same.

11. That the said town shall to their power afford all necessary supply unto the said fort; and that the said fort give all necessary supply they can spare unto the said town, for the mutual defence of both places.

12. That for the better preservation of unity and correspondency between the said town and fort, the said town do forthwith appoint two or more able discreet persons, that shall, upon all occasions, repair to the said fort, and advise with the commander thereof, concerning the common defence of both places, and settle a right understanding and peace between them, whereby all occasions of jealousy may be removed.

13. That none of the soldiers of the said fort, or of the servants or messengers of the said commander, be permitted to come into the said town, unless they bring a ticket under the said commander's hand, licencing them thereunto, which is much desired by the said commander for satisfaction of the said town, and prevention of any disorder; and that such as shall be by him employed with such licence, be civilly and respectfully used in the said town; and that the magistrates be ready and willing to give them assistance in the execution of such warrants as they shall produce from me, in buying all necessary provisions for the said fort for their ready money.

14. That the magistrates of the said town be careful severely, and without partiality, to punish such of the said town as will not give obedience to these my directions, and such others, which I their governor, or the said magistrates, shall give, for the better ordering and good government of the said town; and that they send unto me a note of the names of such whom they shall find stubborn and refractory thereunto.

Mar. 1641.
The 16th of
March.

Having finished these letters and instructions, and sent letters and directions to other parts of the country, I departed from Loughreagh the same day, and repaired to Portumna, where my family remained; and the next day I wrote several dispatches, and sent a short letter to the lords justices, to give them some brief touches of passages here, until I could make up a more large relation.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 17th of March.

MY LORDS,

I Received your lordships of the 7th of the last month on the 7th of this present at Galway, where I remained twelve days to compose several disputes and differences between the fort and town, and to settle a course to prevent future mistakes, and preserve a fair correspondence between them, wherein I met with very good success. I likewise there received two commissions from your lordships, the one for goal delivery, and the other for making William Delamain high sheriff, both which I hope to make good use of for the quiet government of this county.

I returned home but late the last night. I shall speedily go in hand with a large dispatch to your lordships, wherein I shall give an account of the fort, the town, and the whole county, I hope, to your lordships good satisfaction, though not in that perfect state I did labour to preserve it in. I shall likewise deliver my knowledge of the other parts of this province, and the true relation of the bloody and inhuman massacre at Shreull, done upon many English and Scots, of which, I thank God, this county is totally free, more than that part of their blood hath stained the soil, as by several depositions will appear, to be sent to your lordships by my next dispatch. These brief touches of our present state I thought fit to hasten to your lordships, until, with better leisure, and more safety, I may convey my intended dispatches. I will add nothing more, but wishing your lordships all successful happiness, still remain

Portumna, the 17th of
March, 1641.

Your lordships most humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The 17th of
March, dated
the 12th.

This day I received letters from Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Hugh O Connor, who had been formerly with me upon the 3d of February, from the gentry of the county of Roscommon, excusing their long delay of giving me an account of their former employment, occasioned through the lamentable destructions of that county, some of their gentry being cut off, and many taken prisoners, so that they could not meet with safety to conclude upon any thing; that some few of them had met, and concluded upon a return to be sent unto me, of which they sent me a copy, the original being sent into the several baronies, to be signed by those that could not come then together.

The copy of the letter of the gentlemen of the county of Roscommon, directed to me, dated the 14th of March.

Right Honourable,

Received the
17th, dated
the 14th of
March.

THE return your lordship gave to our addresses, sent by Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Hugh O Connor, gives us just cause to acknowledge ourselves extremely bound to your favours. Your lordship, as it appears therein, and by what else we find, having a most lively sense, not only of our particular and present condition, and how to compose the distractions thereof, but also of the state of the kingdom in general, now so much out of frame. May it please your lordship, those noble thoughts of yours, with the confidence we have in your lordship's real intendments to endeavour such a settlement for us, as may, in a high

high measure, tend to his majesty's service, the preservation of our lives, liberties Mar. 1641. and religion, have gained so far upon our hearts and affections, as we are resolved to fix upon the ways of your advice, and give consent, if your lordship be pleased, that such a person, of integrity and trust, as your lordship mentions in your letter, be employed to the lord president, that your lordship, and he, with such as we shall appoint to attend you, may join in the representation of our just grievances unto his sacred majesty, and solicit his gracious redress, being all we look for; as likewise in taking a speedy course of cessation, upon such safe and honourable conditions as shall be agreed, from those violent and cruel acts of hostility, which in this county on both sides are daily attempted and committed, to the utter destruction of the county, and his majesty's great disservice. All which we most seriously recommend, and submit to your lordship's care and better judgment, as we do ourselves, who are

The 14th of March, 1641.

Your lordship's most humble servants.

My letter to Sir Lucas Dillon, and Mr. Hugh O Connor, 17th of March.

SIRS,

I Cannot but be very sensible of the great and miserable calamities that are now To Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Hugh Oge O Connor, the 17th of March. spread over this unfortunate kingdom, and have a particular sense and feeling of the desolations that are upon that county, by the great spoils acted on both sides; and if my advices had been called upon in the beginning, these mischiefs had been prevented, which are now grown dangerous, and make the cure most difficult. When the gentlemen of your county shall apply themselves to me in that manner you propound, there shall be no failing in my endeavours to perform all the best I can for a pacification, and a fit and just redress of your complaints. In the mean time, I shall desire a speedy course may be taken that the ways may be open and free for my dispatches to my lord president; for I will assure you it hath not been for the good of this kingdom that intelligence hath been kept from me, and my packets stopt and intercepted. I have no more to say, but to wish and desire that your actions and proceedings may be so guided, that I may meet with no impediment in the performance of what shall best approve me

Portumna, the 17th of
March, 1641.

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Charles Coote, the 17th of March, 1641.

Worthy Sir,

YOUR letter of the 10th of this present, I found here the last night at my To Sir Charles Coote, the 17th of March. coming home; and the good success of the garrisons in those parts came likewise to my knowledge upon the way. I have been desired to move for a pacification and cessation of arms in that county, and that I should write to my lord president to that purpose. I am very tender how to meddle with affairs of that nature without some intimation from you of your inclinations, that were the first that suffered in those unhappy commotions. I am very sorry for the miserable desolation that the gentlemen of that county have drawn upon you at first, and now upon themselves. I could wish there were some pacification before all be totally ruined, there being many of them, as I conceive, that were compelled by the threats and strength of their neighbours, to run to those courses contrary to their own inclinations; and if I might but know how yourself, and some other of the garrisons are disposed thereto, I should for a time propose a cessation of arms unto my lord president, and do conceive they might not only be brought to

Mar. 1641. to a settlement, but be a means to reduce other parts of the province to obedience, the better sort of the gentry of other counties being, as I am informed, weary of the extravagant courses they have extravagantly run into.

I should be very glad to furnish you with those pieces you desire, but they are my own greatest want, the fort of Galway not having sufficient for the men that are there, my own castles, many of them wanting defence, and my own houses; where my own family resides, but very slenderly provided. There are ships daily expected, but all assistance moves but slowly into those parts, &c.

Portumna, the 17th of
March, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 19th of March, 1641.

MY LORDS,

To the Lords
Justices, the
19th of
March.

I Received your lordships dispatches of the 7th of the last month on the 7th of this present at Galway, where I remained twelve days, to compose some differences between the fort and the town, upon the arrival of two ships out of France, the lading being wheat and salt, with a very small proportion of arms and ammunition for the town, but two barrels of powder, three dozen of flight calivers, some pike heads, and a few halberts; and upon this slight beginning, the captain giving opposition to the landing of them, a very great distemper did arise, through passion and jealousy on both sides, which might have proved of dangerous consequence, if it had not been quieted by my speedy repair thither; and that being settled, I found much difficulty to direct a course to prevent future disputes, and to preserve a fair correspondency between them. And I do now hope they are firmly united by what I send your lordships herewith, the publick declarations of the fort and corporation, and of the English clergy, and others, now residing within the town, which, I presume, will give your lordships good satisfaction of my care to preserve those two important places in strength and amity, being the safety, as I conceive, not only of this county, but of all those parts of the kingdom. I likewise send your lordships certain instructions sent to Galway, to prevent future mistakes, which are but temporary, especially for the arms and ammunition, until your lordships further pleasure be declared. I hold it not fit, so newly after reconciliation, to put a mistrust upon them, which have been very ill taken to be my act, without command from your lordships; and yet to prevent the worst, I took order with captain Willoughby, upon the arrival of any plenty of arms or ammunition, which, I am informed, they have sent for by virtue of the late proclamation for their own defence, that he should give me a speedy notice thereof, that I might repair thither if there were occasion, or, by my warrant, issue out for the fort or county what should be above a fit proportion for their own defence. But if your lordships shall not think fit to have any landed in the town, but to go immediately to the fort, I must then desire that your lordships will take order the fort obey my warrants for the issuing out of arms and ammunition for town and county, as I shall see occasion; and likewise give direction how the merchant shall be satisfied that hath bought them.

My lords, I cannot but be very sensible how much myself, and others, have suffered by reports and false tales carried up to Dublin (as I am informed) by one Hufsey, and some others; though I am confident your lordships will not easily admit any distrust to light upon me, knowing my own thoughts and actions so clear, that I doubt not to justify myself at all times; yet I am very sorry it reflects so much in present upon the persons of divers honest gentlemen, as namely Sir Robuck Lynch, Sir Dominick Brown, Mr. Martin, and divers others, who, I am confident, are faithful and loyal, and full of worth and discretion; and I have

have cause to believe very well of the whole corporation, though there may be ^{Mar. 1741.} some rash young men, and others high-minded, that do stomach a young captain should exercise more authority over them than they conceive his father would have done, whose person they do much respect, and often wish him there. For my part, I must do captain Willoughby that right, he hath ever been very observant and respectful to me, and I assure your lordships hath been diligent in strengthening of the fort; and both the place and persons within are in a very good posture, to resist any attempt that can be made against them; and if his informations were no other than he affirms to me, it did no ways misbecome him to give your lordships intimation thereof, the times being so dangerous and unsettled; though, upon enquiry, I find nothing well grounded for an accusation, especially against any of quality there; and it is both the captain's desire, and mine, that Hussey his examination of what he delivered at Dublin may be exactly taken, and himself forthcoming, if he have misreported his instructions, and injured persons of worth and quality here.

I send your lordships a copy of an account under captain Willoughby's hand, which I keep, being all the security I have for my engagements, by which, I hope, it will appear the town, with my assistance, have not very sparingly supplied the fort, nor shall he from time to time want any thing that shall be within my power to furnish him, though I assure your lordships, there is so great scarcity of monies, and other provisions; the estates of many of Galway being seized upon in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, and other parts, that it will be very necessary your lordships should send speedily both arms, ammunition and money about by sea to the fort. And I shall offer it to your lordships consideration to take some notice of the careful endeavours of Sir Richard Blake, and Mr. Recorder, who have been very ready to do all good offices to prevent mistakes, and qualify distempers; and if your lordships please to give a touch that you hold a good opinion of Sir Robuck Lynch, and do not credit any thing to his prejudice, I doubt not he will well deserve your lordships favour.

I must humbly desire your lordships, that Mr. Carpenter, Mr. Carr, and Mr. Little, the contractors for tobacco, may be treated with; and that your lordships send to John Bermingham of Galway, merchant, who hath the charge of the magazine of a great quantity of tobacco that lieth in Galway, to sell the same at the price of other tobacco of the same quality, and that whether it belongs to his majesty or the contractors, the money may be disposed for supply of the fort, and his majesty's occasions here, and satisfaction made to any that hath interest therein. Before your lordships last directions came to Mr. Radcliffe to supply the fort with two hundred pounds, I was enforced to issue warrants to him for payment of some monies to the fort; and he delivering an account but of little monies in his hands, and many debts due to his majesty from the town for the customs, I likewise granted warrants for the gathering of those debts; and coming in but slowly, in regard they alledge their bonds are in the exchequer, I have undertaken to save them harmless; and have for the present borrowed, and caused one hundred pounds to be delivered to captain Willoughby, to be paid me out of the customs that shall hereafter come in. After the fort is plentifully provided for, give me leave earnestly to entreat your lordships that I may have your directions for the receipt of the composition, and exchequer rents of this county, and that my own, and company's entertainment, may be paid out of those monies; and I shall be a provident accountant of what shall come unto my hands. And your lordships may be pleased to consider the continual charges I am at in several journies, in and about the county, and the frequent assembling and entertaining of the gentlemen for his majesty's service, and all provisions very dear, and no monies to be had, or taken up on any terms.

I make no question but your lordships have heard of the bloody and inhuman massacre done at Shreull upon many English and Scots. I immediately sent down

Mar. 1641. commissioners to examine that business; and, by many clear testimonies, I find that none of the county of Galway had a hand in that detestable fact, though those of Mayo were, and, I believe, desirous to have tainted the county therewith, driving many of them over the bridge, to stain this soil with part of their blood; but, however, if there had been a real intention to have preserved them, I should certainly have been sent to, and then they could not have failed of a safe convoy through this county. The bishop of Killalla, his wife and children, escaped happily with their lives, being stripped, and the bishop hurt. Mr. Ulick Burke of Castle-Hacket relieved them, and kept them with much care and respect a long time at his house; and after, by my directions, conveyed them safe to Galway when I was there; and I have taken good order for their living there, until a ship be ready to convey them into England, which his lordship doth much desire, and the lord archbishop of Tuam, and bishop of Clonsfert.

I did long since inform your lordships of the treachery and perfidious dealing of young Morrogh na doe O Flaherty surprizing my castle of Aghnenewre in Irrconaght; but in regard it was in a remote corner, my own interest most concerned therein, and that he, and his companions, have not molested these other parts of the county, I have hitherto forbore to vindicate my honour, and recover my right, lest I might draw danger upon the rest of the county in my absence; the minds of many being wrought upon, and much unsettled, and he nearly allied to gentlemen of quality, both of this, and the county of Mayo, and the common people so inclined to spoil and liberty. But now the town and fort of Galway being, I hope, well united, I shall use my utmost endeavours to settle and preserve this county in due obedience, and to recover as much as may be for the English inhabitants of these parts, that have been robbed of most of their cattle, and some of their goods, wherein many of the Irish have had their share of suffering by base unruly people. And if I find a fit opportunity for it, I shall desire your lordships directions to captain Willoughby to be assisting to me for the recovery of that castle, as far as he may, without prejudice to the fort, your lordships knowing how slenderly I am provided with arms and ammunition.

The troubles I have sustained, and the perplexities I have been put into by crafty practices to seduce men's minds from duty and loyalty to his majesty, and their affections from myself, together with the violent proceedings of all neighbouring parts, would have much distressed me long before this time, if I had not been faithfully assisted by the industry and great abilities of Mr. justice Donnellan, to whom I owe very much of my preservation hitherto, and do hope in good time to overcome the difficulties still remaining. We have lately heard of your lordships good success about Dublin, which hath much revived many in these parts, that have long expected relief and succours from your lordships, which now they hope will not be long deferred. I will no longer enlarge myself at this present, but wishing your lordships all successful happiness, and a good and speedy conclusion to these unfortunate troubles, still remain

Portumna, the 19th of
March, 1641.

Your lordships humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Captain Willoughby's letter, dated March 19th, received the 21st.

Most honourable good LORD,

Captain
Willoughby
the 19th, re-
ceived the
21st of
March.

I Shall in these, and all other things, submit to the clearness of your judgment, which, with great happiness, doth not only remove all impediments, but easily reconcileth the furthest distant differences. I shall, God willing, punctually observe your rules, which you sent, as I hope and shall expect the town should do

do the like. My very good lord, I am sorry the town and county should have ^{Mar. 1641.} any such opinion, that if the arms and ammunition were in the fort you should not command them; but I beseech your honour, be assured in your own opinion, that I shall be ever ready to obey your honour's commands in that, as well as in other things, and as ready as the town itself, or any other person whatsoever. For Mr. Clarke, it is certain that none of the town will employ him with any freight for England, and for passengers, it is not likely any great matter will be expected more than from the three bishops themselves, and their company, and very few besides, which cannot be imagined to rise to more than a hundred marks, or thereabouts. His chiefest ambition is, that your lordship will employ him with some letters to the state in England, and withal to intimate that there was no other ship to transport the bishops and English from Galway to England. He is indifferent whether your lordship signify to the state that you send him by way of pressing, or by way of persuasions, though I think he rather desires to be pressed, and leave the recompence unto the state there, from whom he hopes, and expects some farther employment by this means. I had signed the account before the receipt of your honour's letter, which I believe Mr. Bermingham hath sent unto your lordship before this. I must remain most thankful unto your honour for the noble proffer about the one hundred pounds, which I shall only presume to make use of according as absolute necessity shall require. My lord, there is some great mistake, or misinformations, for the town did never deliver any bedding, or any things of that kind, ever since my first coming into the fort; therefore I shall desire your honour in your next letter unto the town, to put them in mind to pay the said billet money. I am afraid that I shall hardly be provided with corn out of the market of Galway; and therefore I humbly entreat your honour to give directions unto your officers, that, if possible, I may be supplied out of the county, and I will pay ready money for it as your officers shall agree for. I have here inclosed sent your honour a letter unto my father unsealed, which, if your lordship shall approve of, I humbly pray that it may be sent safe with your own, or otherwise I shall desire to have it sent back unto me. I have here likewise sent your lordship the examinations of the massacre at Shreull, according to your commands. Upon the conclusion of this letter Clarke's ship was seized upon by the townsmen, he being at the same time at the fort, to send this letter to your honour which I here send; and some of his men being at the same time employed to fetch stones for to ballast her, Clarke fearing that the ship should be made use of against his majesty, made several shots at her to sink the ship if he could, whereof failing, they have drawn the ship out of my reach. How dangerous the consequence hereof may prove to the whole province, I refer it to your honour, under correction. My lord, if ever your honour had cause to repair to Galway in person, now you have. Before a shot was made I writ a letter to the mayor, and likewise unto those that surprized the ship, but as yet have received no answer from either, whereby I might have given your lordship a fuller account; for as soon as the ship was taken, the town gates were shut, being about nine of the clock this present day, and as yet not opened, which I leave unto your honour's wisdom, as being the weightiest business that ever was; so I humbly take my leave, and crave your pardon.

Your honour's most humble servant to command,

From the fort, this 19th of March,
at eight of the clock at night.

ANTHONY WILLOUGHBY.

Captain.

Mar. 1641.

Captain Willoughby's letter to me the 20th, received the 21st of March.

My most honourable good LORD,

I Formerly signified unto you how Clarke's ship was taken by some of the town. The gates of the town have been shut ever since, so that I cannot get any satisfactory answer, or sufficient intelligence from town, or ship. I received a letter at this instant from a credible person of the town; and have likewise been informed by some that got out of the town, that the contents of the inclosed is true. My centinels observed yesternight a light in the top of the highest house in the town; I cannot expound the meaning of it. I observed this day that the bell did not ring to prayers as it used to do, and I am informed, that the doors of the church have been shut ever since yesterday. My lord, we have hitherto subsisted by your lordship's faith and favour to us, and we hope that your honour, considering the greatness of our danger, will multiply your care of our defence and protection. These actions will hardly admit any colour of words to excuse them, and therefore I humbly pray your lordship to represent our danger to the state at full, and be a means for us to receive some present aid. We would not so much fear our enemies if we could get corn for our money; without your honour's help and assistance we are like to perish for want thereof, if no other way. I assure myself, that your honour will take order that mine, and the English in the town, signing to the declaration, be not a stop or delay to our expected and present succours. The English in town are much afraid of a second massacre, which God forbid. The town do still detain my soldiers, as well those that were sent disarmed from the ship, as those employed by me in the market yesterday. My lord, many mischiefs may be prevented by your presence and wisdom, wherein I cannot direct you, but wholly depend upon your goodness and wisdom, which I have always found in you. So I humbly take leave with the tender of my humble service unto your honour, and rest in haste,

Your honour's most humble servant to command,

From his majesty's fort, the 20th of
March, 1641.

ANTHONY WILLOUGHBY.

The letter he sent inclosed to me, which he received out of the town, did mention the taking of the ship by one Dominick Kirwan, and some other merchants, disguised among boatmen, that used to come for salt, armed with pistols and skeans. They killed the master's mate, and one more, and dangerously hurt two or three, and upon their return disarmed all the English in the town.

The mayor of Galway's letter to me the 21st, received the 22d of March.

MY LORD,

The mayor
of Galway,
the 21st, re-
ceived the
22d of
March.

THE necessity of this place for matter of arms for their defence, occasioned by unlawful proclamations, and not relieved by the fort, and not permitted to be relieved for money, did administer occasion to divers to believe, that a hard opinion was undeservedly conceived of our loyalty; and the restraining of our men aboard, and seizing upon the ships and goods, there was but very little distinction made between us and enemies. Some of the town finding themselves in this extremity, surprized Clarke's ship; and the ordnance and ammunition is landed for the defence of the town, which otherwise stood in great danger. It is not meant nevertheless to keep the same without paying for it; but as we have first offered to buy the ship and goods from him, the same price shall be still paid him. The English are disarmed, to prevent any strife between them, and others of this town, which might draw a great inconveniency upon them,
and

and the example of the like usage to catholicks, we took from Dublin, Corke, ^{Mar. 1641.} and Youghall, whose present miserable condition did put us in mind of what we were to expect; but in life, liberty, and goods, they shall be as free as we. And therefore, for our just and natural defence, we have all taken in our thosel an oath of union, mutual defence, and faith to our good and gracious king, the copy of which I send unto your lordship, and do humbly and zealously wish it may receive your lordship's countenance and approbation. I am commanded by the corporation to assure your lordship, all the inhabitants of this town are, and ever will remain his majesty's most humble, loyal, and loving subjects, and your lordship's most affectionate friends and servants, that upon all occasions shall approve themselves such, and I, my lord, will ever remain

Your honour's very loving friend and servant,

Galway, the 21st of
March, 1641.

WALTER LYNCH, mayor.

The copy of the oath taken by the townsmen of Galway, sent me by the mayor, and after spread in the country to make a party for them.

IN the name of God, and the blessed Virgin Mary, and of the whole court of ^{The oath of association taken at Galway, March.} heaven, I A. W. do profess, testify, and declare in my conscience, that our sovereign lord king Charles is the lawful sovereign lord and king of this kingdom, and all other his kingdoms and dominions; and that I will bear true faith and allegiance unto him, his heirs, and lawful successors, and him and them, and the lawful rights and prerogatives of his crown, against all foreign power, states, and potentates, and against all traiterous practices, will uphold, maintain, and defend as far, as in me lyeth.

I do further profess, promise, and avow, to uphold, maintain, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the catholick Roman religion; and that I will not willingly do, or suffer to be done, any harm or prejudice to any Roman catholick, that shall join in this union, in his life, liberty, lands, goods, or chattles, either for fear, hope of reward, revenge, or malice; and that if any shall oppress, or wrong any that shall take this oath, I will take the wrong done unto myself, and, as far as in me lyeth, will labour to get the party so wronged fit reparation, without distinction of any, for being of town or country.

I do moreover protest, promise, and vow, that I will sincerely and truly do my best endeavours to uphold, maintain, and defend the common laws of this kingdom, the statute of Magna Charta, and all other statutes made or established in this kingdom for the liberty of the subjects; and that I will never give way to change them, or any of them, without the authority of the parliament; and that I will maintain and uphold the liberties, privileges, and rights of parliament, as far as it shall lie in my power.

Lastly, I promise, vow and protest, to be true and faithful to the corporation of Galway, saving my faith to our sovereign lord the king; and that I will maintain, uphold, and defend all the rights, liberties, privileges, immunities, and possessions thereof; and that I will well and truly keep their counsels, and diligently and carefully observe their lawful commands; and, as far as in me lyeth, will protect all and every member thereof in the lawful fruition of his life, liberty, lands, goods, and chattles. So help me God, and the contents of this holy gospel.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 22d of March.

Mr. Mayor,

I Am very sorry that my careful endeavours for his majesty's service, and your ^{To the mayor of Galway, the 22d of March.} own preservation, hath met with such opposite proceedings, having good cause to believe that what you have done to prevent the dangers that threatened ^{you,} D d

Mar. 1641. you, will in time rather prove to your greater prejudice; if, as you alledge, the surprizing of those dangerous commodities be only for your own safety, and be contained within your own limits, and not issued out to the disturbance of other places, and that you continue in amity with his majesty's fort, and supply the captain for his money, and preserve the English amongst you, your actions may meet with the more favourable constructions hereafter. I have no more to say for the present, since, I perceive, by the superscription of your letter, it is not your intentions to afford me the title of your lieutenant governor.

Portumna, the 22d of
March, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 22d of March.

MY LORDS,

To the Lords
Justices, the
22d of
March.

SINCE the making up of my other dispatches, I have received these most sad and unfortunate relations from the fort and town of Galway, which puts so great a distraction upon me that I know not which way to make my applications to your lordships, or how to guide my own actions here. The sudden and desperate attempt, after so many great and publick professions of loyalty to his majesty, unity with the fort, and respects to me, makes me not know whom to trust, and, with all probability, to expect almost a general defection and shaking off all obedience to my commands for his majesty's service, or the preservation of the country from those miseries that threaten ruin to the whole kingdom. I send your lordships the several letters I have received, and the copy of their covenant. Your lordships may be pleased to take the whole matter into your speedy and serious considerations, being of great concernment as can happen in this kingdom. The situation of the place considered, both for receiving in, and issuing forth those dangerous commodities they have made themselves masters of. They have not informed me the number of the ordnance, nor quantity of powder in Mr. Clarke's ship. As I remember, he had twelve pieces of ordnance, and seven or eight barrels of powder, and about a dozen muskets, their own store, that they would acknowledge; upon search made there were two pieces of ordnance, four mortars, five chambers, ten old bases without chambers, about a hundred muskets and calivers, and as many pikes, four barrels of powder, and three dozen of calivers, that came from them in Mr. Clarke's ship.

I am at this instant hastening into those parts to try what friends are left me, or what assistance or advice they will give me, and what I shall be able to do. Your lordships shall have speedy notice if my letters do meet with a safe conveyance. My uttermost endeavours shall not be failing to supply the fort, though I make no question I shall meet with opposition, and many difficulties therein. I have newly received a letter from my lord Clanmorris, giving me notice of a letter sent to him by the mayor and corporation, by which, I perceive, they are always very busily working: his constant and most faithful expressions give me some comfort in the afflictions now upon me. Your lordships may be pleased, with great expedition, to send strong forces into these parts, or think of some fit way to quench this flame, which otherwise will not only consume us here, but grow to that height as will cost much time and blood to extinguish it. My lords, for my own particular, I shall ever be found constant and unalterable in the midst of dangers, to that duty I owe his majesty, and most observant of those commands I shall receive from your lordships in that behalf; and still remain

Portumna, the 22d of
March, 1641.

Your lordships most humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My

Mar. 1641.

My letter to my lord justice Parsons, the 23d of March.

My LORD,

HAVING finished my publick dispatches, I am now at some liberty to impart my private thoughts unto your lordship. This sudden and fatal storm, that falls fast upon me from the town of Galway, doth most infinitely perplex me; coming at a time when I thought myself in most security, and that I had overcome the greatest difficulties of these parts. It hath been perhaps expected by your lordship, that I should have had power to prevent much of the mischiefs happened in this unlucky province; but if I could, in these distracted times, at so great a distance, have given your lordship a right information of my proceedings, you would then believe I have most strangely preserved this county in better obedience than I hear of any other parts of the kingdom, though nothing answerable to my desires and first expectations. I send your lordship herewith a copy of my short answer to the mayor of Galway, conceiving it the best present course I could take to prevent their disposing of ordnance or ammunition, which would not only bring ruin upon this county, but upon all the English garrisons in this province. I am using expedition into these parts, but am doubtful I shall not find forces, nor dispositions to reduce them, though many of the principal gentlemen have been, and will, I hope, continue firm; but the multitude will, I fear, run a contrary course; and they, if they have farther ill designs, will draw parties from other counties. It will become your lordship's care and wisdom to hasten strong forces hither, or pacify those distempers some other way. I assure your lordship I do not so much regard my own hazard, as the publick danger that may proceed from this disobedient and unnatural act of theirs; and likewise I cannot but be very sensible of the misfortunes may befall my wife and children, if any ill accident happen to me, being enclosed on all sides; this consideration, my lord, doth wound me deeply, and calls upon me to hasten the conclusion, which is ever to express myself

Your lordship's most assured humble servant,

Portumna, the 23d of
March, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A letter from my lord of Fingall, my lord of Gorman's-town, my lord Netterville, and my lord of Tremleston, dated the 23d of February, received at Galway about the midst of March.

Right Honourable,

WE doubt not but you are thoroughly informed upon what grounds, and for what reasons, we have in these parts of the kingdom taken arms. Notwithstanding, to vindicate our said action from calumny of persons ill-affected unto us, who do seek to brand the same with infamous reports and scandal, and by that means to draw from us the hearts and assistance of our allies and neighbours, equally interested with us in the grounds of the said action, we, in the behalf of ourselves and confederates, do let your lordship to understand, that as you are a most eminent peer, and patron of this poor commonwealth, we earnestly desire by our declaration of the scope and purpose of our proceedings, to give unto you a true and particular sense and fellow-feeling thereof; and to remove from your thoughts all sinister opinion of our purposes, that so, as a member of the same body, your lordship may chearfully join with us to further the good work in hand, depending much on your noble assistance. First then, we declare unto your lordship, that the only scope and purpose of our taking up of arms is for the honour of God; to obtain a free exercise of the ancient

To my lord
justice Par-
sons; the 23d
of March.

Earl of Fin-
gall, viscount
Gorman's-
town, vis-
count Net-
terville, and
lord Trim-
leston, dated
23d of Febr.
received
March.

This letter
being left at
my lodging
at Galway,
and not sent
by any ex-
press messen-
ger, I return-
ed no answer
thereto.

Mar 1641. ancient catholick Roman religion, so long and so constantly adhered unto by us, and our progenitors in this kingdom; and whereof we have been threatened to be utterly deprived, and from which nothing but death, or utter extirpation, shall remove us: Next, for restitution of the absolute sovereignty and prerogative royal of our most gracious king, whereof we (to our great grief) do behold him abridged by some ill-affected subjects, aiming therein at their own private ends: And thirdly, for the liberty of this our country, which the parliament of England (our fellow subjects) seeketh to captivate and enthrall to themselves; the experience whereof we have for a long while found under the heavy pressures of the subordinate governors placed over us, the particulars whereof, too tedious to be related, are sufficiently known to most parts of the christian world, and yet obscured and concealed from the eyes and ears of our gracious king at home, because he shall not commiserate us, to give order for our deliverance. These then, and none other, (we call God to witness) are the grounds and motives of the action we have in hand. And as we ever hoped, and undoubtedly expect, that your lordship will add unto our zeal to so good a cause, your best furtherance and assistance, we have thought fit to make an address unto you by these our letters, desiring the same. And we now give your lordship to understand, that, by God's assistance, the work is, by the help of our neighbors of Ulster, and our own endeavours, in a fair way; we having already in the field, about Dublin and Drogheda, the number of twelve thousand able men, and more expected daily, for the most part well armed; and besides, we can assure ourselves of the good will and endeavours of the rest of our catholick countrymen throughout the kingdom, besides our successful proceedings hereunto; so as there wanteth in this action no more but that your lordship will declare yourself for us, to make it happy and successful to the end; the which, if we shall be possessed of, your lordship shall not doubt to obtain ample retribution from your dear country for any prejudice sustained thereby in your temporal estate, and your reward shall come in a high measure from the God of hosts, whose cause you undertake, from the king's majesty, when he shall be rightly informed of our loyal hearts, and good intentions towards him and your countrymen, and will thereby oblige a perpetual memory of your goodness to all posterity. And so with our happy wishes, and best respects to your lordship, we remain

Your lordship's assured loving friends,

From the catholick camp near Drogheda,
this 23d of February, 1641.

FINGALL. GORMAN'S-TOWN.
NETTERVILLE. TRIMLESTON.

My lord of Gorman's-town's letter to me of the 5th of March, received at Galway about the middle of March.

Right Honourable,

My lord Gorman's-town,
5th of March,
received
March 15th.

YOUR lordship's of the twenty-third of February I have received, and as I do assure myself there is none doth more really desire the preservation of our religion, and the safety of this nation than your lordship, so, I doubt not, your lordship doth believe the well wishers to your lordship to be such, as none would be more sorry than myself that any occasion should happen, wherein any breach of trust might be discerned in your lordship touching the government wherewith you are trusted by his majesty, your lordship being the only catholick on whom such favour is conferred within this kingdom; it being far from the desire of myself, and the rest of the nobility of the pale, to do any thing which might diminish his majesty's power or prerogative. The bearer of your lordship's letters hath imparted unto me certain propositions, fit to be reduced to the form of a remonstrance to his majesty; but forasmuch as the several provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, will be fit to be made acquainted therewith,

therewith, which to do will require a convenient time, I conceive it may stand ^{Mar. 1641.} with your lordship's pleasure, that it were necessary for the prevention of further bloodshed, and the better quieting of the troubles of these times, that your lordship would think of some present course for moving his majesty, and the lords justices, that all further acts of hostility on either side might be forborne, until his majesty shall be pleased to give audience to the demands and desires of his people, such as shall be inserted in the said remonstrance; in the preparation whereof, for his majesty's view, no time shall be lost, and your labours therein thankfully acknowledged, I doubt not, by the nation in general, and by none more really than by

Your lordship's affectionate friend and servant,

Gorman's-town, the 5th of
March, 1641.

GORMAN'S-TOWN.

My letter to my lord of Gorman's-town, March the 23d.

MY LORD,

I Received your lordship's of the 5th of this present in the farther parts of this county, which hath been an occasion somewhat to delay my dispatches to ^{To my lord of Gorman's-town, the 23d of Mar.} Dublin. I have, according to the intimation your lordship gave me, to the best of my ability, made my applications to the state for a cessation of arms, to prevent the continual spoils and mischiefs of a civil war, and did propose such motives to them, as I thought most considerable to draw on such a work; and, if I obtain the effect of my desires therein, I shall be afterwards most industrious to labour those ways, and procure such a right understanding, as may quite extinguish the past distempers, to the king's honour and advancement of his service, and the future peace, happiness, and security of this kingdom, which I hope is the intention of all sides, though some ill accidents have made a great separation. I will not trouble your lordship with any long discourse at this time, but will leave what might be farther express to the relation your lordship will receive from the bearer hereof my cousin Terence Coghlan, whose judgment and integrity, I presume, is well known unto your lordship; and I shall further desire your lordship's favour and direction for his safe and free passage to and from Dublin hither, as these occasions shall require; to which if your lordship add that particular favour to me, that other packets of mine which I daily expect out of England, or some I would willingly send thither, may not meet with interruption by the way, it will put a great obligation upon me; and, I hope, the better enable me to serve your lordship in all things within the compass of my power, that may best approve me

Your lordship's affectionate friend and servant,

Portumna, the 23d of
March, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Having finished these dispatches upon the 23d, I hastened to Loughreagh, and immediately sent letters and summons to several parts of the county, to be ready in arms upon a day's warning, but not to leave their quarters without further direction. I gave present orders to my officers and collectors of my rents, to bring into Loughreagh all the corn they could possibly get; and writ to captain Willoughby, giving all the encouragement possible, and assurance that he should not want any thing within my power; that I had informed the state with the proceedings at Galway, and that I hoped I should be so speedily assisted by them, as to be revenged on those ungrateful people for their perfidious dealing.

E e

About

Mar. 1641. About the twenty-fourth, or twenty-fifth, I received this following letter from Sir Charles Coote, expressing his fair intentions towards the country.

Sir Charles Coote's letter to me the 21st of March, received the 25th.

Right Honourable,

Sir Charles Coote, the 21st, received the 25th of March.

YOUR lordship's of the 17th of this instant I received just now. For answer to that part which toucheth on a cessation, I writ a late letter to your lordship, wherein I acquainted your lordship with the great desire I had to wait on your lordship, and that your lordship would be pleased to come into these parts to settle all things, which I am very confident your lordship would very soon effect; the gentry being, for ought I can understand, very inclinable thereunto; and for the rest of the garrisons, I am sure they will all agree to what I shall conclude, till the way be freed to your lordship and my lord president to meet. It grieves me very much to see the destruction of the country, which, if not prevented by your lordship's speedy repair into these parts, cannot be avoided with any safety to the English; and thus much I writ to Mr. justice Donellan, and desired him to move your lordship in it, as a work of very great importance. And, until I hear again from your lordship, I shall endeavour to keep all quiet, without doing any hurt, humbly desiring your lordship that it may be with as much speed as may stand with your lordship's reasonable conscience, &c.

Castle-Coote, the 21st of March.

CHARLES COOTE.

My letter to Sir Charles Coote, March the 22d.

NOBLE SIR,

To Sir Cha. Coote, Mar. the 22d.

I Do very heartily congratulate your happy and fortunate successes, and as much your gallant and noble disposition, that does not alter by those advantages you gain upon the country, but do still express your desires and willingness to settle a quietness, and preserve the county from utter ruin and desolation. I writ to my lord president some short touches to that purpose, but have heard nothing from his lordship, being written yesterday was a sevennight, and have now more cause to labour a general cessation throughout the kingdom, than is known, or fit to be imparted, to many. I have received letters out of England, dated the 15th of this month, and were but eight days coming between London and Galway; but being sent by an ordinary post to Plymouth, they were sparing in their expressions: the effect thereof was, that the king and parliament were at a great distance; his majesty had not been at London of a long time, and then, with the prince, was gone towards York; the queen and young princess of Orange went into Holland about the 20th of the last month. For other particulars, they desired my pardon not to relate them. I have not imparted thus much to any but yourself, and shall leave it to you to make use thereof as your judgment shall best direct you, &c.

Loughreagh, the 22d of
March, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

I received letters from Mr. Pat. Darcy, and Mr. Richard Martin, both deeply protesting they had no hand or knowledge in the late surprisal of Clarke's ship, lamenting their own hard condition, that, though most innocent, they should be subject to misconstruction, and thought guilty with the multitude. To Mr. Martin I writ this following letter.

My

My letter to Mr. Richard Martin, the 29th of March.

Mr. MARTIN,

I Have received your letter, which, with former dispatches, hath struck a very ^{To Mr. Rd Martin, the 29th of Mar.} sad impression in me; and I may too truly affirm, that whosoever were the contrivers and actors in the late surprisal of Clarke's ship, and advisers of the proceedings thereupon, have given the fatal blow to that town, this county, your unfortunate friend, in a word, to the whole kingdom; publick faith broken, the laws both of subjects and of nations violated, murders committed, and all this avowed to be the publick act of your town. Whither is duty, conscience, reason, and understanding fled, that you, and some others, upon whose abilities the whole kingdom relied, would not prevent these mischiefs, or at least publish your sense and dislike of them, and think of timely remedies for so desperate a disease? which, if not incurable, I shall desire you to take into serious consideration.

When this storm came violently upon me, I had but newly finished my dispatches to Dublin with the former declarations, and the best expressions I could add unto them, both in the general commendation, and particular defence of all those whom report had injured, and an earnest solicitation for freeing of all goods detained there. I had likewise, at the request of the lords of the pale, and divers other parts of the kingdom, made my dispatches to the state for a cessation of arms, until the king's pleasure were declared upon some humble addresses prepared for his view, and have employed Mr. Terence Coghlan thither with large motives and full instructions in that behalf. What have been my endeavours in this particular, what my labours from the beginning of these combustions, and likewise in the whole course of my life, will best appear, if papers may be preserved, when it shall please God to call me from you, and may it not long be deferred out of his infinite goodness! and for this, to meet with hatred, scorn, and persecution from my nearest friends in this holy time of the passion, doth afford me much matter of meditation, &c.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

There arrived a ship at Galway out of England which brought me some letters, but of old dates, and nothing considerable but one, that briefly touched upon what is expressed in my letter to Sir Charles Coote; and in that ship came about thirty compleat arms for horse, arms for my own body, some vessels of choice wine, and some trunks of cloaths and other goods. Upon notice of it I sent the gentleman of my horse, and some others with him, to hasten away the goods from Galway; but he found them all in such confusion and madness, that himself and company had much difficulty to get away safe with some few of the carbines and pistols, not permitting the arms for my own person to be brought away. I received several letters from captain Willoughby, expressing his wants, his fear of a siege, and earnestly importuning my own coming to the fort, and residence there for a time; to which I returned this answer.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 29th of March.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

I Have received your two letters of the 26th and 27th, and have taken all ^{To Captain Willoughby, the 29th of March.} the particulars into my best and most serious consideration; and my resolutions for your preservation, and the prevention of many dangerous designs, shall very speedily, I doubt not, seasonably appear, to the best of my power, for the advancement of the king's service in general, and the particular safety of that important place; and you shall with expedition receive some reasonable plenty of provisions; and the designs I have laid for all will better appear in the act, than

Mar. 1642. than now to be discoursed, which, by accidents might give a prevention to what, I presume, is very well grounded, and shall be made known to you when they come safely guarded with that assistance I shall send you; for my own coming to the fort, it would be much to your prejudice, your greatest strength will be to have me abroad, both for supplies and prevention of danger; but having settled what I have resolved upon, it may be then seasonable for me to appear within the fort.

I cannot understand your intention by mentioning a supply of powder from me, unless it be to prevent my sending for the three barrels of powder I bought, and left in the fort, which would be most necessary for me at this time; yet rather than hazard any scarcity there, I will make present use but of one barrel, which I desire you will have ready to send me when my convoys come with provision. I thought fit to hasten this before you receive more clear intelligence from me, that you may put a courage into your company there, who shall not want any thing within my power; and, by God's favour, there is no cause to fear the lies and brags of those abroad, &c.

Loughreagh, the 29th of
March, 1642.

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my brother the earl of Essex, the 29th of March.

MY LORD,

To my brother the Earl of Essex, the 29th of Mar.

BEING informed, that Mr. Therlagh O'Brien, my kinsman, being upon his repair into this kingdom, and by contrary winds driven into Milford-Haven, and being there examined and detained upon suspicion in regard of his religion, and the great distempers here, and sent a prisoner into Hereford-West, where he hath continued a long time, suffering much want and misery: Give me leave to be an earnest suitor to your lordship to procure his enlargement, and liberty to repair hither, being descended of very faithful and deserving ancestors; and his father, in this searching time of trial, having not only continued firm, but very particularly careful of all the English in those parts where he dwells; and if I were not very confident of his constancy and integrity, and the good disposition of his son, who is well known unto me, I should be very sparing to make this motion, as I have been in the like; but upon very sure grounds, knowing how much it concerns my honour, and your safety, if any ill effect should follow such recommendations of mine. In brief, my lord, I beseech you let this gentleman receive the benefit of your power, and mediation with the house of parliament, to the comfort and encouragement of those that remain faithful here, and the suppressing of those false and dangerous reports spread here, that the good and bad of our religion shall be put all into one condition by the resolutions of England, &c.

Your lordship's most faithful and affectionate brother,

Loughreagh, the 29th of
March, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 30th of March, captain Willoughby having intelligence that some Irconaght forces would quarter in the east-suburbs in the night, set them on fire, and burnt the greatest part of it, to keep off such ill neighbourhood, being near to the fort. By the last of March all my carriages and provisions were made ready to be conveyed to the fort the next day, being forty pecks or quarters of wheat, and about as many of malt, with several other necessaries, in all about seven score horse-load.

My

Apr. 1642

My declaration upon taking arms for relief of his majesty's fort by Galway, the
1st of April, 1642.

By the lieutenant governor of the county, and county of the town of Galway.

FORASMUCH as it is obvious in every man's eye and observation, in what My declaration going to raise the siege of the fort by Galway, the 1st of April. deplorable and woful case this kingdom of Ireland doth now stand, being involved, and deeply engaged in general war, whereby whole countries are consumed with fire and sword, depopulated and laid waste; many thousands have already lost their lives, estates, and goods, and many more are like to fall into the same misfortune, and to meet with the sad effects and companions of war, namely, cruelty, famine, desolation, and all manner of misery, if God of his infinite mercy and inexhausted goodness, and his majesty's wisdom and care, do not timely prevent the same.

And whereas, by my humble addresses unto his sacred majesty, and my application to many of the nobility of England, and to the right honourable the lords justices and council in this kingdom, I have made it my chief study to obtain a fair pacification and cessation of arms, until his majesty had examined the grounds of the commotions, and signified his royal pleasure therein, for satisfaction unto his people, to which purpose I have, at this instant, solicitors and messengers in England, Dublin, and other places, knowing it to be the earnest desire of the chiefest of the nobility, and persons of quality, both of the pale, and other parts of the kingdom engaged in this action; and that the county of Galway (for ought I can hear or learn) from the beginning of these unhappy commotions, hath been, and yet is the most peaceable and secure place of all this kingdom, in which condition I shall endeavour to maintain the same; and so was the town of Galway, until, within these few days, some turbulent and ill-affected spirits there have fallen into disorder, and now labour to infect others in the county abroad with their disease, and have seized upon my own personal goods, provision, and arms for my own body, and a convenient guard of horse, which I had in the said town, ready to be conveyed unto me, and have cast many other affronts upon me, and have not complied with me for his majesty's service, and their own good and preservation: And whereas it is given out, that many of the said town and county have taken an oath of union, and have many active instruments among them, labouring to sow sedition and disaffection to his majesty's service in the minds of many of his loyal and well-affected people; and do vaunt, and give out, that by their own power, and confederacy of others, such as they endeavour to draw from other places to their party, they will shortly surprize and gain his majesty's fort near Galway, and destroy his majesty's subjects there, and the rest of the English, and all others, of what religion soever, that will not join with them in their resolutions and actions, which I am not apt to believe, nor can be persuaded that any of the better sort will either countenance, or bear a part in the same, being contrary to all religion, obedience, civility, and honesty: And whereas I find, that many of this county, and strangers, post up and down within this government, and publish false and seditious rumours and reports, and conceal all news of the true state of affairs abroad, and make smooth declarations thereby, to draw his majesty's subjects into defection, and from that obedience which, by all laws, they owe unto our most gracious sovereign, and me his governor, and to traduce me, and my just, moderate, and mild proceedings, and this under colour of advancing the catholick Roman religion, and countenancing the professors thereof; religion being the common cloak for all insurrections and disorders in all christian commonwealths. For prevention therefore of the many inconveniencies, and dangerous effects which may ensue through these courses, and the unsupportable calamities that may fall upon the whole county thereby; and for satisfaction unto, and for to settle many men's minds that are doubtful and

Apr. 1642. unstable in these times; I do in the first place profess before God, and the world, that, as I was bred in, so I am constantly resolved, so far as God shall give me his assistance and grace, to live and die in the catholick Roman religion, and that I shall, by all godly and honourable ways, endeavour to advance and maintain the same, so far as is justifiable, and warrantable by the law of God and true construction of his church, which is never opposite to the loyalty and fidelity due to the trust graciously reposed in me by his majesty, I being the only Roman catholick governor in this kingdom, which shall ever bind me to increase my natural duty and affection to God, my king, and country, and wherein failing, I should count myself an unworthy member of the catholick Roman church, whereunto I should conceive God will give better success, if all proceedings, having relation thereunto, be pursued with mildness, moderation and suffering, according to the example of the primitive, and all the best times, and not by commotions, and open disturbances in the commonwealth, whereupon must of necessity follow lamentable devastations, shedding of blood, and all manner of calamities, both of body and soul, whereof, by two recent examples, we have woful experience.

Secondly, that I will, with all the power I can make here, or by all lawful means I can draw from other places, according to his majesty's commission entrusted with me, maintain and uphold his majesty's authority, and his laws, and all his just prerogatives and rights, and will maintain his majesty's peace, and defend all his majesty's loyal and well-affected subjects, without distinction of nation or profession; and, to my uttermost power, will suppress, as well by all warlike and honourable ways, as by the course of his majesty's justice, prosecute and destroy all such within the said county and town, as shall raise arms, or do any act of hostility within this government against his majesty, or me his governor; and that will not join with me in suppressing and beating down all insurrections and disorders within the same.

Thirdly, that I will, to the utmost of my power, relieve his majesty's said fort with all manner of necessaries; and prosecute, encounter, vanquish, and destroy with fire, sword, and other punishment, any that shall lay siege unto the same, or attempt, or set upon it, or go about to keep provision, or relief from the same, and their commanders, abettors, adherents, or relievers, and dispose of their goods, and personal estates within this government, for the necessary relief of such army as I shall entertain for his majesty's service within the said government, I having full assurance from the commander of the said fort, that nothing will be done by the said fort to the prejudice of any, without my allowance and directions, unless it be first attempted, or besieged, or that great acts of insolency be committed against the same, or some member thereof, or the poor English that are much threatened by the worst sort of people. And therefore, in his majesty's name, I strictly charge and command all his majesty's loyal and well-affected subjects within this government, that they forthwith prepare themselves with the best arms they can procure, and that they be in a readiness when I shall call upon them, to assist, and go along with me whithersoever I shall draw within this government, for the advancing his majesty's service, the defence of the country, and executions of the resolutions aforesaid; wherein whosoever shall be backward, averse, or careless, I shall not only represent him unto the king and state, as wanting in that duty and allegiance which he oweth unto his majesty, and me his governor, but punish him, and his adherents, according to my power, and as the malignity of these times doth require. Also I require and command, that none do bear arms, except it be for the necessary defence of their own house and person, within this government, but such as will go along with me in this service, or be guided by my instructions and directions; but that all others forthwith lay down their arms, or leave this government, or expect the danger that will ensue thereupon. Also I require and command, that no manner of person or persons whatsoever take any manner of relief,

lief, or maintenance, in meat, drink, money, or other provision, or cels; and ^{Apr. 1642.} that none do cels any other upon any of his majesty's loyal subjects, or others, within this government; and that none give any manner of meat, drink, coshure, cels, money, or provision, unto any soldier, or other whatsoever, but unto such as have a direction and warrant from me, and unto such as will declare themselves and go along with me in his majesty's service, and in suppressing the disturbances of the commonwealth. And I do hereby profess and declare, that such of my kindred, alliance, neighbours, tenants, and others of his majesty's subjects residing within this government, as will not chearfully rise, and declare themselves, and go along with me in the execution of these my honest and loyal resolutions and intentions, that I will, for this present, not only neglect and disavow their assistance and help, but hereafter endeavour to represent them as such that have nourished and maintained faction and disloyalty among his majesty's peaceable and well-meaning subjects, and shall labour to punish them, or see them punished, according to their demerits, and make them strangers to myself, and all that doth belong unto me; and do expect that those that shall succeed me shall do the like. And lastly, I do require the high sheriff of this county, the mayor and sheriffs of the town of Galway, and all portrives, seneschals, bailiffs, and other officers, that they make known this my intention and resolution unto all his majesty's good people within their limits respectively, and that they give them notice to be in readiness to answer any sudden occasion, when I shall call upon them, for the advancement of his majesty's service, the peace and tranquility of this government, and for their particular security and comfort. Dated at Loughreagh, this 1st of April, 1642.

This declaration being published early in the morning, the carriages, with provisions for the fort, were sent away, with direction to stay my coming at Dunkellyn, about eight miles on the way to Galway, and my own company of one hundred foot, and some horse, were sent to convoy them. In the afternoon I came thither myself, with about one hundred horse, and there I found my lord of Clanmorris, with a company of fifty foot, and twenty horse, my cousin Richard Burke, of Kilkoine, about the same number, captain Teige Kelly * with ^{Of Gal-} fifty foot, and captain Laughlin Donelaine with as many. ^{lagh.} There I met with intelligence, that the fort was besieged, the Galway-men having given passage through their town to Irrconaght men, to the number of eighteen hundred; and that several companies out of the barony of Clare, and some out of the county of Mayo, had stolen up by water thither. Thereupon, upon debate, it was resolved to send the provisions two or three miles forwarder, unto a strong castle of mine, upon the sea side, called Oran More, wherein dwelt one William King, an English tenant of mine, and to quarter the companies thereabouts that night, and all to meet there at noon the next day, to resolve what was to be done; and, in expectation of more forces there that night, I went myself to another castle of mine, upon the sea, Kilcolgan, in which lived John Morgan, a British tenant of mine, and gave directions to captain Leicester, who commanded my company, to discover the number of the enemy, and to endeavour to convey a letter of mine to captain Willoughby, giving him notice of my coming, and desiring him to be ready to make a sally when we should fall in upon the enemy's quarters.

The next day, coming to Oran More, I was informed, that the number of the enemy were about thirteen hundred, besides the forces of the town, and that they had placed ordnance in the two narrow passages towards the fort; that horse, which was my chiefest strength, could do no service there, and that my letter was intercepted. Thereupon it was resolved to leave the provisions there, until more forces came in, and that I could find means to send to captain Willoughby;

Apr. 1642. loughby; and, with these companies, I should then march away to my castle of Clare, about three miles, being an important passage, between Galway, and the barony of Clare, and county of Mayo. The next day came in to me Sir Robert Shaghnuſſey with ſome horſe, and his ſon captain Dermott Shaghnuſſey, with fifty foot; my couſin Redmund Burke's company, commanded by his brother Thomas; captain Francis Bermingham, and his company; Sir Ulick Burke, and his ſon; captain Edmund Burke, and his company; captain John Kelly of Corrabegg, and his company; captain John OMadden, and his company, each of them fifty; and divers gentlemen volunteers, both horſe and foot, being about ſeven hundred foot, beſides horſe. I marched forth into the plain towards the enemy, and with ſome horſe appeared near unto them, keeping them in an alarm, and expectation of an aſſault, whiſt I ſent three companies another way, not far from them, to my caſtle of Terrelan, and put in proviſion, and thirty muſketteers, to be joined to the old ward; the caſtle lying upon a neck of land, commanding the river going to Galway, by that means blocking up the paſſage, that no proviſion, or fuel, could come by water, either to the town, or to the camp; and the charge of the caſtle I committed to lieutenant Dermott O Daly, who did very good ſervice there. The companies returning back, and the enemy not offering to ſtir, we retreated back to Clare, and, upon conſultation there, we concluded as is expreſſed in this following letter to the lords juſtices.

My letter to the Lords Juſtices and Council, the 4th of April.

MY LORDS,

To the
Lords Juſ-
tices, the 4th
of April.

AS ſoon as I had finiſhed my laſt diſpatches, the 23d of March, I repaired to Loughreagh, and ſummoned the gentlemen of the county, and ſent for the ſeveral companies to meet at Dunkellyn, and ſent ſupplies for the fort, which was gotten with much difficulty together. Upon the 2d of this month, with ſuch forces as I could get, I marched to Oran More with the proviſions; where, being informed, that they had gotten ſtrong forces out of ſeveral parts, and many of them privately conveyed by water, and that they had ſuddenly laid ſiege to the fort, and, to ſtop relief, made ſome trenches, and planted ordnance in the narrow paſſages; and that Morragh na Murt Flaherty was at ſea with long boats, to intercept ſupplies that way; upon full conſideration, I found it fitteſt to leave the carriages well guarded in that caſtle, and to ſend to the fort to know whether there was any ſudden occaſion for thoſe proviſions; and from thence I marched to Clare, four miles from Galway, being the general place of rendezvous; there I muſtered ſome ſeven hundred foot, and above a hundred horſe, not ſo well armed, nor ſo forward in this cauſe, as I could wiſh, eſpecially the common ſort, whoſe weak judgments are eaſily wrought upon. My letters to the fort were intercepted, ſo that I could receive no intelligence, until this morning a ſhort letter was conveyed unto me, declaring, that they ſhould ſhortly be in ſome want of corn, and that they had not water, but what they fought for without doors, and that the town had raiſed a battery, but have not, nor, I believe, do well know how to make uſe of it; and having likewise intelligence that the beſiegers are in no great plenty, and that in few days the town would be both unwilling and unable to furniſh them. Upon conſideration of the whole matter, finding myſelf too weak to aſſault them, as they had entrenched themſelves in that craggy place, where horſe could do no ſervice, who are moſt true and faithful to me, I held it the beſt way to ſtop proviſions from them, rather than raſhly to hazard all, and, to that end, to place ſtrong gariſons at Oran More, Terrelan, Clare, and other important ſtreights, and with a troop of horſe ſcour the plains between; and place the reſt of the companies, in ſome of whom I have leaſt confidence, up and down the barony of Clare, upon the tenants and eſtates of Galway, and other beſiegers, and who, being engaged in
ſome

some spoils, will get hate from them, and grow firm unto me; and if by this ^{Apr. 1642.} means we can force them to quit their trenches, I presume we shall be hard enough for them, though they be more in number, and are so gallant as to threaten the burning of my houses of Portumna and Loughreagh; but that which I am most doubtful of is, that those of the county of Mayo will come in upon us. I am raising three or four companies more, being confident of the firm loyalty of the commanders, Sir Kobuck Lynch and Sir Richard Blake. Mr. Andrew Darcy, Mr. Patrick Kierevan the lawyer, and his brother, and divers other merchants, absent themselves from the town, and refuse to join, for all their threats, and seizing of their goods and estates there; and many of the discreetest within the town lament their misery, and are forced to join, and sign the mad resolution of the multitude; and, I hope, very speedily to sow more divisions amongst them, and break their designs. There arrived lately a ship out of England with goods of mine, and some arms for horse, which they have likewise seized on, and would not permit the arms for my own body to come away; and though I receive some present prejudice thereby, yet, I hope, it will be to my greater advantage; that, and the many other personal affronts put upon me, inciting the people to revenge; and it is a great comfort to me, that many gentlemen of quality are constantly loyal to his majesty, and affectionate to me. I am informed, that some of the king's ships are residing about King-fale; if your lordships would send a warrant for one or two of them to come unto the bay of Galway, they would certainly relieve the fort, and strike terror in the town; if your lordships send it speedily to me, it is undertaken it shall be safely conveyed thither, or, if your lordships think it fitter, to send the warrant by sea to Galway. My lords, all that I can further say is, that there shall be no want of resolution, or diligence in me, either by force, or flight, to relieve the fort; but if your lordships seriously consider the importance of the place, and the danger I am in, amongst the unsettled minds of the multitude, you would not lose a day in taking some course to send to us speedy succours, either by arms, or pacification. They now go upon desperation, having rashly engaged themselves; but if your lordships should think fit to allow, or grant a pardon, I believe they would all come in, the better fort being in great perplexity at these distempers. And truly, my lords, they put so great distractions upon me, that, I hope, your lordships will pardon the errors of this dispatch, and still preserve your good opinions of

Your lordships humble servant,

Clare, the 4th of
April, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The same morning, at the earnest entreaty of the gentlemen and captains with me, I wrote unto the Irish archbishop of Tuam, then at Galway, taking notice of a letter he had written to my lord Clanmorris, which I could not avoid, as men were then disposed, without apparent hazard of being forsaken by those small forces with me, and hoped, by giving them this satisfaction, to gain some advantage by this conference desired by him.

My letter to the Irish archbishop of Tuam, the 4th of April.

Reverend Father,

BY your letter to my lord Clanmorris, I am informed of your being at Galway, and of your willingness to have some conference with me; and if that be still your resolution, I shall willingly attend your coming hither, that being no fit place for me to repair unto. The raising of forces in this county, without my knowledge, or allowance, the disturbance of the publick peace thereby, the disobedience of the town of Galway to me, their governor, and the many personal

To the Irish
archbishop of
Tuam, the
4th of Apr.

G g

affronts

Apr. 1642. affronts they have put upon me, have given me just cause to draw my friends together with strong forces, both of horse and foot, for the king's service, and to vindicate my own honour, so deeply intrenched upon by those, from whom I have deserved better respect; of which, being rightly informed, I am confident they will not receive any countenance from you, but rather feel the weight of your fatherly correction. My constant care to preserve peace and quietness in this county, to divert them from the miseries and calamities fallen upon their neighbours, and my present desire to avoid bloodshed, so far as may be to the preservation of my duty and honour, makes me rely upon your wisdom for the quieting of these distempers; and from the good effects of so able a judgment, to expect that satisfaction which they could not otherwise give me, but by a compulsory way, which shall be deferred until I have the happiness to see you, so it may be with expedition; otherwise I shall hardly restrain the forward resolutions of those that do fully resent the injuries done me, at a time when I have my agents and dispatches in England with his majesty, at Dublin with the state, and at other places, for a cessation at arms, and settlement of these troubles, to the content of the kingdom. What might be farther expressed, I shall refer to your coming, and at all times be glad of fit occasions to approve myself

Your humble servant,

Clare-Castle, the 4th of
April, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

It being very tedious and difficult to set down the passages and proceedings each day, I shall now only apply myself to the inserting of letters, which will mention most things of consequence, unless it be where some important circumstance shall fall out necessary to be related.

My letter to the Irish archbishop of Tuam, the 8th of April.

Reverend Father,

To the Irish
archbishop of
Tuam, the
8th of Apr.

I Give you humble thanks for the great honour you vouchsafed me by your presence here, it being a great comfort and consolation to know, and be known to, a person of such eminent worth and virtue. Though the sins of the time draws God's judgment so upon us, that your endeavours, and mine, do not meet in one way of preservation, yet I pay reverence and respect to you; and you, I presume, do entertain it with affection and good opinion. My long experience in England, and knowledge of the clear judgment and disposition of my royal master, gives me now occasion to repeat, that the late proceedings of Galway, and the attempt upon the fort, if persisted in, will be the fatal blow, not only to this county, but to the whole kingdom; for it must of necessity draw on the king's royal assent to all the severities that a powerful and incensed state and parliament can throw upon us; whereas moderation, and a short time of expectation, would have preserved his mercy to sheath the sword of justice. And it will be observed, by his royal judgment, that whatsoever fair colours and pretences be set forth, the actions of the time do not only intrench upon some prerogatives of the crown, wherewith the puritans of England stand charged, but do unthrone his majesty, and more than divest him of the princely robes, by attempting and assaulting his fort, and those who represent his own person, by shaking off all obedience to the governors, who derive their authority immediately from himself. And though the title of king may be allowed, it must be without power to restrain their unbridled wills. Neither do they rest here, but they must make religion the cloak to cover their foul misdemeanors, and thereby abuse God's chosen servants, yourself, and others, of tried and approved virtue, who were not made acquainted with these designs, until finding

finding their own weakness, they then craftily called in the strength of your authority in the church, disguising their deceits with a formal piety. I could say much more upon this subject, but these may serve for the present, to express my affection to you, by giving you a right information of the sad effects that are to follow, which, I doubt not, will something work upon your judgment, though, I believe, it cannot alter the unruly dispositions of those where you remain, for whom other ways must be used, to make them capable of obedience.

Your humble servant,

Mase, the 8th of
April, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A letter from doctor John Burke, elect Irish bishop of Clonfert.

Right Honourable,

GOD protect you. This sudden rupture, the cause of your absence, I little expected, and less your honour going that way without long deliberation, if you did not intend your journey rather to terrify than venture the dispute to spring from your suspicion of the justness of the cause. And the manner of your lordship's going without being well appointed, required many consultations, and settled heads of the clergy and laity to conclude it. If it be a question of religion, as it is by the definition of a great council of bishops in the North, you could not safely go to oppose it positively, before long discussion, requiring time. If your journey was caused through any personal injury, as your declaration sets forth, the precision of this personal injury, as cause to your enterprize against Galway from religion, for which they profess to fight, is very hard and dangerous, both for conscience and credit, of which I know your lordship is tender. I therefore, as one whom it concerns by many titles, pray your lordship not to attempt any bloody action against real professors of catholick Roman religion, such as Galway-men be: nor vindicate, or rather revenge by effusion of blood, any personal injury or affront, when law and time may give a good satisfaction; you being all subjects to one king, and professors of loyalty to his sacred person and crown. This I say not, my lord, to decline the traduction I suffer of many for your honour, but that I conceive it expedient and necessary, though young men will hardly yield to it in question of affront, &c.

From the
elect Irish
bishop of
Clonfert, the
9th of Apr.

Walcourt, the 9th of April, 1642.

JOHN BURKE, elect. CLONFERT.

To this letter, being hastily called abroad, I returned answer by message, that I was so fully satisfied both of the justness and necessity of the enterprize I had undertaken, that I found it neither necessary nor safe to spend time in dispute, in affairs wherein my duty, loyalty, and honour were so highly concerned; that I could not value the professions of any other in their loyalty, or religion, whose proceedings were so contrary to both; that as I would not rashly run into effusion of blood, so I could not neglect any opportunity offered to reduce them to obedience; that what he alledged, I conceived to be the objections of others, and not proceeding from his own judgment, who could not be ignorant of their misdemeanors, and the provocations given me. Upon the 16th I received letters from my cousin captain Richard Burke, being in garrison about Oran More, that, by a small boat, they had conveyed twenty-four large sacks of corn into the fort, and that every night more would be conveyed thither, and such other provisions as were wanting; and that he was informed the Galway-men did begin to grow into confusion amongst themselves.

A copy

Apr. 1642.

A copy of a letter from the Irish archbishop of Tuam, the bishop of Elphin, and the bishop of Clonfert, the 17th of April, 1642.

Right Honourable,

From the
Irish arch-
bishop of
Tuam,
bishop of
Elphin, and
the bishop of
Clonfert, the
17th of Apr.

WE cannot but have a fatherly feeling, and pastoral sense of distempers growing to such a height of ruin and spoil upon our catholick flocks within this county, whereof your lordship is both native and governor, appointed by the majesty of our sacred sovereign, and consequently bound, by nature and employment, to endeavour the safety and preservation thereof, as well in preventing future inconveniencies, as in redressing (as far as will lie in your power) all things not fairly carried hitherto. Many complaints, and miserable grievances represented unto us, inviting the interposition of our spiritual authority for satisfaction of the grieved, which we thought expedient and necessary, in discharge of our functions, and natural affections towards the good and conscionable guidance of your lordship's proceedings, thereby to offer unto your most honourable consideration, most humbly beseeching you to be pleased to vouchsafe, out of your wisdom and maturity, present surcease of farther pillaging, or preying upon the goods or chattles of the catholick inhabitants of this your government (if any be left) through the inconsiderate dealings (we believe without your lordship's privity) of your honour's army, both horse and foot, and not to give way to the weakening of the catholick cause, and absolute destruction and defolation of this your native country, by the entertainment of any protestant forces, to consummate the miseries of your lordship's next allies, kinsmen, and tenants. Our earnest and humble suit being chiefly employed to that purpose, we hope, by this reverend father Oliverus Burke, of whose zeal and integrity in the common cause we hold undoubted assurance, that your lordship, before our next provincial meeting, which we intend very soon, will open a way for us, whereby we may endeavour a settlement betwixt your lordship and the inhabitants of Galway, and their adherents, the chiefest being of our yown flesh and blood; and that, in such a nature, as the common cause of religion (wherein they have engaged themselves so far) be not weakened, no occasion of obloquies be administered, his majesty's deputies served, the honours of our afflicted country not forgotten, nor the reputation of your honour any way intrenched upon; and our ecclesiastical jurisdictions be made useful by humble request, fatherly admonitions, and friendly intercessions, rather than by the extremity of the ecclesiastical censures, which we would be loth to execute any way whereby your lordship may be displeased, whom we highly honour and love, and will ever pray for your happy success; and remain

Your lordship's most humble servants,

Keileymur, the 17th of
April, 1642.

MALACHAEUS, archiepiscopus TUAMENSIS.
FRANCISCUS BOETIUS, episcopus ELPHIN.
JOHANNES de BURKE, episcopus CLONFERT.

My answer to the letter of the Irish archbishop of Tuam, the bishop of Elphin, and the bishop of Clonfert, the 19th of April.

Reverend Fathers,

My answer
to the Irish
archbishop
of Tuam,
bishop of
Elphin, and
the bishop of
Clonfert, the
19th of Apr.

I Received yesterday a letter from you by the reverend father Oliverus Burke, wherein you are pleased to express a pious and charitable feeling of the calamities that do ever accompany war, and which hath now got footing within this county; that being taken into consideration, I have cause to expect that myself, who was the first person injured, and not the least to be regarded, shall first meet with reparation. Before I took arms, or stirred from home, my castles

castle and lands were surprized, and no restitution offered of my arms; and particular goods detained, companies and forces raised, and monies levied in several baronies; the king's authority, and all obedience shaken off; the goods of his majesty's subjects taken by violence, their persons assaulted and murdered, his fort besieged, the gates of Galway shut, all passages thither stopped, and maintained by force; and the disease being grown to so high a distemper, can it be wondered that the remedies have an acerbity in them; and if they must be frequently applied, answerable to the disease, let them answer for it that have been the contrivers, actors, and are still maintainers of these troubles; my constant endeavours being to preserve peace and plenty, and quiet obedience to lawful authority. The next consideration you offer to me is, to find out a means to avoid the impairing of the catholick forces of this county, or the entertainment of protestant, or other forces, that might consummate the miseries of my kindred and tenants, and such a settlement made that might preserve religion, his majesty to be duly served, the afflicted country relieved, and my honour preserved, in all which I do totally concur with you, that a timely and speedy course be taken therein. But I can no otherwise offer it to your most able judgments, nor to any other that will look indifferently and without passion, than by their acknowledgment of former errors, withdrawing of their forces, and fit submission unto me their native and catholick governor; the which, under favour, I conceive to be the only way to divert the rigour of protestant, or other incensed forces, from coming in, preserve me their governor, for the good of religion, and support my honour and reputation, to be employed for their best advantage in their fortunes and estates, in which, your powers concurring, all may be brought to a happy and speedy conclusion; and by your interceding to me, and my own moderate inclinations, a firm knot of unity may be tied, not in formality of words, but in reality of acts, for the right advancement of the king's service, and the good of the country.

I cannot but much admire what I hear spoken by many, that desperation (which hath ever been accounted the greatest crime that man can be guilty of) should now be the means to make that cause, and war lawful, that was at first grounded upon wrong and bad foundations. For my part, I will undoubtedly hope in the mercy of Almighty God, for the preservation of his church, the arming herself with those accustomed, pious, and spiritual weapons, which hath ever maintained her flourishing in all ages. I will never doubt the mild and gracious inclinations of his majesty, not only to grant pardon for their offences, but redress of their grievances, if they timely and modestly apply themselves, to give him a right information of the causes of their fears and apprehensions, that brought them to appear as persons refractory and disobedient to his government. And if this be not held a fit proceeding, I assure you, until his majesty's commands and pleasure be farther declared unto me, I have no other course to take, but to make use of his power and authority, to reduce them to their former obedience, being strictly obliged thereto upon forfeiture of life, honour, and fortune, by the duty of my place, and oath of allegiance, from which, I presume, you cannot absolve me; and not being absolved, neither your judgments, dispositions, nor power, will direct you to set forth any ecclesiastical censures against me, or those that shall be assisting to me for his majesty's service; for if those resolutions be taken, I shall not only appeal to higher authority, but proceed to other designs I have laid, in case I be put to extremity; and it may be worthy your best considerations not to increase too far, or exasperate one that in his publick actions, and most inward and private thoughts, hath ever been a most affectionate, faithful, and obedient child to the church, and, by a late declaration, hath published for the satisfaction of all men, my constant resolution therein; and if any shall persist obstinate, I must hereafter, for my own justification, produce my present expressions into judgment against them, &c.

The 19th of
April, 1642.

Your humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

H h

Apr. 1642.

This day I received a letter from the mayor of Galway, desiring that I would appoint four commissioners to meet with as many of theirs, who should make propositions to me, they hoped, to my satisfaction. To which, upon consideration of the danger the fort might be in, by any long delay, I returned answer, that if they had any thing considerable to propose, it would be best understood, and soonest dispatched, for these commissioners of theirs to repair unto myself, and bring propositions in writing; and upon notice of their resolution, I would send them a safe conduct. Upon the 21st, the mayor wrote unto me, that the town had chosen three, and the gentry engaged with them two others, who, upon the receipt of my safe conduct, would repair unto me upon the 23^d, at eight in the morning; and they came unto me according to appointment, and delivered me some propositions in writing, which I took to answer until the next day, and promised to send it by a messenger of my own.

The propositions of the town of Galway, and their assistants, delivered me in writing in Clare-Castle, by Sir Dominick Brown, Richard Martin, Esq; and Andrew Brown, alderman, for the town; and Sir Valentine Blake, and Theobald Burke, of Anbally, for the county, the 23^d of April, 1742.

Propositions
from Gal-
way, the 23^d
of April.

I. **T**HAT this corporation, and the gentry, engaged in the common cause of God, king, and country, are very sorry that his lordship did suffer himself to be persuaded (contrary to his own good nature and noble disposition) not to answer all or any of our letters, or humble propositions, nor to signify his pleasure touching them, or any of them, nor his resolution touching the present affair, or what safety we may expect.

2. To assure your lordship, that all that did engage themselves here in this cause are his majesty's most faithful subjects, and his lordship's most affectionate friends, and most humble servants, ready to expose their lives and fortunes to any hazard which may advance God's glory, his majesty's service, the good of this commonwealth, and his lordship's honour; that they aim not, or pretend unto any enlargement of privileges, liberty, or immunities, nor diminution of his majesty's rights in point of prerogative, jurisdiction, or revenue, nor increase of estate, or fortune, by the spoil of any other; that they bear no national quarrel to any, nor are weary of subordination, nor of the laws by which they are governed.

3. That postponing the present advantage, which now they conceive to have, they are contented to a cessation of arms for any certain time, not extending further than the last of May; provided always, that, during that time, the fortifications of town and camp may proceed without interruption, as likewise the fort, so that the works thereof extend not eastward, southward, or westward, further than fifty paces from the false bray of the fort; nor northward further than the moat that divides the uplands, whereupon the fort stands from the green, and the highway from thence to Morlonte.

4. That an inventory be taken by certain commissioners, of the quantity and quality of the victuals in the fort now being. They will consent to a relief to be given for their money to the fort, to serve them during the time of cessation, the same to be conveyed unto them at such several and reasonable times as shall be agreed upon by the commissioners of both parties.

5. That, during the time of cessation, each party may peaceably hold and enjoy their lives, liberties, and estates real and personal, in town and country respectively, without restraint, limitation, or interruption; and that free market, trade, and commerce shall be, during that time, between town and country.

6. That restitution in specie, or true value of all goods and chattles taken, or detained, and restitution of all manner of possessions taken since the 1st of April, 1642, by or from any of the said parties respectively, be forthwith reciprocally made.

7. That

7. That if his lordship may procure us a liberty of conscience, settlement of ^{Apr. 1642.} estates, according to his majesty's last graces, and an act of absolution for all things passed; all will readily submit to an absolute peace.

9. That if it be thought fitting and seasonable by the commissioners, they may declare, that if his lordship, and such as accompany him, may swear the oath of union, which includes no more but faith to the king, constancy in religion, and preservation of the commonwealth, whereunto all good catholick subjects, and good patriots, are bound, it will be a great manifestation of the rectitude of their intentions, and satisfaction to all the kingdom.

9. You shall desire an answer to every particular, and observe in writing how far you agree, and disagree, and likewise reduce to writing, and bring back the propositions that shall be made unto you.

10. You may discourse how you are severally advertised of the misintelligence between the king and the parliament, and that preserving faith to the king we know not how the enterprize against the fort may be discontinued, or present service abandoned.

WALTER LYNCH, mayor.

My answer to the propositions from Galway, the 23d of April, 1642.

GOD, my own conscience, and I hope my actions (as my ability, or the present distempers would permit) will bear witness with me, that my chief study and care hath been, both before and since my repair into this kingdom, to advance God's glory, the king's service, and the common good of my native country; and though I have not walked in the popular ways that some others have done, yet, I hope, in more safe and warrantable courses, to expect a blessing from God, and meet with good success therein; neither have I been failing to answer your letters, messages, and propositions, some only excepted, that I received by Mr. Daly and others, which, to my understanding, were not fit or necessary to be answered.

My answer to the propositions from Galway, the 23d of April, 1642.

2. I should have been glad (my duty preserved to his majesty) that I could have made such constructions of your late actions and proceedings, as might have concurred with your present expressions, they differing so much from those fair ways I had proposed to preserve peace and plenty, and due obedience to lawful authority; but your aims and ends being no other than what you now declare, I conceive they can be by no other better ways obtained than by those rules I have always prescribed.

3. For the advantages you conceive to have, I cannot admit of any such apprehensions, being confident, by the king's power and authority, to be at all times able not only to supply and preserve this fort, but to reduce this county to a fit conformity to his majesty's laws, and obedience to the government intrusted to me. For the cessation of arms, until the last of May, I am willing to consent thereto; so that all camps and forces within the county be discharged, for the better settlement of his majesty's service, and the ease and benefit of the country, that they may quietly attend their plough, and other husbandry, and not be burthened with the present taxes and levies that doth much impoverish them; and that no other taxes be allowed in charge upon the county, more than the standing companies in his majesty's pay, within the fort and county; and what the town of Galway hath of their own for their defence, without drawing in the aids or assistance of other parties, for the works or fortifications abroad, or belonging to the fort, I can say nothing, without their knowledge or consent; but I hold it most convenient that none be done on either side without mutual consent.

4. I cannot give consent, no enquiry or search being any time to be made into the magazines, or provisions of the king's fort, but by such as are specially appointed by his majesty, or the state.

5. The

Apr. 1642.

5. The fifth, I conceive to be very necessary and convenient, so that the same free market, trade, and commerce be likewise admitted to the fort, as well as to the town and country.

6. To the sixth, I know no reason but the restitution should look so far backwards, as to restore me to my possession of Aghnenewre, or what is otherwise detained from me; and to relieve Robert Clarke for his ship and goods. But I hold it best, for the better accommodation of things, during the cessation, that no restitution be expected of either side, until a final settlement, unless the said corporation shall think it more fit, for their security, to make present reparation unto the said Clarke; and I shall endeavour, during the time of cessation, that no goods shall be taken from any; and I am confident that no possessions have been removed by any; and I will take a course that none shall be altered during the time aforesaid, unless it shall be thought more expedient for the general good; and that proceedings in law may be had with conveniency by the commission of goal delivery, and otherwise, against such as have or shall commit robberies, or other great offences, to the violating and disturbing of the publick peace.

7. To the seventh, I do not know of any disturbance attempted, or likely to be given, to the liberties of your consciences in that way of freedom you formerly enjoyed; and I shall not fail to use my best endeavours for the settled continuance thereof; and likewise for the settlement of estates, according to his majesty's last graces; and for what further graces and favours may be reasonably moved, or obtained in the behalf of the kingdom in general; and likewise for an act of absolution for all things passed.

For the rest of the propositions, I conceive it not convenient or necessary to give any answer unto them.

Conclusion.

And for a conclusion of all, my friendly advice is, notwithstanding what hath been said, rather that all acts of hostility, and forces, may be totally laid aside by those that besiege his majesty's said fort, or that have a hand in this action within this county; and that an absolute submission may be made to me his majesty's governor, the better to open a passage for his majesty's grace and mercy: and that being done, I shall use my uttermost power, and humbly supplicate his majesty and the state, and earnestly solicit my friends, by all such fitting and honourable ways, as I may think of, or may be reasonably propounded unto me for his majesty's pardon and grace to all that offended within this government; wherein I shall not doubt, by God's blessing on my endeavours, and his majesty's goodness, to appease the present distempers within the same, to the comfort and satisfaction of all the inhabitants therein. And for the better and more hopeful obtaining of all our just requests from his gracious majesty, and the state, by all honourable and moderate ways, and for prevention of any accident that might render those now engaged more distasteful to either, I further advise and expect, that a strict course be forthwith taken, that no piece of ordnance, arms, or ammunition, that were before in Galway, or that are lately arrived, or hereafter shall arrive, within the harbour of Galway, or the new haven, or any creek or place near the said town, upon any pretence, or importunity, be issued, or be permitted to be dispersed abroad, or be disposed of unto any, but according to my former instructions; lest those destructive commodities coming into hands, and those that are not inclinable to peace, it may pass the skill of the town, or those that are well-affected in the country, to bring them to conformity and obedience without much effusion of blood, and destruction to the commonwealth; and an assurance from you to that effect, will the better enable me to work more effectually for your advantage. And if this treaty may meet with happy success, that I may be trusted, as a fit instrument to cooperate with my friends in theirs, and my humble addresses to his majesty, and the state, for the publick good, I shall desire that one or two from you (as occasion shall require) may attend me, to avoid all misunderstandings between us, and the better

better to order and frame our supplication for the hearing of his majesty, or Apr. 1642.
the state. Dated at Clare, the 23d of April, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The reply of Galway to my answer, the 28th of April, 1642.

TO the first and second we answer no more, but affirm the truth of our first and second propositions, and answer his lordship, that, in all our actions, he shall find our zeal to the glory of God, fidelity to his majesty, and humble respects and hearty affection to his lordship.

The Reply
of Galway,
the 28th of
April.
First and
second an-
swered.

3. To the third we agree, save only that the town may proceed to finish one rampier, a small cross wall upon their key, and cover their towers with slate, or deal; or else that the town and fort may be at liberty to fortify within their walls.

4. The fourth is agreed upon.

5. The fifth, as to the fort, cannot be admitted; but we consent to a victualing during the cessation weekly; the free market for it during the cessation, and before a peace, being very fatal unto us.

6. To the sixth, the taking of Aghnenewre was long before these troubles, by Mr. Morrogh na doe O Flaherty, without help, advice, or assistance of this corporation, or the rest of the gentry now engaged in this cause, and therefore ought to be left to a particular treaty between the parties concerned, whereunto we pray a good success, and that right may take place; and as to Mr. Clarke's ship and goods, this corporation is lawfully intitled thereunto in point of charter, by his forfeiture of them for transporting of wool without licence. Nevertheless, that extremity shall not be followed; but his ship and goods, ordnance and ammunition, shall be restored unto him, when we have restitution of what goods are detained of ours in England and Dublin. But as to a reciprocal restitution since these troubles, it is absolutely necessary, considering that, as it appears by the answer, only goods, corn, and cattle, which were perishable commodities, were taken; but if peace shall not follow this cessation, the parties to whom restitution shall be made, shall enter security to leave the cattle where they were taken, for four days after the time of the cessation spent, except so many of them as, upon oath, they shall spend for necessary provisions during that time. The rest of the articles, as to the goal delivery, legal proceedings, and all other parts of it, allowed.

7. The seventh is admitted, but to be enlarged with securing of goods, chattles, debts, and credits.

And as to the conclusion, all acts of hostility are to be laid aside by each party; care shall be taken that no arms or ammunition shall issue out of the town imprudently during the time, so the fort give no interruption, during the time, to the landing of ordnance, arms, or ammunition at our key, nor we at the fort; and, as it is directed, one or two from us shall attend his lordship for drawing up supplications to his majesty, and the state.

Answer to
the conclu-
sion.

And lastly, it is expected, that his lordship shall engage his majesty's word, and his own honour, that, during the cessation, none of the town, or country, engaged in this cause, by any directions issued, or to issue from the king, or state, shall be troubled, or molested in life, liberty, lands, goods, chattles, debts, or credits; and that no invasion, or attempt shall be made upon the said town, or any castle belonging to the said gentry, or to any member of this town; and upon a certainty of a final peace, we shall be willing and ready to make all humble and fit submission.

WALTER LYNCH, mayor.

Apr. 1642.

My further answer to the reply sent me from the town of Galway, the 29th of April, 1642.

My answer
to the reply
of Galway,
the 29th of
April.

THE first and second requires no further answer, question, or debate at this present.

3. To the third, the work both of the town and fort, and the consequences of them, are unknown to me; and without the knowledge and consent of the captain of the fort, I can give no certain answer thereto.

4. The fourth is agreed upon on both sides.

5. To the fifth, I can no ways decline from my former answer, my duty to his majesty's service strictly obliging me thereto, together with the preservation of my honour and reputation, to be employed for the good of both town and county, if they shall fitly concur therein; it being contrary (as I conceive) to all honour, reason, and justice, to have his majesty's fort deserted, and so slightly regarded, and free liberty to the town, and all other parts of the county; and this is my settled resolution in this particular.

6. To the sixth, if other things be agreed upon, I will not insist upon the present restitution of my castle and islands by this treaty, though it might well be expected by me; but being my own private interest, I am content to decline it for this time; but these that have done me the injury, may not perhaps meet with the like opportunity to give me satisfaction. For Clarke's ship, I am still of opinion, that it were for the advantage of the corporation speedily to satisfy him, but I will not insist thereupon for this short time of cessation; but I expect a present restitution of my arms, and other goods detained from me, and likewise what was kept from the captain of the fort, for which he had bargained and paid his money; and then I am content, that restitution be made on both sides of such goods and cattle as hath been preserved, and were not disposed of for the necessary supply and relief of his majesty's army, upon such conditions, and from the time desired in the first propositions. And as for the goods disposed of, reciprocal satisfaction to be made, as by indifferent commissioners shall be agreed upon.

7. To the seventh, I shall use my best endeavours for the addition required, together with what I undertook in my former answer.

To the reply to my former conclusion, I must expect that the ordnance, arms, and ammunition, shall not be issued forth of the town, but for his majesty's service, and by my directions and allowance; and that they be undertaken and put in the custody of four or five of quality of the town, and their names given unto me, who may be hereafter responsible for the issuing such dangerous commodities. And for the landing of more ordnance, arms, or ammunition, I cannot undertake therein, without notice given first unto the captain of the fort; and he consenting to this treaty, I shall be then ready to engage his majesty's word, and my own honour, that, during the cessation, none of the town, or country, shall be invaded, or molested in any of these particulars, by them desired. And I shall certainly expect a final conclusion to this treaty to-morrow before noon, otherwise I shall hardly keep back from the dangers that will speedily ensue.

The conclusion of this treaty begins the next month.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

About the end of this month, I received letters from Mr. Terence Coghlan, whom I had employed with letters to the state at Dublin, and, among other particulars, had moved for a general cessation of arms in this kingdom, whereby he informed me, that he was delayed, and at last kept from going to Dublin by my lord of Gormanstown, upon some suspicion, as he conceived, that I sent him upon some other designs, and that he was narrowly watched. He found means to convey

convey all my dispatches to Dublin, but those that concerned the cessation of arms, which he did return unto me, with a letter from my lord of Gorman's-town. Apr. 1642.

My lord of Gorman's-town, dated the 14th of April, 1642.

MY LORD,

I Am obliged to present many thanks unto your lordship, the only present acknowledgment our country can afford; a mean reward for your great care, and good intentions, in endeavouring the peace of it. Our miseries are many, drawn on by an enforced action of arms, never willingly undergone, being always free from any end touching to prey or profit, only seeking the defence of our religion, lives, liberty, and estates; those we desire to enjoy, to gain which, moved the former expressions to your lordship. Mr. Terence Coghlan hath acquainted me with the transcript of those dispatches, which contain much of what we would express; the giving of a determinate resolve on them cannot be my act, without the advice of the select council of the county; that it should be agitated by the gentlemen your lordship names, is held inconvenient; they having been heretofore more cautious of their own, than careful of the common safety. We may not decline your lordship's favour, but pray your farther diligence in this pious action, and to intercede for us by some, whose special integrity, and your lordship's particular interest in them, may give us hope they will strive to be faithful expressers of your lordship's real intentions, and sincere agents for us; or that your lordship will be a means we may obtain a safe passage for those in whom we may repose special trust, to agitate an action with the state of so great concernment. If your lordship will be pleased to let me know what farther favour you will do for us, and how you will act in our behalf, I shall strive to be informed of many material motives for a cessation, and peace, more than your lordship hath yet had information of. If my power can cause your packets to be conveyed safely, my endeavours in that, and all other occasions in which I can serve your lordship, shall express me

From my
lord of Gor-
man's-town,
dated the
14th of Apr.

Sir William
Hill and Mr.
Nicholas
Plunkett.

Your lordship's friend and servant,

The 14th of April, 1642.

GORMAN'S-TOWN.

Upon the receipt of this letter, finding this opportunity, and my labour lost, and that they held suspicions of those gentlemen fittest to be employed in that treaty, I resolved to give it over, and not to endanger myself in their affairs that would not be advised for the best.

This month I received several letters from my lord president of Conaght, informing me of his proceedings in the county of Roscommon, and gaining liberty to go abroad, and relieve the garrisons distressed there, and well approving my proposition for a cessation, and his own intention of moderation, and distinction of the best way of service, and much applauding my enterprize for the relief of the fort, in the midst of so much danger, and neglect of the state to supply me; and expressing his own wants, and disability to come as yet to my assistance. And I likewise received very kind and respectful letters from Sir Charles Coote, and kept very good correspondence with him, Sir Arthur Blundell, and Mr. William Parsons.

My lord of Mayo, the last of April, 1642.

MY LORD,

I Am much impeached in this county for adhering unto your lordship; your letters, and mine, being reciprocal. Your intents, and mine, though never so fair, are misconstrued by the vulgar. Intentions are on foot to prejudice your lordship. From my
lord of
Mayo, the
last of Apr.

May 1742. lordship. To save those intensive resolutions, I cannot, my lord, for a few days, with all the persuasive means possible; and with laboriousness have bent the fury athwart, and with assurance that your lordship will not be repugnant to the national and rational designs now on foot. More I am to intimate, that if your lordship does not withdraw your garrison from Clare, whereby this county may have free traffick with that ancient nursery of Galway, they will not be persuaded but to wrest the accustomed privileges. My integrity is such, that, I presume, what is here related will be accepted from

Your lordship's affectionate cousin and servant,

Bellcarew, the last of
April, 1642.

MAYO.

The copy of my answer is lost; but, as I remember, I set forth at large the foul carriage and disobedience of those of Galway, and their adherents, and the strict obligations upon me, both in duty and honour, to relieve the king's fort, and reduce them to their due obedience; and my confidence, that his lordship would rather assist me, than countenance or give any encouragement to their proceedings.

From the mayor of Galway, the 2d of May, 1642.

Right Honourable,

From the
mayor of
Galway the
2d of May.

I Must in the first place crave your lordship's pardon for the stay of this answer; resolutions taken from the votes of the multitude are always slow, and that administered the occasion of this small delay, which I hope shall not divert the course of a work so good and necessary as is now in agitation.

I now return to your lordship the final resolution taken by the corporation and gentry engaged in this cause. They have all assented so far, as they do, more to satisfy your lordship (whom they highly love and honour) than out of any other consideration; and they humbly pray your lordship, in your determination upon the articles of cessation, may be pleased to shew a willingness for their preservation, wherein none is more nearly concerned than yourself. And this, my lord, being all I have to say for the present, I humbly take leave to remain

Your lordship's very loving friend and servant,

Galway, the 2d of
May, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, mayor.

The mayor of Galway, his reply to my former answer of the 29th of April, 1642.

The mayor
of Galway,
his reply to
my former
answer of
the 29th of
April, 1642.

THE first and second require no answer.

To the third, it is humbly desired that his lordship may speedily satisfy himself from the fort, how far the captain of the fort will consent to the third article of our reply.

The fourth is agreed upon on all sides.

To the fifth, for expression of our desire to comply with his lordship's pleasure, it is agreed upon, that the town shall be stinted to a month's victuals as well as the fort, provided that such of the town as have their proper corn in the country, either tythe, port corn, forth sheafe, duties upon tenants, or of their proper sowing, may bring in the same during the time of cessation.

The sixth is agreed upon, for so much thereof as his lordship insists upon, and it is desired that sworn commissioners be forthwith named for the valuation of goods disposed of

The seventh is agreed upon.

As

As to the conclusion, it shall be endeavoured to give his lordship satisfaction as ^{May 1642.} far forth as it may stand with the safety of this place, and their duty to God; but they cannot admit it by way of article, covenant, or tye upon them, for that it is directly against the oath of union, for mutual protection of all catholicks united for the service of God, king, and country; and we would justly despair of the expected peace desired, if we should begin a cessation (which is the first step unto it) with perjury; beside, it were as much in effect, as for a short cessation, shamefully to cast off all the friends we have, who are united in this common cause. The security of the observance of this treaty is desired, as in our reply is expressed.

WALTER LYNCH, mayor.

Upon the receipt of this unreasonable reply and resolution of the town of Galway, and their adherents, I resolved to dissolve the treaty, finding the fort in no present danger, the sea being free by the departure of Morrogh na Mart O Flaherty's boats, and some reasonable proportions of corn, malt, and fresh meat having at several times been conveyed into the fort in a little skiff from my castle of Oran More, and having likewise borrowed a large boat out of Thomond, of Mr. Daniel O'Brien, which could carry good store of provisions, and a competent number of musketeers.

Upon consideration of the little hope of assistance of the state, the impossibility of keeping an army long together, who were for the most part not very forward in this quarrel; and if Galway could have been distressed and forced to surrender, I had none to put in garrison there in whom I could confide of the common soldiers; and the danger of being invaded by the several counties in action round about me; I held it fit to labour the gaining them to a submission, and coming into his majesty's protection, upon a general report of his majesty's coming into this kingdom, and making them believe that great dangers were at hand, if they did not timely submit.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, dissolving the treaty, the 3d of May, 1642.

Mr. Mayor,

YOUR letter dated yesterday, I received late in the evening, and, as you expressed therein, I am easily inclined to believe that those resolutions taken after long debate, were rather the votes of the multitude than of the grave council that used to manage the affairs of Galway; and for reply, I make no other return than that I must by no means differ from what I formerly sent you; and yours being likewise a final resolution, this treaty is thereby dissolved. But if I might have the privilege to be believed as easily as others, that have no relation to you, and trusted as I ought to be, I might truly and plainly tell you the present dangers upon you are so sudden and certain, that there is no way of preservation for you, or the safety of the county, but, as I first expressed, totally to submit unto me, and to be taken into protection, until his majesty's pleasure be known, that his majesty, upon his speedy arrival, might find you in such a posture of obedience as might obtain his mercy; and that I might rather be a mediator for you than your accuser; which cannot be avoided, but by a sudden and fit submission, which, though it may not agree with the rash conceits of the vulgar, may well become the best thoughts of the graver sort, there being no other way to invite me to express myself

To the mayor of Galway, dissolving the treaty, the 3d of May.

Your loving friend,

Clare-Castle, the 3d of
May, 1642,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Soon after my dispatches to the mayor of Galway, I received letters from captain Willoughby, and dispatches from Dublin sent by sea, in a great fair ship,

K k

called

May 1642 called the Employment, under the command of one captain Ashley, bringing reasonable plenty of provision and ammunition to the fort; it arrived in the bay of Galway upon May-day, but I had no certain knowledge who they were, until the 3d of May.

From the Lords Justices and Council, the 19th of April, received the 3d of May, 1642.

MY LORD,

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, we have received your lordship's several letters of the 19th and 22d of March, directed to us the lords justices, and it seems that those distempers, mentioned in your lordship's letters of the 20th (which you conceived you had quieted between the fort and town of Galway) were but sparks of that fire which then lay hidden in the town, and after broke out into those flames, which are mentioned in your lordship's letters of the 22d; yet those things betrayed so much of their secret purposes, as your lordship had great reason then to interpose, as you did, in preventing (if it might be) those treacherous ends, which it seems the townsmen had then propounded unto themselves.

We have perused the declarations which your lordship sent us, attested by your lordship, one of the mayor, sheriffs, &c. of Galway, dated the 11th of March, the other of captain Anthony Willoughby, who now commands the fort, dated the 13th of March, which declarations certainly had been altogether needless for persons meaning well to each other; but it seems the town having then a secret intention to break out into disloyalty, and then labour all they could to palliate and disguise it, and so casting with themselves to gain some testimony of their pretended fidelity, they bethought them of that declaration, so to beget another from captain Willoughby.

The pretended declaration of the English clergy, not attested by your lordship, but by the name of one York, and not his hand, we find by captain Willoughby to be false and forged.

We have considered of those instructions, which your lordship laid down as rules to be observed by the fort and town, towards composing of their differences, and do commend your lordship's care and providence therein; and if those instructions had been observed by the town, with that duty which became them, it might have wrought those good effects of accord between them, which your lordship, with good judgment, endeavoured. But it seems the townsmen were so fast bound to their purpose of disloyalty, as those rules of moderation, prescribed by your lordship, could not contain them within due limits of obedience, who not regarding his majesty's authority, intrusted with your lordship, nor those your lordship's instructions, did on the 19th of March, in contempt of that authority, and contrary to the duty of good subjects, surprize an English ship in that harbour, with five barrels of powder, and nine pieces of ordnance, in taking of which ship, Dominick Kiervan, and other merchants, and boatmen employed therein, with pistols and skeans, wounded all they found on the decks, slew the master's mate, and one of the soldiers, wounded also divers others, some of whom are past hope of recovery, and disarmed all the soldiers they found aboard; and we are advertised from the fort, that the townsmen intend to employ those ordnance against the fort; that they have taken a general oath to demolish it; that they disarm all protestants; and that they inhibit the exercise of their religion, upon pain of death.

That they entertain all rebels, and supply them with all necessaries, even powder and arms; that they daily expect arms to the value of three thousand pounds, for the further supply of the town and county.

That your lordship endeavours, with that nobleness and loyalty which becomes you, to relieve the fort, for which we render you hearty thanks.

Those

Those arms and ammunition they expect are, it seems, those mentioned in ^{May 1642.} your lordship's letters of the 19th of March, which you write you were informed they sent for, by virtue of a late proclamation for their own defence; what proclamation that may be we know not, for we well know there was no proclamation made that gave them any such power; but, perhaps, they may have done it under countenance of an order of parliament here, made on the 26th of November last, whereby is ordered, that it should be lawful for such counties of this kingdom, as his majesty, or the chief governor or governors and council of this realm should appoint, to raise, and continue such a number of armed men, horse and foot, during the present troubles and distempers of this realm, as those counties should think fit; and that it should be lawful for every such county, by licence of his majesty, or his chief governor or governors of this kingdom, to provide and import arms and ammunition for the said men. So as before that the town of Galway should presume to provide or import any arms or ammunition, they ought, by that order, to have licence from his majesty, or us his chief governors and council here, which yet they have not had. And therefore, as it was discreetly and providently done by your lordship to take order (as you wrote you have done) with captain Willoughby, that he should give you speedy notice of the arrival of any plenty of arms or ammunition there, that you might repair thither if there were occasion, or, by your lordship's warrant, issue out for the fort, or county, what should be above a fit proportion for their own defence; so we now pray and require your lordship, since matters are gone to that height there, that you endeavour, by all the means you may, to hinder the arrival there of those arms and ammunition they expect, and that none be landed there but for the use of the fort, for which due payment shall be made by his majesty. And whereas your lordship mentions some reports brought hither by one Hufsey, in prejudice of your lordship, we assure your lordship that we know of no such reports brought by him, as may any way reflect upon you; nor is your lordship in so little estimation with this state, as that we should lightly give any credit to informations against you, of whom we hold an honourable opinion, as of a person answering the eminency of that trust which his majesty hath reposed in you in that government, which we have not failed to represent into England for your lordship's advantage. We have viewed the account you sent us, subscribed by captain Willoughby; and as we will provide to disengage your lordship of those sums wherein you stand engaged for supply of the fort, so we will take order to repay you the one hundred pounds, which appears by that account to have been lent by your lordship to captain Willoughby for the use of the fort on the 23d of March, if by the assignment on Mr. Radcliff, which you had from captain Willoughby, you be not paid.

Touching your lordship's desire, that we should take notice of Sir Richard Blake, and the recorder of Galway's careful endeavours to prevent mistakes, and qualify distempers there, and that we should give a touch that we have a good opinion of Sir Robert Lynch, seeing the distempers of that town are grown higher and more dangerous, and the state of affairs so much altered between the 19th of March, (when your lordship wrote these letters) and the 22d of March, when your later letters are dated, and for that in those tumultuous disorders, those persons may, in all likelihood, have had a hand either in acting the disorders, or in not preventing them, as is conceived they might have done, which being so, renders them incapable of any respect from us; we therefore think fit to respite writing to them in present, until from your lordship we shall have more concerning them; and we should be glad to hear from your lordship that they may deserve to be so written to by us, which then we shall do.

Touching your lordship's desire to receive the king's exchequer rents, and compositions of that county, we are pleased that your lordship do receive the last Michaelmas and Easter rents, and compositions there due, and that thereout you pay your own and your company's entertainments, due since the 23d of October last,

May 1642. last, and that the residue you retain in your hands until further directions from us; and you are to keep an exact account of your receipts, and to give your acquittances for the several sums you receive, upon producing of which acquittances here, we shall take order that acquittances be made out in due form to the parties producing them, and to be signed by the officers of the receipt.

That bloody and inhuman massacre mentioned in your lordship's letters, to have been committed at Shreull upon many English and Scotch, we heard not of but by these your letters, and therefore we pray your lordship to send us the particulars thereof, and such examinations as have come to your hands concerning it.

We have by your letters now sent to justice Donellan, taken notice of his good assistance rendered there to your lordship, which we are assured will still continue, as becomes an honest man.

We have received the mayor of Galway's letter directed to your lordship, and the copy you sent us of the covenant, or oath of confederacy, mentioned in the mayor's letters to have been taken by them in their tholsel; in these letters, Mr. Lynch mentions the necessity of that place in matter of arms, occasioned (as they pretend) by unlawful proclamations. What these unlawful proclamations are we understand not; and sure we are, that since we the lords justices entered into this government, nor in divers years before, there was no proclamation published concerning arms. He acknowledges the surprizing of Clarke's ship, and the landing of the ordnance and ammunition; he confesses their disarming of the English; he mentions, that the example of the like usage to catholicks they took from Dublin, Cork, and Youghall, adding, that their present miserable condition did put them in mind of what they were to expect; wherein is observable their extreme falshood in pretending the papists of these towns of Dublin, Cork, and Youghall to be in a miserable condition, whereas there is not the least just cause of any such complaint in any of these towns; or, if there were, it is a high presumption in those of Galway to assume a power of doing that, without authority, at Galway, on the protestants, which they alledge was done by authority at those towns on the papists, which yet is not true, for we know of no such thing done at Youghall, or Cork; and for that which was done at Dublin, there was indeed some arms, as muskets and calivers, borrowed of the papists, but yet with intentions to be restored them again; nor are they thereby disarmed, for all, or most of them, have still their swords; and if, in other things, Galway would take example by those towns, so they might take example by them in continuing their loyalty to his majesty. And lastly, as your lordship well observes in your answer to the mayor's letter, he forbears to acknowledge to your lordship your due title of his majesty's lieutenant governor there; and upon the whole matter, all their actions laid together do sufficiently declare their defection from that loyalty to his majesty, whereof, as your lordship notes, they had so newly before made so many great and publick professions. Your lordship therefore with great reason in your letters of the 22d of March, moves for hastening strong forces into those parts, or that we would think of some fit way to quench that flame; the latter we understand not, but the former is, that which is most fitly applicable in this case, to punish and suppress such unnatural and ungrateful rebels; and as by the power and strength of his majesty's army, a fair entrance is already made towards subduing the rebels in these and other parts of the kingdom, so we no way doubt, ere long, to send such forces thither as may make those, and other rebels in that province, quickly feel with grief the evil consequences of their treacherous disloyalty, which, by God's assistance, will certainly terminate in that destruction to themselves, and their posterity, which they conspired against his majesty and his government. In the mean time, we pray and require your lordship to continue your accustomed industry, and constant endeavour, to order matters there the best you may, for security

security and strengthening his majesty's fort, and preserving the British and protestants (if any be left there) against these dissembling malefactors, who are now confederated to raise disturbance there, and who labour to render your lordship less powerful to suppress than, we hope, you will be found. May 1642.

We think fit to make known to your lordship, that these so seemingly formidable forces of the rebels, which most presumptuously adventured to besiege Drogheda, have been beaten away thence with shame and confusion to them, and with the loss of several thousands of their men; and after they were so beaten away, Sir Henry Titchburn pursued them to Ardee, where he forced them, and from thence chased them to Dundalk, and forced them thence also; and having there, and at Ardee, slain many of them, possessed himself of Dundalk, where now he remains with some forces, leaving Drogheda well guarded.

The strength of all the lords of the pale who are in rebellion is quite broken, and they forced to quit their habitations, several of their houses having been burned and pillaged by his majesty's army; and now they begin to find with sorrow the evil fruits of their defection from their loyalty; and we believe ere long, your neighbours of Galway will have bought their experience of disloyalty at so dear a rate as the others, and both most justly, as a reward of their odious and detestable rebellion; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 19th of April, 1642.

WM. PARSONS.	JO. BORLACE.
ORMOND OSSORY.	ROSCOMMON.
ANT. MEDENSIS.	CHA. LAMBERT.
ADAM LOFTUS.	J. TEMPLE.
JAMES WARE.	GEO. WENTWORTH.
THO. ROTHERAM.	FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY.
ROBERT MEREDITH.	

P. S. We have now sent from hence a ship of war to carry some provisions to the fort of Galway, and to make what spoil they may on the rebels; and we pray and require your lordship to help the fort to what provisions you may, and in all things else to be as assisting as you can to the fort and ship.

Second P. S. Our very good friend the earl of Ormond, lieutenant general of his majesty's army, on the 2d day of this month set forth from hence with three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and marched to Maryborough, to relieve several castles, which had a long time held out for his majesty against the rebels; and having fully performed the service he went about, and therein had many skirmishes with the rebels, and defeated them on Friday the 25th of this month; he was encountered, on his return hither, by the united forces of the rebels, from several counties of Leinster and Munster, to the number of six thousand men, among whom were the lord viscount Mount-Garret, the lord viscount Ikerin, the lord of Dunboyne, and many other persons of the most eminent of the rebels, who endeavoured to cut off the earl of Ormond, and those of his majesty's forces under his command, in their return hither.

In the end they joined battle, and it pleased God so to bless those his majesty's forces, as the rebels were routed; and the earl pursuing the victory, followed the execution, and had the killing of them for a mile, wherein they slew about six hundred of the rebels, and amongst them very many principal men, colonels and captains; and so his lordship with his forces returned hither safely, thanks be to God, on Sunday the 27th of this month, leaving those scattered rebels to lament their present misfortune, and for the difficulty, if not impossibility, of reuniting their cursed forces. As for their own deserved fate, now (by the mercy of God) even in their own judgments apparently in view, this tempest, we hope,

May 1642. will ere long overtake them, and so fully recompence them for their falshood and wretched rebellion.

WM. PARSONS.

ORMOND OSSORY.

CHA. LAMBERT.

JO. TEMPLE.

FRA. WILLOUGHBY.

GEO. WENTWORTH.

JO. BORLACE.

ROSCOMMON.

AD. LOFTUS.

THO. ROTHERAM.

JA. WARE.

ROB. MEREDITH.

3d of May.

Captain Willoughby wrote to me at the same time, that the ship which arrived there was of four hundred tun burden, carried thirty pieces of ordnance, and had one hundred and thirty men in her; that he expected shipping from London with three hundred men, and in the mean time, desired my advice how the ship and men might be employed for the best advantage against the rebels: and that, in obedience to the state's directions, he intended to begin a battery upon the town, but would stay for my direction; that there were many English in the town likely to suffer when he should begin to beat upon the town, but that he must prefer the general good before the particular relation; that he heard the town were no well-wishers of mine, but contrived all plots they could for my ruin; that he was desirous to write to the state, and desired to know whether I could convey it or not; and sent me a copy of the state's letter unto him.

From the Lords Justices and Council, to captain Anthony Willoughby, the 19th of April, received the 1st of May.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

Lords Justices to capt. Willoughby.

No arms or ammunition for me, or direction to let me have any.

This direction made all rebels that had corn or cattle within.

AFTER our hearty commendations, we have partly by your letters to Sir Francis Willoughby, and by letters from our very good lord the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, understood the revolt of the town of Galway; and as we render you thanks for your care in preservation of your fort, so we require the continuance of your constant endeavours that way; and to enable you the better to discharge this trust, we have now sent this ship with ammunition, victuals and other needful provisions, as followeth. Thirty thousand weight of bisket, two pieces of ordnance, four spare carriage wheels, one hundred and fifty spades, fifty shovels, thirty pick-axes, forty barrels of powder, twenty barrels of musket bullets, three hundred of deal boards, three tuns of wine, one thousand pound weight of cheese, five hundred and eighty-two pound weight of butter, and twenty barrels of salt; which several provisions, excepting the biskets, powder, and bullets, you are to receive from on board the ship immediately after the arrival of the ship there; and the residue also then intirely at one time, or, if you and the captain of the ship think fit, at several times, as the fort shall have use thereof. There is also one Dutton Bunbury sent thither to take care of the safety of the provisions sent you, from whom you are to receive them in manner as is formerly mentioned, and to deliver them to the clerk of the store there. And we now require you to consult with the captain of the ship for the safety of the fort, and offence of the rebels, as well in the town as elsewhere, on the coasts thereabouts; and in case any hostile act hath been attempted from the town against the fort; or if the town assist any others that have made, or shall make any attempt on the fort; or if the town have adhered, or shall adhere to the rebels; that he, and in such case, you from the fort, do all the harm you can unto the town, and principally to the most active and leading men of the town, who have done, or shall do any hostile act against the fort, or suffer any thing to be done against it, that they might, or may prevent; and that you do all things you can that may bring terror or danger upon them.

We

We have desired captain Ashly to be as helpful to you as he may, and particularly to help you with gunners as soon as our expected supplies shall arrive forth of England. We intend to send powerful forces by land for suppressing the rebels in those parts, and for relieving that fort. May 1642.

We send you herewith a commission, enabling you to execute martial law on such of the rebels as you can light on; and we do hereby authorize you to execute by martial law, or otherwise to punish, as you find cause, such foldiers under your command, as shall presume to disobey you, or carry themselves falsely or negligently in execution of your directions for his majesty's service; and so we bid you farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 19th of April, 1642.

Your loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.	JO. BORLACE.
ORMOND OSSORY.	ROSCOMMON.
CHA. LAMBERT.	AD. LOFTUS.
JO. TEMPLE.	THO. ROTHERAM.
FRA. WILLOUGHBY.	JA. WARE.
GEO. WENTWORTH.	ROB. MEREDITH.

From the mayor of Galway, the 4th of May, 1642.

Right Honourable,

THE corporation and gentry engaged in the present cause, relying upon his majesty's goodness, and your lordship's favour, have sent unto your lordship the reverend father, prior of the dominicans, and guardian of Rosse, Geffry Brown, and Richard Martin, Esquire, to present unto your lordship, they hope, a satisfactory submission, and to make unto your lordship, on their behalf, some humble requests. They beseech your lordship to have that care of them, that nature and good conscience ties you unto, and yet that no further, than they are ready and willing in their actions and words to express zeal and faith to his majesty, and humble obedience, and hearty affections to your lordship; and, in confidence of the continuance of your favours, take my leave, and remain

Your lordship's very loving friend and servant,

Galway, the 4th of
May, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, mayor.

Upon the receipt of this letter I wrote to captain Willoughby, to give him notice, that the town was in treaty with me upon a submission, and therefore held it fit he should forbear to make a battery upon the town, until we had conferred of the fittest course to be taken; and that if he pleased to direct the captain of the ship to send a boat the next day to my castle of Oran More, I would give him a meeting on shipboard, according to appointment. I went the next day to Oran More; but the boat came so late in the evening, that if I had gone, I must have lain all night on board; thereupon I sent an excuse for that night, and appointed the boat to be there early the next morning; and staying long there by the sea-side in conference with the bishop of Killalla (who was permitted to repair unto me out of Galway) he did with much confidence affirm, that he observed all the better sort of the town very fairly and submissively inclined, and desired me not to give way too far to the rash and violent resolutions of the captains of the fort and ship, who, without advantage thereby, would certainly destroy both him and all the English in the town; and would put very great hazards even upon myself and family, and endanger the whole county; which was all very true; and I was glad to have my own apprehensions confirmed

May 1642. confirmed by one, so well known to be of able judgment, and so affectionate to the king's service. After this conference, it was so very late before I could get to Clare, as that night I fell into so great a distemper as made me unable to stir the next morning; but I employed Mr. justice Donellan, one of the judges of the common pleas, and chief justice of the province of Conaght, a person of great ability and integrity, to confer with the captains of the fort and ship, and to bring me their resolution; and finding captain Willoughby pressing, and earnest to batter the town, with much difficulty and pain I wrote unto him as followeth.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 6th of May, 1642.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

To captain
Willoughby,
the 6th of
May.

I Now write to you with great extremity of pain, and much distempers. I have considered the propositions you sent me, and return them with some small alteration, which I hold most necessary, that they may not be totally without defence; battery to be threatened, but not put fully in present execution, for the reasons following. Above four hundred English in the town that will be thereby destroyed, for whose preservation I have received special charge from the state; the battery will make no breach in the walls in a long time; all the neighbouring counties upon such an alarm will forthcome into this county to take revenge on me, and I having no better means of defence, there will be present danger of destruction to myself, wife, children, and family, the burning of all my houses and towns, and the ruin of the whole county; and therefore until forces be near, or the state rightly informed how affairs stand here, I cannot consent unto a battery of the town; and I am confident the state would give no commission to have it done upon such terms, you being plentifully supplied, and a good ship to keep back traffick from them. I cannot understand why such a destructive haste should be made, or what is the great advantage by it; and without further satisfaction from you, or directions from the state, I cannot hold it convenient; and according to your resolution, I shall immediately acquaint the state therewith, who I am assured do more regard me, and the present condition of this county, and the whole province, than to hazard such extremities, unless the fort were in greater danger than I can apprehend. I beseech you let not passion in anywise prevail with you, to be a cause of destroying many innocent persons; and do not forget that, to the best of my power, I have endeavoured to approve myself

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The propositions made to the town of Galway, by captain Willoughby, the 5th of May, which he sent to me to be considered of in my treaty with them upon submission.

Propositions
sent to Gal-
way, by cap-
tain Wil-
loughby, the
5th of May.

TO dismiss the garrison of rebels out of the town.

To send away the army out of the camp.

To lay down their own arms.

To open their gates, and give free passage to his majesty's subjects to come and go, and traffick, &c.

That the English now in town may come and go at their pleasure.

That there be liberty for the publick profession of the religion established in England and Ireland.

That his majesty's laws be of force.

That the bulwarks and fortifications built against the fort be cast down and demolished.

That

That what arms, ammunition, and powder is now in town, be forthwith brought up to the fort. May 1642.

That these men be this afternoon sent up to the fort, that ran away from their colours.

That full restitution be made to the English of all their goods stolen and purloyned from them.

FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY.

My lord of Mayo, the 7th of May, received the 8th, 1642.

MY LORD,

YOUR letter dated the 3d of this instant, I received this present day, by which I received no answer of what I have written to your lordship concerning the withdrawing of your garrison from Clare, and to admit this county to use their ancient traffick with Galway. My lord, my tender care was, and is such for your lordship's well doing, that I have done as much as any man could do; yet I fear much, that if your lordship will not send a speedy answer, and that upon receipt of this letter, whether you will give unto this county their desired free access, you will draw upon you that inconveniency that I shall not be able to prevent; which to avoid, I shall entreat that speedy resolution from your lordship which may not unknot the ancient union between that county and this; and so I rest

Your lordship's affectionate cousin to serve you,

Bellcarraw, the 7th of
May, 1642.

MAYO.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 8th of May, 1642.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

I Have staid much longer than the time appointed, being confident that all had been concluded upon by the agents of the town that were here late last night, and that there was nothing remaining, but to have it signed by them, and hostages appointed; their long stay, and message come from them, gives me cause to believe that there hath been a faction raised amongst them by some of the ill-affected party, that are more deeply engaged than others, to divert the good intentions of those that had drawn them into a fair way of submission, and that they keep the gates shut to stop all intelligence from me. What to say or advise is very difficult, only this I am sure of, it is not fit for me to entertain any longer delays, or to divert you from the intentions that you shall think most expedient for his majesty's service; and, upon notice from you, they shall be seconded with my best endeavours, let the hazard be what it will, if you conceive the advantage of a speedy battery be more prevalent, than to gain time upon the motives I formerly alledged. What you shall resolve on to execute, and advise me to second, I shall perform the best I can, though I am doubtful I shall not be able to give any great assistance, having just now received a second threatening letter from my lord of Mayo, requiring a present answer, and remove of my garrisons from those parts, or else he cannot detain the forces of the county of Mayo from coming upon me; and Mr. Andrew Darcy hath likewise intelligence of their resolution to come into this county. If you resolve a speedy battery, upon notice thereof, I will forthwith raise the power of the whole county to answer their attempts. I desire to know what is most wanting unto you, that it may be suddenly provided before the troubles increase. I have twenty pecks of malt here, which I present unto you without account; if you please to

M m

send

May 1642. send as many sacks to Oran More as you have empty to-morrow, the malt shall be then ready for you on Tuesday morning, &c.

Clare-Castle, the 8th of
May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 9th of May, 1642.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

To captain
Willoughby,
the 9th of
May.

MR. Geffry Brown and Mr. John Blake came hither late this night, to inform me, that after some dispute at a full court in the council, about the demolishing their new work, and upon an inhibition I made by direction of the state, that no powder nor arms should be admitted to land in the town, but be brought to the fort, and the owners to be duly paid by his majesty, it was at last agreed, and carried by voices, that the treaty and submission should be broken, and a power granted them under the town-seal to conclude upon articles, in case I would not mitigate those points; but soon after a tumult and uproar rose in the town, and Mr. Brown was threatened and charged, that he, and his father, had raised a faction to carry the business, and that the young men should have had their voices, and have been called by sound of drum to the court, and that their votes not being given, it was not by general consent; and Mr. Brown and Mr. Blake were not permitted to come forth only as messengers, to declare, that they would not agree to their submission, without the inhibition of the powder were taken off, which I cannot do; and in this confused manner is the treaty broken off. It was intimated to me by one of them to-night, that they conceive that if you made three or four shot into the town, it might draw and terrify them to condescend to a submission, which is much desired by the graver and better sort, and that, at last, it might set such division amongst them as would be of great advantage; and he doth believe, that this violent heat may be passed over by to-morrow, and a warning-piece bring them in. I have not above three hundred men here and at Oran More, the rest of the companies being drawn towards the borders of the county of Mayo. If you think that my appearance with so small a number will be of any advantage, I will march towards the town at what hour you will appoint; but if the weather, or any other occasion, makes you defer your battery, I will draw some more forces hither if you think fit, though I am very confident that those of Mayo will come in as soon as they hear the town is assaulted. If you perceive my coming of no great use, I will be sure to keep the country forces from coming this way to molest you; and if it be not to endanger the English, I do now hold it most necessary to let three or four pieces fly amongst them, and the sooner the better, which will make the women force them to submission. I give you many thanks for the wine you offer me, and if you please to send it to Oran More, when the boat comes for the malt, I will take order for it, and desire that the remainder of my powder may be sent me; Mr. Beal and Mr. Clarke know how much it is. It is now high time for me to look to the fortifying of my houses, and likewise my castles upon the borders of Mayo. Your letter I have received, and can answer nothing more, but in the condition dispose as you think fit of

Your assured true friend,

Clare-Castle, the 9th of
May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 10th, captain Willoughby informed me, that he had made thirty great shot on the town, and pierced through several houses, but could hear nothing from them, and desired that I would come before the town with my forces, which

which he hoped would bring them to a submission; however, to advise with me for the gaining of some places of advantage, that the ship had not water enough to come near the bridge to batter it, which I had proposed to him. Upon his request I came that day before the town with four hundred foot, and one hundred horse, and went myself into the fort, saluted them with three great shot, and sent a trumpeter to summon them; whereupon two of the town came thither to me, and desired time till the next morning, which being granted, they resolved the next day upon a submission. The 12th they sent me hostages, Mr. Geffry Brown and Mr. John Blake, lawyers, and Martin Skerit and Peter Darcy, merchants. And upon the 13th the mayor, aldermen, and many of the young men of the town, attended my coming to the cross, which divides the liberty of the town and fort, captain Willoughby being with me. There the mayor made his publick submission, delivered up the keys, and the young men laid down their arms; and, in brief, upon promise of their future loyalty, I then received them into his majesty's protection, until his royal pleasure were farther declared.

May 1642.

The bridge was the only passage to Irrconaght from the town, divided by a great river, and the breaking of it of great importance.
11th Day.
12th Day.
13th Day.

The submission of the town of Galway, and their adherents.

Right Honourable,

WE his majesty's most humble and faithful subjects, the mayor, sheriffs, free burgesses, and commonalty of his highness's town of Galway, and the gentlemen of the county of Galway engaged in the present cause, do profess, protest, and declare, that we never meant or intended any harm to the English nation, or ever propounded unto ourselves to be withdrawn from our liege faith to his sacred majesty, our sovereign lord and king; but, on the contrary, did solemnly bind ourselves by the holy tie of our oath, for bearing true faith and allegiance to his majesty, his heirs, and lawful successors, and for the preservation and maintenance of his lawful prerogatives, and maintaining and upholding of the common laws of England, which we take God to witness to be, and to have been next our duty to God, our principal aim. And now forasmuch as his majesty, as we are informed, declared his royal pleasure to come into this kingdom, to hear and relieve the just grievances thereof, and, by his great wisdom and fatherly care of his people, to compose the present troubles of the same, and to give an end to the miseries thereof,

The submission of Galway, and their adherents.

We do farther declare, that to express the candor of our intentions by the effects of our obedience, as well as by words, we do hereby express and declare, that we all do freely and absolutely submit to his majesty's great grace and goodness, and to your lordship, his majesty's lieutenant governor of this town and county, on his behalf, and do humbly beseech your lordship to accept the same, until his majesty's pleasure be further known and declared by his royal person in this kingdom, or any where else, upon hearing of our humble remonstrances by our deputies, that you will be nobly pleased to receive us, our lives, liberties, lands, goods, chattles, debts, and credits, into his majesty's protection, until his princely pleasure be further declared as aforesaid. And we pray your lordship to believe, that these troubles were occasioned by an apprehension taken upon report of ruin and destruction threatened to this nation, and catholick religion. And we humbly pray, that hereafter we may not be distinguished from the rest of his highness's faithful subjects, but by the services we will do him, wherein we will endeavour that none shall surpass us; and we are in all fortunes his majesty's most humble and faithful subjects, and your lordship's most humble and affectionate friends and servants. In witness whereof, I the mayor of Galway have hereunto put my hand and seal of office, and the said gentlemen their hands and seals, the 11th day of May, anno domini 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, mayor.
RICHARD BURKE.
JOHN BURKE.

FRANCIS BLAKE.
THOMAS BURKE.

May 1642.

Articles made and agreed upon, by the right honourable Ulick earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, lieutenant governor of the county and town of Galway, and captain Anthony Willoughby, commander of his majesty's fort, and consented to by the town of Galway.

Articles upon the submission of Galway, and their adherents.

1. **T**HAT the soldiers of the country now harboured in the town, be immediately dismissed, and not entertained hereafter.

2. That the army be sent away from the camp, and none other entertained from the country but by his majesty's authority, or such as are trusted by him.

3. That the town forces, other than for the necessary watch and ward, and defence of the town for his majesty's service, be discharged.

4. That the town-gates be open, and free passage given to all his majesty's subjects to come and go, and traffick; and market to be free to the fort, town, and county, so they enter not with unusual arms, or great number, to the endangering of the town.

5. That the English now in town may come and go at their pleasure, at usual and accustomed hours, with their goods and provisions.

6. That the keys of the church and colleges may be taken by the warden dean York; and that there be free liberty for the exercise of the religion established in England and Ireland.

7. That his majesty's laws be of force, but not to look back to punish offences done since the beginning of their troubles, or until his majesty's pleasure be therein known.

8. That the new fortifications, or bulwarks in town, towards the fort, go no further forward, and be left to the lieutenant governor, to be done with as he shall think fit, if he shall find the same dangerous to the fort, and the ordnance to be presently dismounted.

9. That no ordnance, arms, ammunition, or powder, be sold, or issued out of the town, but by warrant from the said lieutenant governor; and all such powder and ammunition, as is now in town, forthwith be left upon the hands of Edmond Kirowan, Richard Kirowan, Alexander Bodkin, Martin Skerrit, and Geffry Fonte, not to be issued out of town by them, or any of them, but by warrant and direction from the lieutenant governor; the merchants to be paid for their powder at reasonable rates, before it be issued.

10. That fitting security be given for the loyalty of the town.

The 11th of May, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, mayor.

Humble desires and offers of the corporation of Galway, and of the gentry engaged in the present cause.

Humble desires and offers of Galway, and their adherents.

1. **T**HAT the arms, and other goods, detained from his lordship, and what goods were detained from the captain of the fort, for which he paid his money, and all other goods and cattle taken since the twentieth, 1641, as have been preserved, and not disposed of, be restored reciprocally; and as for the cattle and goods disposed of reciprocally, satisfaction to be made, as by indifferent gentlemen shall be agreed upon.

2. That his lordship may be pleased to procure for us from his majesty, the same freedom of conscience which he will grant to the rest of all our nation; and to settle our estates according to his last graces; and that we shall not be prejudiced because of those troubles in life, liberty, lands, goods, chattles, debts, or credits, and an act of absolution of all things passed.

3. That his lordship will be pleased by letter, or other instrument in writing, to engage his majesty's word, and his own honour, for preservation of our lives, liberties, lands, goods and chattles, debts and credits; and that the captain of the

the fort should do his best endeavour to that effect, until his majesty's pleasure, ^{May 1642.} upon our humble supplications, shall be made known as aforesaid.

4. It is further humbly desired, that, until his majesty's pleasure be further known, upon consideration of our humble remonstrances, we receive no interruption in our trade, or traffick, by sea; and that captain Willoughby shall give a certificate of the present pacification of the town.

5. It is desired, that, until his majesty's pleasure be further declared, upon remonstrance, we may not be charged with garrison, or lodging foldiers, otherwise than as we formerly paid by billet.

6. That no private act hereafter to be done by any particular person, or persons, of the said corporation, be imputed to the corporation, unless that the fact be done by their direction, assent, or subsequent approbation; but that the party, or parties, be punished according to the common laws and statutes of this kingdom.

7. That the prisoners of the town now detained in fort, or ship, be forthwith delivered, and set at liberty, to enjoy the benefit of this treaty.

By the lieutenant governor of the county and town of Galway.

FORASMUCH as the mayor, sheriffs, free burgessees, and commonalty of the town of Galway, and the gentry in this present action engaged, have now made their humble submission to me, his majesty's governor, on his majesty's behalf, and have laid down their arms, and given sufficient hostages for their future loyalty and allegiance to his sacred majesty and the crown of England; and that his highness is shortly expected in his royal person in this kingdom, whereby his gracious pleasure concerning the kingdom in general may be the sooner known; and for that the preparation for his highness's coming, and the composing and settling of the general distemper, grown to a height in all other parts of the kingdom, must of necessity leave for a time this remote country exposed to much imminent danger; and that my letters, messengers, and addressees unto the lords justices and council have been, and are so interrupted, that I cannot make constant application unto them, nor they signify their commands unto me, with that security and expedition as matters of great importance would require; and for prevention of the many inconveniencies and dangers which otherwise might fall upon this county: I do hereby receive the said mayor, sheriffs, free burgessees, and commonalty of the town of Galway, and every of them, and all and every townsman and townsmen of the same, and such of the gentry engaged in the present action, as have already, or shall make their humble and fit submissions unto me, and all their and every of their lives, liberties, lands, goods and chattles, debts and credits, unto his majesty's protection and grace, until his majesty's royal pleasure concerning them upon his arrival here, or upon the humble supplications of the said mayor, sheriffs, free burgessees, and commonalty of the said town, and the said gentry, shall be declared, so that they timely address their humble suits unto his highness to that effect, and, in the mean time, behave themselves as become obedient and dutiful subjects. And I do likewise promise, and engage my honour, and his majesty's word, as I am intrusted by his majesty with the government of the said town and county, so far as in duty and modesty I am able to undertake, that the said mayor, sheriffs, free burgessees, and commonalty, and townsmen aforesaid, and the said gentry, shall have and enjoy the benefit of their said desires, wherein I will use all humble mediation, and speedy sollicitation unto his majesty, on their and every of their behalfs. Witness my hand and seal the 11th of May, 1642.

My protection to the town of Galway, and their adherents.
My answer to their desires.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Having concluded this business, that brought so much charge and trouble upon me, and threatened so much danger unto me; and having taken the best

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May 1642. order I could for the defence of the borders, to prevent the incurfions of the county of Mayo, with much content I returned home to Portumna upon the 14th; and I shall not now be long, or curious in the particular relations of the passages between the fort, town, and country, until the arrival of the lord Forbes, with his fleet of additional forces the 9th of August, most of the proceedings being made up into books, and remonstrances by the town of Galway; only in general I must affirm, that captain Willoughby and Mr. Ashley did frequently break the cessation as to the country, without any provocation given, and with much prejudice and disrespect to myself, and were likewise more violent in their proceedings against the town than became them, or was convenient for the present time and service, though the town cannot be freed from blame in many particulars.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 18th of May, 1642.

MY LORDS,

To the Lords
Justices, the
18th of May

I Received your lordships dispatch of the 19th of the last month, on the 3d of this present. The ship sent by your lordships, called the Employment, to supply the fort, very happily and safely arrived within the bay of Galway upon May-day, to our great joy and comfort; before whose coming, though with some difficulty, I found means to relieve the fort, and give and receive intelligence from thence by boat from my castle of Oran More. I was at that time in treaty with Galway for a cessation of arms for a month, having heard nothing from your lordships; and being doubtful whether forces were ready, or could with safety march into these remote parts; and hoping by that time your lordships would be ready to supply us, or that I might gain upon the better sort to bring them to conformity and obedience: but they being high in their propositions, soon after the arrival of the ship, I perceived some advantage I had gotten, their camp beginning to break by my stopping of provisions from them, I broke off that treaty, and would not hear of any thing but an absolute submission, and laying down of arms, to which they seemed inclinable, but used delays by the perverse working of some evil spirits amongst them, more deeply engaged than the rest, that, at last, though I had good motives to the contrary, I did give way to captain Willoughby to begin a battery, and drew those forces I had before the town, and went myself into the fort, and from thence summoned them by a trumpet; and two of the town coming thither unto me, desired time until the next morning, being the 11th day, at which time they resolved upon a submission. The 12th day they sent me hostages, Mr. Geffry Brown and Mr. John Blake, lawyers, and Martin Skerritt and Peter Darcy, merchants. Upon the 13th, the mayor, aldermen, and many of the young men of the town, attended my coming to the cross, which divides the liberty of the town and fort; captain Willoughby being with me there, the mayor made his publick submission, delivered up the keys, and the young men laid down their arms; and, upon promise of their future loyalty, I then received them into his majesty's protection, until his pleasure were further declared. The particulars of my proceedings with them I send your lordships herewith, submitting my endeavours to your lordships favourable considerations; presuming your lordships will not at this time expect the imposing of such strict conditions upon them, as might be procured by a strong and powerful army, but will be pleased to consider the present state of these parts, some baronies of this county being in action, all the neighbouring counties being in arms, and threatening to fall upon me, especially the county of Mayo; the impossibility of keeping considerable forces long together, the country being much wasted, and over-burthened with maintaining of forces, ever since the first beginning of the rebellion in this kingdom; an opinion held by many, that I should receive but small countenance, or assistance from your lordships, and that I was mistrusted, or much neglected;

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commissions and instructions being granted for things to be acted within this ^{May 1642} government, without any mention or relation to me, and no supply of arms or ammunition appointed for me, which I had long importuned your lordships for, and had been in much danger for want thereof; my houses, where my wife and family reside, wanting fit means of defence, besides divers of my castles, upon very important passages, for the security of the county, and the dwellings of my friends that stick firm unto me, and attended the publick service, exposed to much danger; many other impediments might be alledged, which I will not trouble your lordships with at present.

I have observed most of the better sort of the town are averse to the violent proceedings of the rest of their fellows; and that the main contrivers of all those mischiefs were Sir Valentine Blake, Francis Blake, stiled their general, John Blake, Francis Nicholas, and a strong party of the young men, and some of the clergy, and more particularly Walter Lynch, titular warden, Valentine Brown, a friar, and * Francis Fleming, another friar, brother to my lord of Slane, who, as I am informed, doth not spare to exclaim upon his lordship for having some moderate inclinations to quietness and submission; his several practices upon me I shall refer unto another time. The violence of these persons I have named, and their party, forced others, for fear of their lives, to join, and sign with them, and there was daily made a strange tumult and confusion amongst them; and many be found there that well deserve your lordships future favour and consideration.

* It should be Thomas Fleming.

Concerning the former declarations of the fort and town, it appears by what hath followed since, that the intentions of them did then aim at mischief; but they were so careful of the penning, that, I conceived, it was to clear some former errors, with a resolution to be more careful of their future proceedings.

That declaration of the English, which your lordships were informed to be forged, I do assure your lordships was the real act of the English there, and delivered by them to myself, and after left with the corporation, and a copy sent me, signed by the warden of the college, out of which I sent one to your lordships; and though I do believe it did more extol their care than was fully so, out of hope to be the better preserved, yet it was their own act; and certainly I shall never send any thing to your lordships, but with full assurance of truth.

I do find, that your lordships were rightly informed, that the town of Galway hath received several strangers, and some that came out of those parts that were most in rebellion, and have issued arms and ammunition, but in no large proportion that I can hear of, though I have made diligent enquiry, and many have past through this county several ways thither, notwithstanding that I have used my best industry to prevent it; and, I hope, there is now a good course taken that they will not dare to issue out any more, but by my directions; the persons, in whose custody it remains, being held honest, and known to be able in estate, which, I presume, they will not easily hazard, nor endanger their hostages; and for what is to come, I doubt not but the fort and ship, and customers, will keep them from receiving any such dangerous commodities, and I shall contribute my best endeavours thereto. About two or three days before their submission, the ship being within the harbour, and not abroad, about the isles of Oran, to prevent the coming in of others, one Francis Darcy, with a ship loaden with corn, arms, and ammunition, put into a creek in Irrconaght, and brought the powder to Galway; I am faithfully promised to have it all put into my custody, of which I shall render a very good account, and dispose of it, both for fort and country, as occasion shall require, being, as I am informed, but thirty barrels of powder, and sixty muskets; and that this was the ship of whom there was such great expectation, being but of eighty tun burthen.

Your lordships late directions to me were, that all powder and arms should be only for the use of the fort; but your lordships being not clearly informed of the condition of the parts, I shall presume, until I receive a more strict command,

to

May 1642. to reserve some fit proportion for a store within my government; and dispose of some of it for the safety of myself and friends, that have been too long exposed to danger. And though captain Willoughby and myself very well agree in all things, and that his respects to me appears ready upon all occasions, yet, in regard that your lordships many other great affairs hath been a cause, as I conceive, to omit the sending of directions unto him to supply me, and to answer my warrant for the king's service, and defence of the country; I presume the course I shall now take for what is already come, will obtain your lordships pardon, if not receive your approbation.

I have examined some of the town concerning the information your lordships received, that the town were resolved to employ the ordnance against the fort, the general oath to demolish it, the disarming all protestants, and the inhibiting the exercise of their religion upon pain of death. All which they disavow to be the acts and resolutions of the town; but might be in discourse amongst the unruly multitude, and that it was care of their safety that diverted the publick exercise of their religion, until the tumults and disorders of the town were appeased, and do instance that they never did permit either great or small shot to be made from the town towards the fort, neither before nor after the battery made upon them; the truth is, as far as I can find it out, that many were inclined to those mischiefs, and others as careful to prevent them: time and power will make a better discovery for mercy and justice to be disposed of there. For my former engagements to relieve the fort, and the supplies lately sent thither, though I am put to hard shifts for money, and at excessive charge, yet I shall be willing to expect for a time your lordships best opportunity to take it into consideration.

I shall now go in hand with the gathering of his majesty's composition rent, as soon as I can get an account of the former collectors who live in the county of Roscommon, without which it cannot be exactly done; and your lordships instructions therein shall be carefully observed. For the exchequer rents, until your lordships cause the green wax, or other assignments to be sent down, I am informed nothing can be done therein.

Concerning my former desires to your lordships to take some notice of the good endeavours of Sir Richard Blake and the recorder, and that your lordships might hold a good opinion of Sir Robuck Lynch; it had been too great a presumption in me to invite your lordships to the trouble of writing particular letters; my intention being only, that your lordships might give a touch thereof in your lordships dispatches to myself, which I might have informed them of for their better encouragement; and by my own enquiry, and the relation of the fort, I do not yet find any impediment thereto; and if the captain have now omitted it, I am confident he will at any time express so much.

Sir Richard Blake was long since forced to quit the town, being often in danger of his life, leaving his house, wife, and children exposed to much want and extremity, hath lost a fair estate in the county of Mayo, a good farm about Trim, and goods in the county much spoiled and wasted, being constant in his endeavours, whilst he could stay in town, to advertise and serve the fort. Sir Robuck Lynch, though his name was brought in question upon some examination that Hussy carried to Dublin, himself and family retired into the country before the attempt upon Clarke's ship, his isles of Oran are surprized and taken from him, he hath suffered otherwise, and much more threatened, and upon my knowledge did divert an old uncle of his that had been an ancient soldier abroad from coming to the town, they intending to have given him the title of a general. The recorder strove all he could to appease those distempers, till he fell very sick, and afterwards forsook the town, and so did Pat. Darcy, and many others, when the young men, and the malignant party, were resolved to govern, and manage all affairs; but I have now sent directions to Sir Robuck Lynch, Sir Richard Blake, the recorder, Mr. Richard Martin, Pat. Darcy, Pat. Kirwan, and divers others,

others, that absented themselves from the fury of that persecution, to reside there ^{May 1642.} till former bad humours be clearly spent, and quieted by their means, and good endeavours. I do hope ere long to put some commands in execution there, that will curb or banish turbulent spirits, having already appointed the putting down of all their new erected captains and private councils; and the town affairs to be debated, and ordered by the ancient form of government.

I have from the very beginning of the distempers of this kingdom employed my utmost industry for the safety and preservation of the English inhabitants of this county, and such as come for refuge hither; and though I could not possibly prevent the spoiling of many in their goods and stock for want of a troop of horse, which would have awed all the county, and for which I was long a suitor to your lordships, yet, I thank God, none have miscarried in this county, that I can hear of, but two or three in Galway, by a tumult of some Irrconaght people, and those two that were killed in Clarke's ship; and there were in Galway, upon the opening of the gates, about four hundred English, some in my castles of Kilcolgan and Oran More, besides those that were preserved in the fort, and many in Loughreagh, and this place, who now live quietly, and almost past fear of danger, by God's assistance. The Flaherties that were most active in this commotion, about Galway, have not yet made their submission, but do employ themselves in robbing and preying upon their former confederates of Galway, on Irrconaght side, trusting to the strength of that rude and craggy country, which, I hope, will invite the hot young spirits of Galway to do some service upon them, as soon as I can draw into those parts, after some short refreshing here, being much over-toiled with these late distempers. I am likewise informed, that since the submission of Galway, those of Mayo do take possession of their estates in that county, so that they are not likely to escape punishment for their former insolent proceedings; the other gentlemen of the county have made their submission; Richard Burke of DerrymacLaghny, himself, or son, is still to remain with me; his easy nature was abused, and wrought upon: he first repented, and had done good service if it had not been prevented unhappily. His uncle Thomas Burke desires respite of his attendance, for a while, being lame, and has often halted with me, but there can no considerable danger come from him, his nephew being secured. Ulick Burke of Castle-Hacket, his son, who was one of their captains, is still to be with me, or his father, who though very well reputed, did not give me that satisfaction I expected from his former carriage. And so, I hope, this county will be kept in some reasonable order, until his majesty, or your lordships, shall take a farther course and care for the better settlement of these parts; and, I conceive, if your lordships may conveniently spare but a thousand of well-armed men, it would easily and speedily reduce this whole province, with some troops of horse, which will be very necessary.

There now remains to give your lordships some notice of those worthy persons that have been firm and forward in his majesty's service, and respectful and affectionate to me in my proceedings. The arrival of Sir Roger Shaghnessy, and his son, out of Munster into these parts, did afford much life and strength to my endeavours; the deserved good opinion held of them, and their constant attendance upon me, caused the better obedience to my authority. My lord Clanmorris, and my cousin Richard Burke, and Fitz William, very active and faithful, and free from blemish; Sir Ulick Burke to be mentioned in the same condition, captain Teige Kelly of Gallagher, and John Kelly of Corrabeg, as firm and diligent as any that had nearest relation to me. My steward, John Donellan's sons, the sheriff, and his eldest brother, and the Dalys, and many other gentlemen of their quality, will hereafter deserve particular mention, attending constantly upon me to their very great charge and trouble; and the very large contributions of the country to maintain soldiers for his majesty's service, may well merit a future consideration. The abilities of Mr. justice Donnellan, and his

May 1642. constant disposition to serve the king faithfully, I presume is so well known to your lordships, that my expressions will be but a small addition to his merit; and his late sufferings will so work upon your lordships noble and just considerations, that he shall in time meet with fit satisfaction and due reward.

Imperfect.

I must not forget Mr. Andrew Darcy-----

I send your lordships herewith the examinations taken of the barbarous massacre done at Shreull, and by whom those cruelties were committed, your lordships may clearly discern by the examinations. I likewise send your lordships two letters I received from my lord of Mayo; what construction to make of them, or what might be his intentions by those expressions I know not, but am willing to believe they were meant by way of caution, that I might prevent the dangers that were threatened; and the disorders and confusions of other parts are so great, as may make him do many things contrary to his own inclinations and desire.

I will now conclude upon the whole with my humble requests, joined with a free reprehension, which will give me much satisfaction, that your lordships doth repose confidence in me; for I cannot be so partial to myself, as not to believe that I have fallen into many errors; my late coming to manage a government whereto I was not bred, at a time of such distempers and confusions, cannot but produce some such effects, of which I am confident your lordships will hold a favourable consideration, and still preserve in your good opinion

Your lordships most humble servant,

Portumna, the 18th of
May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my Lord Justice Parsons, the 19th of May.

MY LORD,

To my Lord
Justice Par-
sons, the 19th
of May.

BY my publick dispatch I have given a full and large information of my proceedings here for his majesty's service, which, though it may be accompanied with many errors, was discharged by me with all faith and duty, to the utmost of my power and ability. How I have been assisted I submit to your lordship's knowledge, and by that consideration I expect to have my actions judged.

It is generally reported, that his majesty hath declared his gracious intention to make this poor kingdom happy by his royal presence, which refresheth my memory, and invites me at this present to renew a proposition, which I had formerly directed to your lordship; but meeting with delays in the passages to Dublin, was returned back unto me, and, out of many motives then prepared, I shall now make choice of a few particulars for this time. It hath been propounded unto me, as the desires and inclinations of divers person of quality engaged in these unhappy distempers, that I should so far presume upon your lordship's favour, as to make my applications unto you for the obtaining of a cessation of arms, until his majesty's pleasure were further declared, upon their humble supplications, out of a sense of feeling of the miserable state of this unfortunate kingdom, which threatens ruin and desolation to all that have either fortune, or, being here, by the spoils and outrages that ever attend a civil war, and which, by mistakes and jealousies, hath grown into the condition of a national quarrel, contrary, as I conceive, to the desires or intentions of all of quality or discretion of either nation; to which may now be fitly added, that if his majesty shall vouchsafe to repair hither, and in his own royal person and power give due punishment to the bad, and encouragement to the well-deserving, it will be necessary to afford some time of preparation for the receiving so great a blessing, as far as this wasted kingdom's ability can extend: or if his majesty, in his great wisdom, shall have occasion to alter his resolution, I am confident the good effects

fects of a cessation will suddenly appear; for by the spending some time in ^{May 1642.} treaty, and expectation of his majesty's pleasure, they will soon find the ease and comfort of peace, and discern the former miseries they were plunged into, and not be easily drawn into the same. Much more might be alledged, which your lordship's memory and experience will offer to your better judgment; and, for my part, I have no particular ends by this proposition, aiming at nothing more than the king's honour, the advancement of his service, and the preservation of thousands of his subjects lives, of all his dominions, that must be engaged in these high distempers, if they receive not a timely remedy; and if I err in what I now propound, it is a failing in judgment, and no want of duty to his majesty; and I shall confidently rely upon the clearness of my own thoughts, and faithful endeavours, to justify me in this particular, and all other actions of mine; and to your lordship's noble and just consideration I leave it, whether to approve of a cessation for prevention of famine, and all other calamities that will fall, as well upon the innocent as the guilty, by a prosecution of fire and sword, or otherwise to suppress these expressions as useless and unnecessary conceptions.

Your lordship's knowledge of the abilities and integrity of the bearer, my cousin Terence Coghlan, is much above any recommendation of mine, and the defects of my application I desire may be supplied by his more able expressions, and the relation of all other passages of these parts.

I am now drawing to the borders of Roscommon to meet my lord president, and young Sir Charles Coote, according to their desires, and the request of the gentlemen of that county, to endeavour the present quieting of that much wasted country, until your lordship's power, or farther pleasure, do come unto us, for the better settlement of this whole province, to which, I conceive, this will be a good preparation, if it may be well effected. There now remains to crave your lordship's pardon for the length of this dispatch, being full of good intentions, and real desires, to approve myself

Your lordship's most humble and assured servant,

Portumna, the 19th
of May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the earl of Ormond, the 19th of May, 1642.

MY LORD,

I ACCOUNT it not one of the least misfortunes that belong to this unhappy ^{To the earl of Ormond, the 19th of May.} time, that both our persons, and all other means of expression, hath been kept at so great a distance, it having been unsafe to commit any thing of moment to thin paper walls; but now, I hope, my dispatches will meet with a safe conveyance to Dublin. I have at large referred the state of my proceedings here for the reducing of the town of Galway, and setting the mean people of this county in their former obedience; whether your lordships there will account it a considerable service I know not; but I assure your lordship, it was far above my expectation, it being the wonder of these parts how I could subsist all this time without any assistance from the state, myself newly arrived, and a stranger to my friends and country, wanting my native language (a great imperfection in this unsettled time) and threatened from all parts for my opposition to my country's good, and the common cause, as they were pleased to term it; but now, I hope, by God's mercy and favour, I have overcome the greatest difficulties, and shall ever be found armed with clear and unspotted loyalty to my prince, and love and due regard to my country. To which effect, being induced by the desires and inclinations of some persons of quality, I shall presume upon your lordship's noble disposition, to offer unto your lordship's consideration, whether a general cessation of arms, until his majesty's happy arrival, be fitly proposed to the lords justices, and the rest of your lordships there, which truly,
my

May 1642. my lord, in my poor opinion, cannot but be in the thoughts of most men that have a being, or relation to this kingdom, to prevent the ruin and calamity that moves apace upon all persons, of what quality or condition soever; it being well known, I conceive, to your lordship, what strange ways have been used, both of persuasion and force, to work upon mens minds; and that many good and faithful dispositions have been wrought upon by fear, and other respects, to involve themselves in this misfortune; and those whose understandings have not been deep enough to reach to the discoveries of these parties, made believe that they walked in loyal and warrantable ways. And though the humours and errors of the time cannot but draw much reprehension and severity upon many, yet, God forbid, that fire, sword, and famine, and all other destructive ways, should run on to the ruin of a whole nation; and the innocent and guilty put into one condition, by destroying all means of future subsistence.

If your lordship's mind, and more able judgment, upon knowledge of the true state of the kingdom, which comes variously reported to us in these remote parts, shall invite your lordship to propose a cessation of arms, I am most ready and willing that my poor conceptions, to that effect, may wait and attend upon your lordship's proceedings therein; but if I have erred in my present expressions, and that it doth not sort with your lordships resolutions about Dublin, I am confident it will receive a fair interpretation from your lordship, hearing several ways of your most noble courtesies done me in my absence from thence.

The worth and ability of the bearer, my cousin Terence Coghlan, I presume is so well known to your lordship, that I need not say much to preserve him in your lordship's favour and good opinion; and to his relation I shall refer the particular state of these parts, and will now withdraw your lordship no farther from your other weighty employments, to which I shall constantly wish all happy success, and upon all occasions be ever found

Portumna, the 19th of May, 1642. Your lordship's affectionate friend to serve you faithfully,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Sir Charles Coote, the 19th of May, 1642.

MY LORD,

Sir Charles Coote, part of his letter, the 19th of May

I Am infinitely glad to understand of your lordship's happy success in the Galway business, and the reducing of them to their obedience, which is of so great consequence to the publick service of this whole kingdom, and hath begotten so good effects in this county, as that I am confident your lordship's presence in very few days will give a period to our troubles here; and, I hope, your lordship will not lose so fair an opportunity of having the honour of it, which no man hath deserved but your lordship.

CHARLES COOTE.

My lord president of Conaght, the 21st of May, 1642.

MY LORD,

My lord president of Conaght, part of his letter, the 21st of May.

I Have with very much contentment perused those papers (which were brought me by Sir Ulick Burke) of your lordship's proceedings at Galway; and as I am confident the success of that service will be very acceptable to his majesty, and this state, so must I (who understand something of the affairs of this province) acknowledge the great importance of your timely judgment in that service, and happy effects in the consequences that depend upon it, which must honour you in the opinion of all good men, when by your own strength and interest,

interest, without aid, or supply from the crown, you have found means to perform so great a work. The ordnance your lordship hath given Sir Ulick Burke, by your letter to me, hath made me more free with him, than otherwise I should have been; and, in that freedom, I have expressed unto him my own distracted condition at this present, when, on the one side, the general calamity of the country cries for redress, and, on the other side, the want of money for payment of the garrisons, must inforce them to break forth to seek for relief, where yet it is to be had; and what to resolve in this case is the thing that troubles my thoughts; and I shall therefore come to attend your lordship, at such time and place as you shall be pleased to appoint me, prepared with the best reasons I can give, to beseech your lordship's advice, before I admit any treaty with the gentlemen of this county.

RANELAGH.

The same day I received several letters out of England by Thomas Webb, an English servant of mine, and, amongst others, one from my nephew Thomas Burke, ^{The 21st day.} informing me, that in December last he had moved the king, that I might be supplied with fifteen hundred arms, who seemed willing to give his consent; my brother my lord chamberlain, thought the motion of the latest, but few arms being then left in the tower; being put in mind of eighteen thousand arms at Hull, promised within two days to move it to the parliament; that in April last meeting with the lord lieutenant, he represented the strength and condition I was in; ^{Earl of Leicester.} his lordship dealt nobly and clearly with him, that though he was assured of my fidelity, yet he conceived no considerable quantity of arms would at that time be trusted in the hands of any of my religion; and out of his respects to my safety, earnestly wished my coming over; that the king from York declaring his resolution to go in person against the Irish, and to raise two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, for a guard to his person, and, with a protestation, not to grant them any toleration of religion; the house of commons at a conference delivered their votes, declaring the raising such forces to be construed as against the parliament: in conclusion, he advised my coming over, in regard of my weak condition, and little hope of assistance; and that my carriage past in the general vogue, had been subject to misconstruction, and the king himself laboured to be possessed of such a belief.

From my brother the earl of Essex, the 14th of April, received the 21st of May, 1642.

MY LORD,

THE last letter I received from you was the 23d of January. What the parliament hath done they have been forced to by the cries of the cruel and unheard of murders which have been committed by the bloody rebels; it is true, this effect hath wrought as to allow of toleration, but no ways to inflict any severity to loyal and faithful subjects, but to root out those sects that have been the cause of these devilish practices. For my coming over it need not trouble you. What good opinion you have been pleased to harbour of me, I shall never give you just occasion to alter from it; but truly if I had come over, what religion soever they were of that were the actors of these crying sins, I should have used no mercy. If it be ill thought to bring the Scots, they may thank themselves. Those ancient families that have been heretofore true to this crown, and have not their hands guilty of these murders, may be as happy as before. My grief is, I have not power to have you assisted according as I desire; but I am informed, that what relief you have must be with an army, only some few sent to Galway. It hath pleased his majesty to command my attendance at York; the parliament refusing to grant me leave; my lord of Holland and Tare discharged the court. I not knowing how this letter shall come to you, makes

P p

me

May 1642. me commit no more to paper, but my humble service to my sister, and pretty nieces.

Your most faithful brother, and humble servant,

Essex-house, this 14th
of April, 1642.

Essex.

My letter to my brother the earl of Essex, the 22d of May, 1642,

MY LORD,

To my brother the earl of Essex, the 22d of May,

YOUR letter of the 14th of April I received last night, which afforded me (except the assurance of your well being) but small other comfort, after so many months expectation, being still confident, that the unspotted fidelity, and active services of my ancestors in times of greatest danger, my alliance, and breeding in England, and the knowledge of my disposition there, would have procured me that favour, as, at least, to have had a troop of horse, and some proportion of other arms for my own defence, and the preservation of this country; if not admitted to that honour, to be enabled to serve the king in a higher quality and better condition, I am confident his majesty would not have denied me such a request; and if your lordship could not prevail with others, I must crave pardon if, I conceive, that you employ your time little to the advantage of yourself, or friends. And if it had not pleased God of his mercy, miraculously to preserve me, and give a blessing to my endeavours, my wife, children, and family must needs have perished before this time, with this inscription upon my grave, "For being neglected and forsaken by his brother, in whom he reposed his chiefest confidence;" this consideration, I hope, will sometimes work upon your noble nature, though transported with other passions.

As to what I lately wrote, which you are now pleased to touch upon, I am still ready to justify the truth and sense of what I then said; though the barbarous cruelties that have been committed there are not to be thought of but with horror; I believe it is the desire of the whole nation, that the actors of those crying sins should, in the highest degree, be made examples to all posterity, yet, God forbid, that fire, sword, and famine, which moves apace here, and might be easily prevented, should run on to destroy mankind, and put the innocent and the guilty into one miserable condition; or if some young unsettled spirits have been misled, or wrought upon by misreports, and fallen into errors, that therefore themselves, and ancient well-deserving families, should be utterly destroyed, or the king's mercy totally bound up.

For my expressions concerning the Scots, I did, and do still believe it may be worthy your consideration there, that they, where this rebellion begun, were above forty thousand well armed in the North of this kingdom, and might have easily broken it in the beginning, but they have stayed a time of more advantage, to have pay and arms out of England; strong fortresses delivered them there, and more forfeitures of estates; this I relate as the observations of knowing discreet persons, and no conceptions of mine.

Some young men of Galway, by treachery, surprized an English ship, killed two, and hurt others, and took some ordnance and barrels of powder: by a faction raised in the town, they compelled the mayor and graver sort to take it upon them, upon pretence that their goods, and some young merchants of the town, were detained in England. Soon after they seized on my arms and goods that came out of England, and then got divers of this county, and county of Mayo, to come to their assistance, and to lay siege to the fort. This sudden mischief coming unexpected, put me into great distraction; but in pursuance of my settled resolution to seal my loyalty with my blood, though never so much neglected, I hastened into those parts, and called upon my friends, and within few days marched thither about seven hundred foot, and near two hundred horse; but finding their numbers great, and that they had planted ordnance upon the craggy passages

passages of that country near the town, which made horse of no use to me, I re-^{May 1642.}solved to besiege the besiegers, and having castles there convenient for it, I placed strong garrisons round about them, and my horse scowered between to keep all relief from them, and, though with much difficulty, found means to supply the fort from a castle of mine called Oran More, lying upon the sea, though they had store of boats to guard the passage. After almost a month's lying there, they began to treat of a cessation of arms; but a ship of the king's coming from Dublin with supplies and ammunition to the fort, I would hear of nothing but laying down their arms, and an absolute submission; within few days, their camp being much distressed, they broke and fell away apace; and upon the eleventh of this month, I entered and took possession of their trenches, and sat before the town, went myself into the fort, and the captain and I agreed to salute them with thirty-three great shot into their town; and then I sent a trumpet to summon them; and upon the 13th, upon certain conditions agreed upon by myself and the captain of the fort, the mayor and corporation, and the young men of the town, came to me to the verge of their liberties, made their publick submission, delivered up their keys, and laid down their arms; and upon good hostages given me, I took them, and the gentlemen engaged with them, into his majesty's protection; and thus ended this dangerous rebellion, the consequence of the place considered, with little blood-shed; and, I doubt not, they will now remain in quiet obedience, and be fit objects both of his majesty's mercy and justice, most of the better sort being totally against their proceedings, and, at last, forcing their submission, the town itself being very strong, and well victualled, and now some of their assistants in Irrconaght do prey upon them, and those of Mayo do seize on their estates in that county, so that they will not want punishment for their insolent carriage. And now, I hope, I have overcome the greatest difficulties in these places, and shall be able to subsist until the army comes you write of; and then I may easily guess how I shall be assisted, by the carriage of the captain of the ship, whose name is Ashley, and your neighbour at Tamworth, who being entertained with all respect by me, and myself with him on ship-board, hath since preyed upon and spoiled my tenants, and my dear and faithful friend Sir Richard Blake, who hath lost a fair estate in several places of the kingdom, for his fast fidelity, and makes no distinction between good and bad; if he does not give me good satisfaction, I hope the state will however. If these proceedings hold, though I am like to be unfortunate, I shall ever be found most faithful and loyal, and if not worthy of your care and remembrance, yet I shall still endeavour to approve myself

Your lordship's most affectionate brother to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 22d of
May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

To my lord justice Parsons, the 23d of May, 1642.

MY LORD,

MR. Con, and Mr. Gohegan, arrived here on the 21st of this present, with an English servant of mine, lately come out of England, whose company, and the expectation of English news, caused him to be so beset and way-laid, that he was driven either to expose the poor man to danger of his life by leaving him, or to hazard the intercepting of your lordship's dispatches, which would likely have put him into the same condition; at last they resolved to burn your lordship's packets, my letters out of England being seized upon, broken up, and some taken away, so that I remain much disturbed, until I receive farther directions from your lordship for to guide my proceedings.

Many of my letters seized by the way, and some broken up; those from the state at Dublin burnt by my servants, to prevent the interception of them.

My

May 1642.

My journey into the county of Roscommon is deferred until the next week, by which time it may be possible to hear further from your lordship. I find it will be a more difficult work to reduce this province than I conceived, or formerly expressed, except persuasion work more than force; but the good correspondence between my lord president, Sir Charles Coote, and myself, will, I hope, produce good effects; and though they are confident of me, and desirous to be guided by my advice, yet, I conceive, it behoves me to be very wary in my proceedings out of my own government, until I know more, both of your lordship's forces and resolutions in those places.

I have several times found means to relieve Sir Arthur Blundell at Fertfalkland, who would have been long since distressed, and I am now taking further care of him, and he shall not want any thing that may be for his preservation and future safety.

Old Sir Thomas Burke of Loghmask, in the county of Mayo, hath continued constantly for me, and could never be drawn into their covenants, which I assure your lordship was very much, considering the strange violence and confusions in that county; and I have cause to believe some little encouragement from my lord president, and me, will shortly make him active in service there; the good old man being nettled at their seizing of three or four possessions of his.

I shall humbly desire your lordship's favour for sending of this, enclosed to my brother, in your lordship's next dispatches into England. I have now no further occasion to be troublesome to your lordship, but shall, with much longing, expect to receive such commands as you shall be pleased to impose upon

Your lordship's most humble and assured servant,

Loughreagh, the 23d of
May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

To the earl of Ormond, the 23d of May, 1642.

MY LORD,

To the earl
of Ormond,
the 23d of
May.

MR. Con, Mr. Gohegan, and an English servant of mine, lately come over, arrived here the last night; they were so hardly beset by report of English dispatches, that they were enforced to burn your lordship's letters from Dublin, directed to me, and they got most of my packets out of England, and broke them open, and took what they pleased, so that I am kept in ignorance, until I receive farther directions from the state. Being informed by Mr. Gohegan of your lordship's noble inclinations, and particular respects to me, it doth afford me infinite comfort in these unsettled and strangely distracted times, to have a person so full of worth and honour, to be firm and real to me, and, I hope, it will not be altogether unuseful to your lordship to have my constant and faithful service ready to answer your lordship's noble proceedings. The present state of affairs in England doth much perplex my thoughts, from whence I received no clear intelligence, all men's tongues and pens being so bound up, as makes my doubts and fears the greater. Your lordship hath means to be rightly informed, and if you vouchsafe me some brief touches of what may be fit for my information, it will put a very high obligation upon me; and I do presume your lordship may, with confidence, send safely to me by my cousin Terence Coghlan, or by such means as he shall acquaint your lordship with, I being fully assured of his settled affection to me, and that he will faithfully discharge your lordship's trust, and deserve your favour.

If my late proceedings here, and the propositions I have sent for a general cessation, do not receive the general approbation of the whole state there, and yet do find some place in your lordship's judgment to approve thereof, I shall ask leave to propose unto your lordship the sending of both, or either, unto his majesty

majesty in my behalf, graced by your lordship with better expressions of your own. My dispatches into England meeting with so much danger and delay, that I dare not now adventure to send myself unto his majesty, in whose gracious thoughts (as I am informed by several letters) I am preserved with much tender care and favour, though there have been some impediments of late to direct the receiving of particular commands, and some hopes given me, that it will not be long before I receive some signification of his royal pleasure. And I beseech your lordship, let me freely receive your opinion concerning his majesty's coming into this kingdom, whether there be any possibility thereof.

If I have transgressed and pressed too far upon your lordship in these particulars, it is the encouragement I have received from your lordship, that hath raised this presumption in

Your lordship's affectionate friend to serve you faithfully,

Loughreagh, the 23d of
May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

About this time I received a letter from old Sir Thomas Burke of Loughmask, in the county of Mayo, a valiant faithful servitor in Tyrone's wars, who lost two brothers in service, and all his own body marked with scars; and having now preserved his own loyalty, and observing the dangers of the times, and the impossibility for him to send to the state, or to my lord president of Conaght, he desired I would move my lord president in his behalf for a cessation, to enable him to carry arms and forces against his majesty's enemies, commune and treat with such as have already taken offensive arms, to use and execute martial law, and to protect such as will be inclined to desist from their erroneous and inhuman proceedings. His whole letter being full of worth and loyalty, I sent it to my lord president, in a letter of mine to his lordship.

My letter to my lord president, the 23d of May, 1642.

MY LORD,

YOUR letters of the 21st I received the last night, and was preparing to begin my journey to-morrow towards your lordship; but several accidents have put me in some present disorder, my packets out of England, between this and Dublin, have been met with, all broken up, ransacked, and they have taken what they pleased of them; the more to draw on ruin and destruction upon themselves, by diverting me from working ways of moderation. My dispatches from the state at Dublin, sent with great haste, and declared to be of much importance by the strict charge given; my messengers were so beset and endangered, that they were forced to burn them, and by that means I am kept in ignorance at a most important nick of time, for the guiding of my own actions here, and the rendering me serviceable to your lordship. I am likewise newly informed, that several troops of armed horse, by several passages, have got entrance into this county from all parts; and though it is probable that their errand is for powder, and that I hope they will be disappointed, and fail of their expectation by the course I have taken, yet it concerns me to be vigilant, lest they should have some other practice or design, which will necessarily engross my thoughts and care, that it will be the beginning of the next week before I can wait upon your lordship; and it may be the better, by giving some time to those I have employed, to prepare and work the minds of the gentry of that army; and that your lordship may in the mean while be pleased to inform me where we may meet with most conveniency and safety, or in what posture or strength it will be fit for me to come, according to the disposition of persons there. I send your lordship here a letter inclosed I received but yesterday from

To my lord
president of
Conaght, the
23d of May.

May 1642.

old Sir Thomas Burke, which, after perusal, I desire may be returned unto me, with your resolution to his propositions, and what trust your lordship shall repose in him, or what instructions you shall give him; I am confidently assured he will with faith and loyalty discharge his duty. And to give your lordship the more clear light of the dispositions of others there, I send you the copies of two letters from my lord of Mayo, to which I am willing to give a construction that they were sent by way of caution to me, to prevent dangers threatened to me; and I shall desire your lordship to reserve them to your self, to be farther discoursed of when we meet. I am informed out of England, that there are many fears of great distempers, there being a great breach and separation between the king and parliament; many of the nobility deny going down to York to his majesty, where he hath long remained, together with the prince, and duke of York; and most of the commanders that were attending the parliament for employment are likewise gone down thither. The king is strong in his resolution to come over speedily hither, and they as resolute to oppose it. What may be further expressed I shall refer until I see your lordship, and do hope to receive some other packets by that time, that are coming several ways to me out of England. I have now no more to say at this time, but that I shall ever be found

Your lordship's affectionate friend to serve you faithfully,

Loughreagh, the 23d of
May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Thomas Burke of Loughmask, the 24th of May.

Noble Cousin,

To Sir Thomas Burke
of Loughmask,
the 24th of
May.

YOUR letter of the 15th I did not receive till the 22d, and was then engaged in some dispatches of importance both unto the state here, and into England, that I could not have time to salute you until this present: and now I am at good leisure to let you know, that your letter afforded me very great comfort and content; and I did presently send away for the effecting of what you desired therein, and, I hope, within few days to give you a good account thereof, and have engaged myself that you will effectually and faithfully discharge the trust that shall be reposed in you; and it doth joy my heart to have my father's old companions in war raised again to renew their ancient services, to the benefit of these dangerous unsettled times, and myself to enjoy the happiness to be made an instrument therein. As soon as I receive a return of what concerns you, I will write more at large, and give you the best advice, assistance, and intelligence that shall fall within the power of

Your assured loving cousin,

Loughreagh, the 24th of
May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The 25th
day.

Upon the 25th I received letters from my lord president, desiring a meeting either at the bridge of Bellamo, or the ford of Bellagare, and to bring with me my usual guards of horse, and about three hundred foot, and then sent me a commission for Sir Thomas Burke for all that he desired, but martial law, which I speedily conveyed unto him; his lordship likewise desired a supply of powder and match for his out-garrisons, to be brought with me.

Upon the 25th I received a letter from captain Willoughby in behalf of Mr. Francis Darcy, who, according to his engagement to me, brought himself, his ship, ordnance, and other goods, under the command of the fort; thereupon, and at the request of Mr. Darcy, I wrote to captain Ashley, who commanded the king's ship in that harbour.

My

the Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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May 1642.

My letter to captain Ashley, the 25th of May, 1642.

Captain Ashley,

MR. Francis Darcy came to me this afternoon; and by a letter from captain Willoughby, I am informed he hath punctually obeyed those commands I sent him, and brought his ship, ordnance, and goods, under the command of his majesty's fort, and thereupon expecteth the benefit of my protection. The powder and arms he brought being likewise delivered unto the commissioners I appointed, and not to be issued but by my directions for the use of the fort, town, and country. His offers and propositions I conceive to be very fair, which is, that the fort may make use of what they pleased for money, or upon ticket, and to have leave to unload the rest in the town, or to return all back into France, giving good security for any fit course that shall be agreed upon, and that his barge, upon the like security, may not be long detained here. They are strangers, and ought to be fairly dealt with, and the gentleman himself deserveth good usage, both for his own civil carriage, and encouragement of others; and therefore I shall expect that he suffer no detriment or prejudice in any of his goods; and your speedy answer I desire, my honour being therein engaged, by his obedience to my commands, and my protection thereupon granted to him; and according to what you return I am to inform the state, being now ready to send a dispatch thither.

To captain
Ashley, the
25th of May.

Sir Richard Blake complains unto me, that some of the company in your ship have upon yesterday was a sevenight, and once before, broken up some tenements of his at Ardfry in Meary, and taken away many of his deal boards that he had provided for building there, and committed many other outrages, by taking sheep, lambs, household stuff, and other things from his tenants, and the people thereabouts; and that one Richard Morrice, who is, and hath been my tenant for many years in Irrconaght, coming with a boat to Galway with some goods to discharge his rent and arrears that he owed me, had his boat and goods taken from him by those of the ship. These courses against Sir Richard Blake of Anbally, whose loyal carriage, and affection to his majesty's service, and great sufferance in his estate and goods, in several parts, well known to captain Willoughby and myself, cannot be well taken; and therefore I shall desire you to give him satisfaction and reparation for what was taken from him, and likewise to restore the boat and goods to my tenant Morrice; and I doubt not to receive such an answer from you, as may invite me to take hold of all good occasions to express me

Your assured loving friend,

Portumna, the 25th
of May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My protection to Mr. Francis Darcy.

I DO receive Mr. Francis Darcy, and his ship, and all his goods, into his majesty's protection and grace, and that I speedily may have an exact account of all the powder, arms, ammunition, and ordnance, that now is in the said ship, or that was carried out of the same, and that the same may be put into such hands as I shall appoint, to be disposed of only by my directions, for his majesty's service. And I require all his majesty's officers, and loving subjects, whom it may concern, that they do not annoy, vex, or hinder the said Francis Darcy, in his person or goods, he submitting to his majesty's authority, and behaving himself as becometh a loyal subject. Dated at Loughreagh, this 25th of May, 1642.

Protection
to Mr. Francis
Darcy.

My

May 1642.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 26th of May, 1642.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

To captain
Willoughby,
the 26th of
May.

THE preparation for my intended journey into the county of Roscommon, which I have now put off till the beginning of next week, and some other diversions, together with my expectation to receive more full and clear intelligence of the proceedings of the town, did not give me leave to answer some of your former letters; now I shall give you a touch to most of the particulars therein.

It is true, that I find such inconstancy and irresolution in the unsettled minds of most of this age, that I cannot promise myself any assurance of the peaceable dispositions of many of those that were active in the late commotion at Galway, notwithstanding I have outward shew and promises thereof, generally from all of them; and I am confident very many of them there are fully resolved to oppose those turbulent members that formerly did disturb their peace. I have by letters, messages, threats, and promises, and by commanding well-affected persons thither, done what I can there, and will not fail to perform what I can abroad for the preservation of his majesty's peace and people, until some stronger power appear nearer. I hold it wisdom and discretion not to exasperate those men, or their adherents, or to give them occasion or provocation to fall from their former submission; for the consequences of their revolt, and second defection, would be great to the whole kingdom, and the danger unavoidable to us that sit near, and must receive the first stroke.

They of Limerick have drawn a great power of the Irish from all parts unto them, and have made bulwarks on each side of the river, and have chained the passage; the ordnance have been playing apace there, between them, the castle, and the king's ships, ever since Sunday morning; the success thereof is of great importance, but not yet come to my knowledge. This, and the killing of Sir Ca. Coote, the slowness of the coming of an army out of England, the great distance between his majesty and the parliament, the neglect of the state of us that are so remote, requires, that they may be tenderly handled, in hopes to continue them, until there be ability to master them, in case they should grow to any open action.

I have done, and will do, what I can, to prevent the great resort of strangers to that place, which, I believe, is to no other purpose than in hopes to gain powder, which, as I hear, is denied to be given in any quantity to any, though some through particular labour, may procure some small proportion that escaped search. The town, as I am informed thence, have lately resolved upon a good course, to prevent the access of many strangers; and the long stay of any that shall be admitted with the mayor's licence, or enter, or traffick there, which, together with the course you have begun, and the troubles and cold entertainment, they are like to receive in the country, will, I hope, disanimate them to flock thither, unless they do it for safety, and to avoid danger in other places, many, at this present, making means unto me to be sheltered in this county from the persecution of the Irish for not siding with them; however these, and many other motives, ought to beget and stir particular care and watchfulness in all of us in our several places. It is true, there are great quantities of corn conveyed thither, and it could not be otherwise, for that town was the only place where the poor tenants or landlords could get a penny for any commodity. I hear corn is very cheap there, and, I hope, you will make use of the market, as well as the townsmen, to provide for the time to come. I have it from thence, that a strict course is taken for prevention of the issuing of any arms, or ammunition, out of the town, and for bringing all into the hands of the committee intrusted therewith; and I am informed a great quantity of powder is already put into the hands of those men, and that it is declared by them, that it is all to be disposed of but by
my

my direction; and I have now sent for a good proportion of it for my own use, ^{May 1642.} and the defence of houses, and frontier places, that have been long exposed to danger; and after a little pause, and that, I hope, four humours are grown cool, I will do what I can to get the rest, that will not be necessary for their defence, to be brought into the fort. Sir Cha. Coote desires some supply of powder and match, and I shall be very willing to supply him with it, and shall see it safely conveyed unto him; and Sir Arthur Blundell makes the like request.

I have written to the mayor, that speedy restitution may be made unto you, both of the arms, and all other things, detained from you; and of the arms, and other goods, taken from the English in the town, which, they write to me, they are in a way to do, to yours and their content. For the new work on the key, I pray enquire of it, and so will I, and if it shall be found any annoyance or affront to his majesty's fort, I shall do my endeavours to prevent the growth of it; and I have written to them not to proceed therein, unless they give you first satisfaction by those reasons they offer to me.

Many letters sent out of England were lately intercepted, and broken open, and my servant, an Englishman, kept six nights by them in such danger at Manooth, that he prevailed with an Irish gentleman, that brought large dispatches to you and to me from the state, to burn them rather than to leave him, which he might have done, and come safely, but for compassion to my man, who would certainly have suffered: the state have notice of it, and I expect a speedy dispatch from them by a safe hand. The gentleman informs me, that Dublin being somewhat scanted of victuals for so great a number, the army was divided into several garrisons, and no speech then of their drawing together, until more forces came out of England, four thousand being expected; and my servant tells me they were about Chester. By brother writes unto me, that the king requiring my lord of Holland's attendance, and his, at York, the parliament not consenting thereto, he delivered up the staff; and my lord of Holland their key on Easter Tuesday. I do daily expect another express out of England, by which I shall receive more clear intelligence, and, I hope, conveyed unto me with better safety. Until then, or that we hear farther from the state, and of the approaching of assistance to us, it will be good policy to gain time the best we may. I will trouble you no farther, but still remain

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P. S. I am told, that the recorder is very industrious to settle good order in the town, and lately seized on five firkins of powder, and several bandeliers, that were endeavoured to be secretly conveyed to the county of Sligo. The 26th of May, 1642.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 27th of May, 1642.

Mr. Mayor,

I Have yesterday by my letters imparted my mind unto you concerning several particulars; yet I find that in these active and uncertain times, every day begets new matter of discourse, debate, and determination; and as this runs to the general, so it may receive a particular application to the town of Galway. I hear you have frequent meetings and assemblies, composed of a mixt multitude, many of them diversely inclined, and bring forth and infuse much distraction into the minds of many of the inhabitants of the town, which doth not rest there, but doth diffuse and spread itself abroad amongst us in the country. I wish for your own welfare and safety, that your councils and government may be composed according to that ancient and natural constitution of the wiser and graver sort of townsmen,

R r

men,

May 1642. men, that by their experience and wisdom did manage the affairs of that place, to the content of the king and state, and with much security, plenty, and prosperity unto themselves.

I may not take it well that, in your consultations, you make the sending of pledges to me but a merriment, and that you make choice of such as were no ways engaged in the late distractions there; and I hear what some members of that body discourse concerning that subject, and the passages about it.

The searcher of hearts knoweth my intentions to be real, to perform whatsoever I have undertaken on your behalf to my ability, and more, if I may find opportunity and means for it; and, I hope, you will find that I shall walk in those ways that, in all likelihood, may bring me to those ends I aim at; and notwithstanding what report, and other men's thoughts suggest unto me, I shall still retain a constant opinion of your sincere and honest performance with me in his majesty's behalf, according to your late expressions, which is the high way, nay, the only way on earth for your safety and preservation, that I can think of. I advise you, that no deep apprehensions may be taken amongst you of fear and reports, that are broached and divulged by some lately come thither from other parts, most whereof are controuled by the best intelligence I can receive.

I expect, for the satisfaction of myself, and others, to have the nomination of two of the four pledges hereafter; and, for the present, I expect, instead of Alexander Bodkin and Mr. James Darcy, you send me Mr. John Blake Fitz Nicholas, whom I know to be a discreet and sober man, and Mr. Richard Kirowan Fitz Thomas; upon whose repair to Loughreagh, I will return you Mr. John Blake Fitz Robert, and Mr. Peter Darcy. I was in good hope, and still am, that those who seemed most forward and stirring among you there in the late combustion, would, for their justification and mine, and for my satisfaction, offer themselves as hostages to me, and the rather, that thereby the plain and clear declaration, and resolution of the town, might appear to be really and truly intended; and if they shall so far yield to my will, as I have done to the humour of some of them, they will have no cause to repent it, but rather to commend their own providence and forecast therein.

I intend (God so pleasing) on Monday night next to be at Loughreagh, and next morning to draw towards Clare and to the fort, to observe how things are carried and performed on all hands there, according to our late treaty, and thence to draw into Roscommon: and, in the mean time, I wish that the work on the key, for satisfaction of the fort, may be forborn, till I have viewed of what consequence it may be, unless that things may be so reconciled between captain Willoughby and you, that he may receive satisfaction therein before that time.

I hear that you are much threatened and maligned from the West, and county of Mayo, for concluding this pacification with me on his majesty's behalf. There are some restless and turbulent spirits that love to angle in troubled waters, who often lose themselves with the strength of the current. So long as the fort, king's ship, that place, and what power I shall be able to make, stand together, the loss of a few cows may be easily regained; whereas fideing the other way may produce greater dangers; and I shall be still forward and ready to assist any member of that body, to revenge any wrong that shall be done unto them. God of his mercy and goodness guide and protect us all; and so I remain

Your loving friend,

Portumna, the 27th of
May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My

May 1642.

My letter to Sir Roger Shaghnuffy, the 28th of May, 1642.

Noble Cousin,

I Am very sorry to hear of the misfortunes that have befallen you in Munster; this being an age wherein all men are like to bear their share of suffering; but, I hope, in the mercy and goodness of God, there will be a time for the well-deserving to receive recompence with advantage; and you must give me leave to say, it was partly some neglect of your own that did not procure some protection, or certificate from my lord president, now that the fleets are so busy abroad, and cannot distinguish at their first landing the good from the bad; and seamen are seldom over-curious in those enquiries. Though your worth and merit be generally well known, yet I could not, in gratitude for the respects I have received from you, omit to certify the state, by my late dispatches to them, that I owe much of my safety, and of any service I have done, to the countenance and assistance I have received from you, since your coming into these parts; and if any thing of mine proves considerable hereafter, you may be sure to be valued in a prime place, and receive this assurance, from a hand that never moves to any other end but what the heart doth truly deliver, and memory exactly record for after-times, &c.

To Sir Roger Shaghnuffy, the 28th of May.

Your truly affectionate cousin,

Loughreagh, the 28th of
May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

This day I received an answer from captain Ashley to my letter of the 25th, whereby he doth acknowledge, that Mr. Francis Darcy did of himself bring his ship under command, but that he had been in quest of her before, and would more narrowly have sought rather than missed her; and that being now in his possession, he did conceive her to be a lawful prize, her commodities being such, and sold to the rebels; and he, by his commission, being enjoined to seize upon all shipping that comes to the rebels, and revolted towns; and that, without direction from the state, he could not part with her. I was not well pleased with this answer, that such a mean-conditioned fellow should in this manner break the king's word, and my honour engaged, when it was most certain, that he was returned without hope of finding her, and that she was out of his reach, in a creek of Irrconaght; and that the ordnance and goods would have lit into very ill hands, if he had not been wrought upon to come in upon my protection. For my servant Morrice, his boat and goods he seized upon, the boat for the use of the fort, which wanted one, and where she now is, the goods in her he conceived to belong to the rebels, because though called to, they fled and run away from the king's colours, and therefore he seized upon them; this might be a good inducement for his takeing of them, but no reason why he should detain them, being proved to be my goods, only because a poor fellow was fearful or ignorant. He only acknowledges the taking of twenty deal boards of Sir Richard Blake's, having great occasion to use them in his ship, and that he would give satisfaction for them; though it be certain, that his men committed very much spoil there, and that Sir Richard never had satisfaction for any thing.

Ten pieces of ordnance.

From the mayor of Galway, the 29th of May, 1642.

Right Honourable,

I Have yesterday given your lordship an account of that part of your lordship's letter of the 26th of this present month, touching the electing and sending of two other hostages other than Mr. James Darcy and Alexander Bodkin, who are alderman Stephen Martin, and Henry Blake, Sir Valentine Blake's brother-in-law. My lord of Clanmorris yesterday shewed unto me the commission of reciprocal

From the mayor of Galway, the 29th of May.

May 1642.

procal restitution, and gave me a copy thereof, and appointed Thursday next for the execution thereof, at Athenry; which being proclaimed, or notified, here, was no small comfort unto the townsmen, of your lordship's care of them; and, I hope, our carriage will be such, as we shall remove and avoid all occasions of suspicion or mistrust from those your lordship writes of. And as for the discourse abroad touching the buying of corn here, I cannot conceive, my lord, what constructions might be made thereof, other than that the country, town, and fort, might thank God for your lordship's care for the plentifulness of a free market here, whereof the fort and town do participate, and that the country is able to furnish them; the town sends for no other, or more provision than comes to their market. And of that concourse of strangers spoken of, I have taken such a course, as, I hope, hereafter none will be able to harp upon that string, and that no other than the townsmen, and men of quality under your lordship's command, shall wear any arms here. And as to the report of issuing any arms and ammunition here, I do assure your lordship, that there are strict warrants issued from me, for the staying and preventing of the issuing of the same; there is no permit for any, and if any be stolen out, and so secretly conveyed, as it cannot be discovered, if I can hit upon any delinquent, he shall be made such an example, as shall terrify any other to commit the like offence; and when alderman Nicholas More Lynch, and Marcus Lynch Fitz John, do return from your lordship, your lordship shall have an account of all such arms, powder, and other things, as have been lately put in the hands of Mr. Edmund Kirowan, their commission being not as yet fully finished; and then likewise of your lordship's request in that particular. And as to the work at our key, which can be no offence to the fort, but necessary defence to the town against rogues and thieves, and such as privily come unto, and steal out of the town, the want thereof often presented in time of peace as a nuisance at the general assizes and sessions of the peace, yet the same is forborn upon the first summons, until your lordship does order it, or that the captain be pleased to suffer it to go forward. And for what is to be restored to captain Willoughby, according to our pacification, what was to be in specie is restored; and what not, we having so much to do, and not able to do all at once, and willing to give full content, will restore speedily what may be had or found out in specie, or the full value thereof, which we have already signified to him; and therefore we do humbly entreat your lordship to get from him, and the captain of the ship, what was taken from the townsmen. And I am exceedingly sorry that your lordship's wine was wasted and spoiled; and dare boldly say there was no occasion given by me, or by this corporation, to do it any prejudice; and, I hope, the time will soon come that we shall be able to make reparation for the same; and our supplications, or remonstrances, will be ready, I hope, at your lordship's coming hither.

And before the finishing this letter, I received your lordship's letter of the 27th of this month about seven o'clock last night, and before the receipt thereof, had chosen such two hostages, as, I hope, will give your lordship full content, and thereof yesterday by letter advertised your lordship.

And for the reports come unto your lordship's ears, which might any ways seem to decline the good affections of this corporation to the pacification, I am very confident to make it appear unto your lordship, that the same is divulged by persons, as we believe, ignorant, and not well-affected to this corporation, your lordship, or the public quiet, and without any just ground, which your lordship shall know at your next coming this way, which I hope for, according to your lordship's appointment; and until then, and always, by the grace of God, this corporation shall remain firm and settled in their resolutions taken at the last pacification, and behave themselves in all respects as becometh his majesty's true and loyal subjects; and I shall ever remain

Galway, the 29th of
May, 1642.

Your lordship's assured friend, and humble servant,

WALTER LYNCH, mayor.

May 1642.

My letter to my lord president of Munster, the 30th of May.

MY LORD,

AMONGST the many bad effects that this unfortunate time hath produced, I am thereby debarred the honour and happiness I promised myself, soon after my arrival into this kingdom, in the personal knowledge of your lordship, whose worth and nobleness, by many assured testimonies, hath been long since conveyed unto me, and invites me now to move your lordship for such favour and respect unto the bearer, as in honour and justice you can afford him.

To Sir Wm
St. Leger,
lord president
of Munster,
the 30th of
May.

One Marcus Lynch Fitz John about three years since sent his son Philip Lynch into France, to learn the language, and the trade of a merchant, who now returning home hath been seized upon, together with his goods, by some of his majesty's ships, and brought into Kinsale, and is committed (as I am informed) by direction from your lordship, upon the report of the defection of the town of Galway, whereof he is a native. My lord, it is true, that before Easter last, and above a month since, after the better part of that town were over-
swayed by the greater, that corporation did so far fall into revolt, that, together with such auxiliary forces as they did draw to their assistance, they laid a kind of siege to his majesty's fort near it, and endeavoured to keep all manner of help from it; but after I had raised the best power I could in these remote parts to controul them, and found means to relieve the fort, and that a ship of his majesty's soon after arrived here, and supplied it with all necessaries, and that I had somewhat distressed their camp, they laid down their arms, and have made a submission, and performed several other propositions that were made unto them by me, and captain Willoughby, who commands his majesty's fort; and they have given me sufficient pledges for their future obedience and loyalty; so that certainly, I hope, they are reduced into that settlement, that they will no more deal with the common distempers of these times.

This young man came lately from England with a free passage; and he, and his father, and grandfather, stand several ways recommended unto me out of Galway, both by English and Irish; and I am certainly informed, that, during the commotions there, his friends, to the hazard of their lives, did oppose the malignant party, and did endeavour to defend and countenance the English and Irish that were in distress within the town. This, my lord, being his case, I leave it to your lordship how far he can be guilty of, or accessory in the late revolt in Galway, and how far you will think him, and his friends, thus affected in these dangerous and uncertain times, worthy of favour and justice, and encouragement to continue their care of the English, who are above four hundred persons in town, when they opened their gates upon their submission, and my taking them into his majesty's protection.

There is another young man, called Dominick Lynch, a merchant of the town, who (as I am informed) is likewise stayed by your lordship's commands, with his bark of twenty-five tun burthen coming from St. Maloes, whose lading was only corn; he is likewise many ways recommended unto me, and unto your lordship's noble consideration I leave him, he having not been at Galway since these distempers began, and no ways guilty of their crimes.

I will no longer withdraw your lordship from your other more weighty affairs, but wishing your lordship much happiness, and good success in all your noble designs, will upon all fit occasions be ready to approve myself

Your assured friend to serve you,

Portumna, the 30th
of May, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

June 1642.

About the end of this month I received several advertisements of the certain resolutions of the forces of the county of Mayo to come into this county, with many brags, threatening to come as far as Portumna, and to enforce me to join with them; that they had many meetings to that effect, and were gathered four thousand in a body, but that my lord of Mayo had given some opposition; those that gave me information were Sir Lucas Dillon by letter to Sir Ulick Burke, he having been in those parts amongst them, the recorder of Galway, Mr. Thomas Lynch, old Sir Thomas Burke of Loghmask, and Peter Lynch my tenant at Shreull.

I received several kind letters, frequent advertisements from my lord president of Conaght, and Sir Charles Coote, many thankful acknowledgments from Sir Arthur Blundell, Mr. William Parsons, and captain King, too long to be inserted here.

The 1st of June.

The first of this month, having prepared to give my lord president a meeting upon the borders of the county of Roscommon, to endeavour a settlement of the great distractions in those parts, I received several advertisements of the certain coming of the county of Mayo's forces into this county, by letters from captain Francis Bermingham, Peter Lynch my tenant at Shreull, and many others; I was informed they were above three thousand men, besides the assistance that Morogh na doe O Flaherty had undertaken to bring them out of Irrconaght, that they would come through the barony of Downmore, and had a particular design upon Tuam; whereupon I was forced to send an excuse to my lord president, much to the prejudice of those parts. I immediately dispatched captain Thomas Leicester, with my own foot company, and some other forces, to Tuam, to assist captain Francis Bermingham, and sent forth patents to all other captains to be ready to march to those borders; and whilst those forces were preparing, I went myself to Terrellan near Galway, to compose the disturbances raised there by the insolencies of captain Ashley and captain Willoughby, and to confer with Sir Henry Stradling, vice admiral of the Irish coasts, newly come in there from Limerick, where he had attempted to relieve the castle, but could not get in; I was with him on ship-board, and he was pleased to come to me to Terrellan; I found him very nobly and gallantly disposed, and if he had been designed for these coasts, instead of captain Ashley, I believe this county would have continued in a happy and peaceable condition.

The 3d of June.

Upon the 3d of this month captain Bermingham informed, that as the Mayo men were entering into the county, the Irish archbishop did detain them for a few days, until an excommunication were set forth against me, and then he would direct the best course to fall upon me. Captain Leicester from Tuam informed, that upon his arrival there, and the report of my coming with several foot companies, and two hundred horse, many of those Mayo braggers did disavow their intention of coming upon me, and that the people of their own borders did run away with their goods.

From my lord president of Conaght, the 3d of June, received the 5th.

MY LORD,

My lord president of Conaght, the 3d of June.

EVEN as I was ready to take horse this morning with purpose to attend your lordship, captain John Kelly brought me your letter, expressing the cause of diverting you from coming to the place of our meeting, which, in truth, doth much trouble my thoughts, in depriving me of the great contentment I hoped to receive in waiting on your lordship, and much more by what I collect out of your lordship's lines, of some misapprehensions of you, which I beseech you, my lord, may not beget any unquietness in your thoughts, when your own heart, and the testimony of us, who understand the importance of your service to the crown,

crown, in the nick of time, will justify you against groundless jealousies, if any June 1642. such have been represented to your disadvantage, &c.

The 3d of June, 1642.

RANELAGH.

My letter to my lord president of Munster, the 7th of June, 1642.

MY LORD,

I Send your lordship here inclosed a petition exhibited to me by one Nicholas Kirowan, a merchant of Galway, which will set forth unto your lordship the cause of his complaint; he hath the report of an honest man, and an industrious merchant, amongst his neighbours; and such men so qualified within this government, I hold myself bound in honour and justice to cherish at home, and recommend abroad. I doubt not but your lordship hath heard of the late defection and distemper of the town of Galway, which hath rendered many well-affected there odious; and it is as true, that the members of that corporation, being made sensible of their folly, have made a submission unto me; and now finding benefit and comfort of that pacification, behave themselves civilly, and with that obedience which is due unto his majesty's authority, in which condition I desire to preserve them, until his majesty's pleasure, or of the state, be declared concerning them. My lord, what this petitioner hath acted that may make him incapable of free traffick I know not, or whether there be any special instructions which may take hold of him; but do desire your lordship to afford him a dispatch, with what lawful favour you may vouchsafe unto him; and I shall be always ready, upon all occasions, to express myself

To my lord president of Munster, the 7th of June.

Your lordship's true friend and servant,

Terrellan, the 7th of June, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Many complaints coming daily unto me of the captains of the fort and ship, and their slighting of my passes and protections, and making no restitution or satisfaction upon my letters, but only gave me good words, and frivolous excuses, I wrote these following letters to them.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 7th of June.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

I RECEIVED your letters this morning in answer to mine yesterday, by which you continue your former kind expressions; but I find little hope of satisfaction in those things, where both my honour and profit are engaged, by your detaining of goods which was for payment of my rents, and others that had free passage in bordering countries, upon my pass; and that occasions are rather sought to disturb than preserve things quiet. I must apply myself unto the state for reparation and new instructions, that I may either uphold the government with honour, or retire myself from the weight of such a burden. I send you herewith a petition, which expresseth an intention of yours to place some soldiers near the gate of the town, in a house wherein are placed English innkeepers, who, I conceive, should not be disturbed but upon urgent occasion; and if it be necessary to have soldiers there abroad, it might be in some of the remoter houses, or in Castle-Gate, which I am willing to give way unto, rather than there should be any failing in that which you conceive fit for his majesty's service; which, I hope, will never be the worse effected by fit ways of moderation, and avoiding those proceedings that may give any just cause of complaint, or stir up a doubt in this county that my power or interest cannot relieve them.

In

June 1642. In what I undertake I shall lay all such occasions upon the unruly proceedings of soldiers, being very apt to believe, that where you may with conveniency you will, as also those that come to assist you, give me still cause to express myself

Your assured true friend,

Terrellan, the 7th
of June, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

My letter to captain Ashley, the 7th of June.

Captain ASHLEY,

To captain
Ashley, the
7th of June.

I RECEIVED your letter full of large expressions of that which none labours to contradict. It cannot be denied, but that many of the town of Galway had very ill intentions, and did dispose of their actions accordingly; and it may be well believed, that Mr. Francis Darcy did run the same course in the beginning of his proceedings; but that which remains in question is, whether you neglected the opportunity of going out to make it an unquestionable lawful prize, having received the first, and, I believe, timely information from me of the coming in of that ship, of which I shall give a true relation to the state. I being informed of the danger that might fall out by the disposing of these commodities into ill hands, did thereupon grant a protection unto him, upon condition, that the powder should be put into such hands as I should appoint, that himself should attend at the fort, and offer his service to you, to bring in his ship, ordnance, and other commodities unto you, which he punctually performed; when, I presume, it was very doubtful whether you could have prevented the disposing of the ordnance into other hands that might have made dangerous use of them in other parts; and after all this, I desired no more favour to be shewed unto him than what Sir Henry Stradling should think fit, whose power, judgment, and ability, I must conceive to be in a degree above yours; and I taking the blame upon myself for your discharge, and good security of Mr. Darcy to perform whatsoever the state should order, might well have satisfied you for Mr. Darcy's offers to you, that might intrench upon your loyalty; they are things I understand not, and to yourselves I leave it; for my part I shall desire nothing of courtesy from you, but will expect the receipt of those commands, that may at least be equal, if not exceed yours. For the boats and goods you mention to be disposed of for the relief of the English by your commission, I am assured it could have no pretence to rob me, or my tenants; and my care to preserve the English not only by my purse and power, but the hazard of my own person, will appear in as high a scale as any endeavours of yours, and without particular interest, which may be the aim of some in these doubtful times, and the occasion of misrepresentation, to work those ends: not so clearly intending the right advancement of his majesty's service by a fit moderation, wherein my intentions, resolutions, and actions shall be clear and real, without private ends, and my desires such, as that we may all join to effect the best service for his majesty, wherein you concurring, I shall be ready to express myself

Your loving friend,

The 7th of June, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

Twenty
English mut-
tons, two
large English
beeves, and
a fat buck.

Sir Henry Stradling being now upon his departure, and I returned to Loughreagh, upon sending him some provisions of fresh meat, I received this following letter from him.

From

June 1642.

From Sir Henry Stradling, the 9th of June.

Right honourable and my most honoured good Lord,

BESIDES my former many real obligations unto your honour, I am very sensible of the unmerited accumulation of so many during the time of my abode here, that (being in despair of ever having ability to return you any service equivalent) I shall humbly beseech your lordship to believe, that I am zealously more to be disposed of by your lordship, than any man in my knowledge; my lord (if I have any faith in me, or hope of salvation) I am, and ever will be

From Sir
Henry Strad-
ling, the 9th
of June.

Your honour's devoted humble servant,

Bonadventure, under sail,

June 9th, 1642.

HENRY STRADLING.

Upon the 11th I received letters from my lord president and Sir Charles Coote, giving me an account of some of their proceedings in these parts, and both importunate with me for supplies of powder, match, and bullet; and Sir Charles informed me, that he did hear much powder was gotten out of Galway by the rebels, and that within a fortnight those of Mayo would fall upon the county of Galway.

My letter to my lord president of Conaght, the 12th of June, 1642.

MY LORD,

I Have received both your dispatches of the 3d and 4th of this month; and the occasion of my delaying a return to the first, was my daily expectation to receive some advertisements from Dublin that might be worth your lordship's information, and is now the only cause of my stay from attending on your lordship, who, I presume, would expect some such conference and advice, as I should be unwilling to deliver without more certain knowledge of the present state of affairs, which standeth upon very fickle and uncertain terms. I am credibly informed, not by letters, but verbally, of some division and disagreement amongst the state at Dublin, and that my lord of Ormond, lately discontented, doth now begin to take more power upon him than formerly, by the receiving a new patent, and instructions from his majesty; but I shall not give credit to any thing, until the return of Mr. Terence Coghlan, whom I employed to Dublin, and he arrived there upon Monday was sevensnight; only this for the present is observable, that the English army hath not moved this long time, only the garrison of Trim hath made some spoils, and been somewhat cruel to Sir Thomas Nugent, and others, which I do hear is warranted by the state out of England. I hear nothing, only from the ships, which report, that the king was returned to Greenwich, and the differences fairly accorded between him and the parliament; God send it may prove so, to his greater honour, and the good of all his dominions; but by computation of the time, I rather judge them to be only words of comfort and encouragement; the informations I received by my servant affording but small hopes of so great and speedy a blessing. The vice admiral Sir Henry Stradling hath been in the bay of Galway these 10 days, coming only to see in what condition the fort and town stood, and is now returned to the river of Limerick, that castle being strongly besieged, and in much danger there: likewise came a ship from London called the Josselin, with one hundred landmen for the fort, under the command of one captain Hall; they report, that there were two regiments to come by sea to your lordship's assistance. There now only remains a ship called the Employment, commanded by one captain Ashley, who is one of the most covetous peremptory persons that ever I had to deal withal; and if I had

To my lord
president of
Conaght, the
12th of June.

T t

not

June 1642. not been assisted with the moderate and discreet carriage of the vice admiral, he would have much disturbed all affairs here, having a very large commission from the state. Upon the report of those of Mayo, I have sent to strengthen the garrison at Athenry, and my own company to Tuam, who found the people removing with their goods and cattle, who took heart, and stayed when they came thither; and that, with the report of my own coming after, served the town to make their great commanders renounce their intentions of coming hither, and made the dwellers of their borders run away with all their goods; and since, I am told, it was their declaration to spare me for a month longer, by which time they may probably be visited themselves. Before the receipt of your lordship's last letter, I was informed, that your garrisons had been abroad, and made some spoils, and they do lay the blame upon me for neglecting their defence in expectation of my coming; but the grounds your lordship went upon, did very fitly invite you to that course, though, I must confess, the burning I could wish had been spared.

Your lordship's prisoner, Richard Burke, hath written unto me, to move your lordship for his enlargement. Indeed, I am confident, he was no ways engaged in the rebellious acts of others before he was taken; how he then lighted into ill company, your lordship hath been informed, but did rather do good offices for others; but having been long in restraint, and of somewhat a passionate disposition, I shall not press your lordship to relieve him until my coming, that I may give him some correction, only I shall desire he may be favourably used.

I am informed, that your lordship hath given order for the execution of Teige O Connor, which I desire your lordship will be pleased to defer until my coming, if the hastening of it be not of greater consequence than I can apprehend.

If I do not hear from Dublin in three Days, I will no longer defer my journey, and your lordship shall have two days notice before my coming to the borders. I have been very earnest for a large supply of ammunition both from the fort and ships, but could not prevail for any more than two barrels from Sir Henry Stradling, which he desired, by your lordship's allowance, might be disposed unto Sir Charles Coote, presuming, that your lordship's providence hath reserved a store of your own at Athlone. The ammunition for the fort out of England is not yet arrived, but daily expected; when that comes, I shall endeavour to serve you better; I will for the present add nothing more, but wishing your lordship increase of health and happiness, still remain

Your lordship's affectionate friend to serve you faithfully,

Loughreagh, the 12th of
June, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

At the same time I wrote to Sir Charles Coote to the same effect, with addition, concerning the powder gotten out of Galway, that some plenty might be gotten by the rebels before, and about the time of the pacification, but was confident there was little issued out since, and that by the means of some greedy ill-affected merchants, that did at first so privately hide it, and after so secretly convey it, that it could not be discovered, and that I did soon expect to have some of them rendered to justice.

At the same time captain Willoughby informed me, that he had delivered, according to my direction, four barrels of powder, three little barrels of bullets, and thirty rolls of match, to lieutenant Daly at Terrellan; that in regard of what Sir Charles Coote had written, and to prevent the concourse of strangers to Galway, he intended not only to continue his garrison at the Bull near the great gate, but, with my allowance, at Castle-gare and on Irrconaght side, if he might

might with safety, and would take a course that they should give no just cause ^{June 1642.} of offence.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 13th of June.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

I Received by lieutenant Daly your letter, and four barrels of powder, three ^{To captain Willoughby, the 13th of June.} little barrels of bullets, and thirty rolls of match, which shall be carefully disposed of according to agreement; there yet remain sixty pounds of powder of mine in your custody. I observe by Sir Charles Coote's letter, he is of opinion, that much powder is daily vented out of Galway; but indeed, I believe, upon better information, it will appear, that what was gotten was long since conveyed away, and not lately, as he conceived, and I should judge it was in no great quantity; for I do not hear much of their activity, either in that county, or other places; and for the powder in the commissioner's hands, I am fully assured they will not issue one ounce without my warrant; but for your better discharge and mine, I will not oppose what you have designed, myself not having men sufficient in the king's pay to be watchful over several places; but I must intreat your diligent care to keep your soldiers in good order, for truly, not only the country in general, but myself in particular, doth suffer very much prejudice by the report of the injuries that many have received upon the way; for having summoned my tenants, and the receivers of my rents, they alledge they cannot pay me for not venting their commodities at Galway, which would be taken from thence if they went thither; and some of the inhabitants of this town, their monies have been violently taken from them going thither. I did give direction to the town not to admit any strangers without my pass, and have renewed that charge unto them; many in several parts come or send thither for salt, tobacco, and iron, and other country commodities, which is very much wanted in other places, but those should not be vented to those that are in action, nor their persons harboured there; such as have my pass I endeavour to be well informed of their carriage before I grant it, and such I know you will use with fair respect. I shall further desire, that the fishermen may have liberty, without danger, to follow their trade, which is now wanting to us here, &c.

Your assured true friend,

Loughreagh, the 13th of
June, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The bishop of Killalla wrote to me from Galway at the same time, earnestly importuning my assistance for a safe passage to Dublin, that from thence he might repair into England; and acquainted me, that he moved captain Willoughby and captain Ashley, that he might be conveyed thither in Mr. Francis Darcy's ship; that after captain Ashley's granting his request, he asked him his opinion concerning my desire to have it restored, and he immediately forsaking his own interests, told likewise his opinion and reasons, and captain Willoughby did second the same, and thereupon captain Ashley resolved, although Mr. Darcy was gone with his letter to me to the contrary, to send another letter to me, submitting all to my own will and discretion, so that he conceived his present intention was void, and therefore submitted all to my disposal, either for his conveyance over, or for his remove and his family to Loughreagh, or any other place of safety.

My

June 1642.

My letter to the bishop of Killalla, the 13th of June.

MY LORD,

To the bp
of Killalla,
the 13th of
June.

I HAVE deferred my answer to your lordship's letter until this morning, in expectation to have heard from captain Ashley, which if he had performed according to what your lordship expressed, would have been as displeasing to me as his former denial, by taking away the means of shewing my respects due to your lordship's virtue and goodness, by your safe conveyance to Dublin, which I cannot hope to be speedily compassed any other way, for the English army hath not at all advanced from Dublin, but only the garrisons about Trim did make some spoil abroad, and I do much admire what may be the occasion to keep the army in these five weeks past, the best season of the year spending apace; this time being governed by such irregular planets, that none can tell what to conjecture, and consequently must be more unsettled in the execution of any thing, wherein I believe none hath a harder part to act than myself in many respects, which your lordship's judgment, I presume, doth clearly apprehend. I have written to captain Willoughby to be earnest with captain Ashley for the speedy preparing of Mr. Darcy's ship for your lordship's convoy and accommodation to Dublin; though if I could presume myself to be master of my small fortune here, that might enable me to be serviceable to your lordship in a secure and plentiful condition, I should press your lordship's stay here, until affairs be better settled in other places; for I have some cause to doubt your lordship will not yet find it seasonable to undertake any farther journey than Dublin; and somewhat to contribute to your lordship's voyage, I do now send you thirty pounds, which though not considerable at other times, may now obtain your lordship's favourable acceptance, and as your occasions shall require, I had, and I conceive may yet have some credit at Dublin, which I shall be ready to dispose of as your lordship shall desire, or request at any time; and though the distractions that are upon me may make my expressions disjointed, yet certainly no time or place shall make me unmindful of your lordship's virtue, which shall ever guide me in those ways that may best approve me

Loughreagh, the 13th
of June, 1642.

Your lordship's assured friend to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 15th I wrote to my lord president of Conaght, that I would be ready to wait on him at the ford, upon the borders of the county of Roscommon, on Saturday the 19th, and his lordship returned his answer, that he would not fail to meet at the place appointed. Upon the 18th, being at Bally Donnellan on my way to my lord president, I received dispatches from Dublin, brought from thence by Mr. Terence Coghlan, and by him sent unto me by a nephew of his.

From the Lords Justices and Council, the 13th of June, received the 18th.

MY LORD,

The Lords
Justices and
Council, the
13th of June.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, we have received your lordship's letters of the 28th of May, and do return you special thanks, as for your continual endeavours to overcome the high disorders in those parts, so particularly for the care you have taken of the English, and your industry as well in relieving his majesty's fort at Galway with corn, as in assisting in your own person, and otherwise, towards the preservation thereof from the rebels.

By those your letters, and the papers therewith sent, we find the agreement which you have made with the rebels at Galway; and we confess, if we had been consulted

consulted therein, we should not have admitted your descending to any such agreement, wherein (to deal clearly with your lordship) there are sundry particulars much to be disliked in some respects, especially seeing the fort (as well by your lordship's furtherances to them, as by the accession of that relief and strength which they had from us, by the ship we sent thither commanded by captain Ashley) was in such a condition, as the rebels with all their power could not have forced it from us so soon, but that further relief might be sent thither timely enough to prevent their becoming masters of it; and we are well assured, if our letters of the 20th of May had come to your hands before you condescended to those terms, your lordship would not have made that agreement with them without our direction first had.

However, seeing (as your lordship writes) you were necessitated thereunto, we are so tender of his majesty's honour, and your lordship's reputation in performance of the publick faith you have given, as we forbear to do any thing in violation of the protection you have given, until his majesty's most gracious pleasure, to whom we have humbly represented it, shall be signified therein.

We hope that those whom your lordship intrusted with the charge of the powder in the town, will answer your lordship's confidence in their integrity; but if it should happen otherwise, then there may that inconvenience follow, which will let your lordship see how needful it had been to have so provided, as that the powder should have been put wholly out of the power of the town, lest they should make use of it, if they should take up any new resolution of disloyalty, or privately supply other rebels with that so highly needful an incident of war.

We hope also, that there hath been performance of the promise made to your lordship, for putting into your lordship's custody the powder and arms brought by land to Galway, by the ship brought in by Francis Darcy into a creek in Irrconaght, about two or three days before the submission of the town; and if it be not already done, we conceive that it will be fit, that your lordship do get labourers (if by any fair way you may) to get into his majesty's fort those arms and ammunition, as also those formerly in the town, to prevent any ill use that the townsmen may make thereof; for we have intelligence several ways, that from Galway all parts of the kingdom have, and expect supply of arms and ammunition; which, if found true, there will blame be laid certainly somewhere, and we hope it will fall on their heads, who have dealt so treacherously with you, and unfaithfully with our and their gracious sovereign; and therefore, as well out of our particular respect to your lordship's person, as out of our desires to advantage the publick service of the king and kingdom, we again recommend this particular to your lordship, to be composed by all the fair means you may, yet so as your lordship may command out of the fort, such proportions thereof by your own warrant, as you shall adjudge fit, either for the needful defence of the town against rebels, or for supply of the forces which your lordship employs in that country to repress the rebels; care being still taken, wherein we know your lordship will be cautious, that there be a competency left for the use of the fort.

This, if your lordship find the town to incline to, and that they do it accordingly, may beget the better construction of their future intentions, whereas the contrary may justly induce a suspicion, if not assurance, that their purposes are not so real or faithful as they make shew of. And altho' we are confident you will keep the hostages given you, as safely as you possibly may, yet if they had been put into the fort, they had been doubtless more safe, and your lordship less answerable for their forthcoming, than as now they are. Amongst the reasons mentioned by your lordship in your letters to us, as motives inducing you to the agreement you made with the town, you mention two things we understand not: First, an opinion (as you write) held by many that you should receive but small countenance or assistance from us, and that you are mistrusted or much neglected by us: Secondly, that commissions and instructions have been granted

June 1642. ed, for things to be acted within that government without any mention or relation to you.

For the former, we conceived we had heretofore given your lordship full satisfaction by our several letters, and are sorry to find it so often repeated by your lordship, as if you were still unsatisfied therein, for which we again assure you you have no cause; and for the latter, we know of no commissions or instructions granted to any other than yourself, for things to be acted within your lordship's government, only (as your lordship well knows) we sent away captain Ashley with the ship under his command, with particular direction and instruction for relief of the fort of Galway, which also we mentioned to your lordship in our letters of the 19th of April; and for the better enabling captain Willoughby (who commands the fort) to defend and preserve it, and annoy the rebels, we sent him a warrant, authorizing him to execute martial law, which could be no more derogation to your lordship in the authority entrusted there with you, than the like is to the presidents in the two presidentiate governments of Munster and Conaght, whither we have sent the like commissions since this rebellion began, and who neither do, nor ought to take any exception thereunto; and we do the like here in several counties daily.

That the declaration of the English mentioned in your lordship's letters, was the act of the English there, we doubt not (seeing your lordship affirms it); neither can we doubt, that your lordship would present any thing to us, that was not in the same stile delivered unto you.

But, as your lordship well observes, it extols the care of the town towards the English, more than was fully so, and we find was drawn from them (as your lordship well notes) only in hope to be the better preserved, which we well understand.

Your purpose to gather in the king's composition rents, we approve well; and to the end you may do it the more exactly, we send you here inclosed a certificate thereof, and of the exchequer rents of that county under the officers hands, for your better guidance, which you may also collect, and give acquittances for the other.

Your lordship mentions Sir Richard Blake's endeavours, whilst he could stay in town, to advertise and serve the fort, which we take in good part from him.

We observe, that your lordship hopes, by the means of Sir Robuck Lynch, Sir Richard Blake, the recorder, Richard Martin, Patrick Darcy, Patrick Kirowan, and others, to put some commands in execution there, that will curb or banish turbulent spirits, whereunto, at this distance, we can say little; but if you have any confidence in them, you may make use of them for the advantage of his majesty's service; yet, to deal clearly with your lordship, whose ready concurrence with us, his majesty's ministers in his publick services, begets in us a friendly respect unto you, and a desire to counsel you for the best, we must tell you, that some of those are men who have been bred in such a way, and who have been so long conversant in affairs of sundry natures, as they want not skill to labour to gain from your lordship an opinion of them, and then a belief of their intendments to be good, and consequently a further compliance with their councils than perhaps may well consist with the great trust deposited there with your lordship by his majesty; wherefore it behoves your lordship to be very careful and circumspect how far to trust them, and to be very watchful not to give them any advantage, that any way may hereafter reflect upon you with prejudice; this private caution and friendly intimation we give your lordship, partly out of regard to yourself, whom we wish well, and partly out of the duty we owe to the publick service of his majesty, wherewith we, and you, are intrusted; but if hereafter we find good wrought by them towards the publick, we shall readily take notice thereof, and value it accordingly.

The testimony your lordship gives of the lord Clanmorris, Sir Ulick Burke, Sir Roger O Shaghnessy and his son, captain Tiege Kelly, captain John Kelly, and

and Andrew Darcy, is such, as we do by your lordship return them special June 1642. thanks.

We are very sensible of your lordship's labours and endeavours in the good conduct of affairs there; and as we have done you the right to represent it formerly into England, so now we will move that you may have the command of troop of horse, which we hope you will shortly hear of.

Your lordship writes, that if we could spare but one thousand well armed men, with some troops of horse, it would easily and speedily reduce that whole province; now we have sent into that province two thousand foot, and two troops of horse, which with those already there do make a considerable force; and we have by our letters now sent to the lord president of that province, requiring him to assist your lordship as there shall be occasion; and we hope by the good endeavours of you both, to find such services performed in that province in the prosecution of the rebels, their relievers, harbourers, adherents, and abettors, with fire and sword, as they may feel the consequence of their pride and boldness, in presuming to rise against, and contend with such a majesty as the king our master.

In this service we must give you this necessary caution, that you accept not any submissions from them, other than those you have already bound yourself to by the protection you sent us (which is to stand until his majesty's pleasure be signified, unless they violate it by new crimes); but that you prosecute them with fire and sword, so to take just vengeance against them for their treacherous rebellion, and, by the example of their just correction, to deter others from the like impiety; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 13th of June, 1642.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.

ORMOND OSSORY.

ADAM LOFTUS.

FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY.

JAMES WARE.

JOHN BORLACE.

ROSCOMMON.

JOHN TEMPLE.

GEORGE WENTWORTH.

ROBERT MEREDITH.

From my lord justice Parsons, the 13th of June, 1642.

Most Noble LORD,

I Received two letters by Terence Coghlan, who hath faithfully performed From my lord justice Parsons, the 13th of June. towards you, and to the trust reposed in him, referring to the state, where-
by, and by every former experience of him, I take resolution, that he stands up-
right in point of loyalty and duty, and so shall ever incline to give him testi-
monies of it. Your lordship's perplexed condition, amidst an untoward people,
appears fully in the things come from you, as well in regard of such as declared
that opposition, as others who gave you jealousies of variableness; but I am
right glad to see your noble and discreet carriage through all, which, I doubt
not, will honour you, although, all circumstances of the season considered,
something is done which hath not universal approbation; howbeit, the not
doing of it, might have put you to straits, which your friends would be
sorry to see; and if there have been error in forms, statesmen (who well know
that the most acute natural endowments must have time to be versed in state pas-
sages before they can be exact) will easily pass by errors, when they see they have
not root in sinister inclinations. Your lordship moves for a cessation of arms for
a time, partly conceiving his majesty was to come hither, and might incline to
receive supplications, which might lead to accommodation, partly to prevent the
great ruin like to ensue upon a civil war, and partly considering that some men
were overshot in this great cause improvidently, and might, without much harm
done, be reduced, and a peace settled.

These,

June 1642.

These, I confess, are laudable meditations in your lordship, who cannot but naturally love the peace of your country, as I think all good men do; for my part, God forbid I should cast any unadvised obstacles, I will deal as clearly with your lordship as any single heart can do, and thus express myself to you. For the first, it now falls out that his majesty doth not come, forasmuch as we can yet learn, and therefore the way of so immediate application to him is not like to be put into practice; and if he had come, his declarations to us were, that he intended to suppress this unnatural rebellion, by just revenge to be taken upon so highly disobedient subjects; and, in that tract, there would have been a ready way to such supplications, before the sword had given a sharp judgment upon the unreasonableness of their actions. In the second, it is true, and every christian heart mourns to see the fearful events of a civil war; and if it had been but a light distemper, not accompanied with very harmful acts, it had been pity moderation should not first try to way-lay misconstructions, before they should draw on mischievous resolutions, and dangerous attempts; but in our case, no provocation having been given by the state, or English party, other than a few variations from perhaps too exact rules, which is a frailty inherent in all human government, in cure of which, his majesty had most graciously descended to take notice, and thereupon to provide medicines in a gracious way, of reforming what might seem amiss: It is now come to such a pitch, by the fearful outrages executed on the English nation in general, being innocent people as towards the offenders, and no possibility of reparation, any thing near to a ballance, as I doubt it cannot stand with the honour and greatness of so excellent a prince, easily to hearken to supplication, before sharp punishment have somewhat satisfied the world: That he is really sensible of the sufferings of his good people, and the more than heathenish and unparalleled rapines, murders, and oppressions of his wantonly ill-affected subjects, which certainly must cost more time, and cannot be without some ruin. For the third, he who looks upon the universality of this evil action, and the pertinacious pursuing the ill purposes of the confederacy, can hardly find an excuse for any man that hath shewed in it, and not withstood it to his power: And truly, my lord, it is so far gone in point of hatred between both nations, one party having been so extremely abused, as I shall esteem it a happy thing if a reasonable measure of severity may pacify the just indignation of the party wronged, so far as to be reclaimed to a re-union with a people, expressing so much unjust rancour; so as, upon the whole matter, I think, cessation of arms will not as yet be hearkened unto; besides, the truth is, the engagement of parliament in England is quite against it as yet, which must guide our actions. For my part, I have ever loved this country in general, and have been a helpful instrument for the peace thereof; and can groundedly say, I have been a friend to many particulars, which I know they will not deny, and I do yet sometimes suffer in favours done; but I desire you yet for a time to steer up with the state in the way of punishment of the great wickedness done, and lay aside thoughts of pacification as yet, which nevertheless, I hope, will have a time, by God's blessing, on the first repentance of the wrong-doers.

For such as have joined with you, or that you have found reason to protect in the county of Galway, they may bless God for your being amongst them, and perhaps they will find cause to joy in their good fortune to hearken to you, wherein your lordship and they shall have my best help; and for Sir Thomas Burke, I shall be right glad that his affections be found clear, and if you find it so, in truth your lordship, and the lord president, shall do well to support and encourage him what you can, to which end I have written to the lord president. I have troubled your lordship too long, but I desire to correspond with you in all freedom, and to give you firm assurance that I am

The 13th of June, 1642.

Your lordship's most affectionate servant,

WILLIAM PARSONS.

June 1642.

From the earl of Ormond, the 13th of June, 1642.

MY LORD,

I SHALL not need to tell you how your letters and agreement with the men of Galway was received here, since your lordship's judgment will much better instruct you, when you have perused the letters now sent by Mr. Coghlan, who puts me in some hope that it may be my good hap to wait upon you before my return to Dublin. I cannot certainly say when I shall be at Athlone, but I think it will be about Sunday next, or Monday at the furthest; but lest it should be my misfortune not to see you, I cannot but choose to tell you, that I am extremely well satisfied with myself, since I found that your lordship's inclinations and mine are the same, for the advancement of his majesty's service, against the disturbers of our peace, and for the distinguishing of punishment due to the plotters and fomenters of our troubles, from that wherewith it is fit to chastise such as are misled, and perhaps terrified into that which, in the rigorous eye of the law, equals them in their crime and suffering.

All your proceedings are sent to be judged of by the king and parliament, who are yet at greater distance than I could wish they were. His majesty's journey hither is deferred, but whether totally laid aside or no, it is not possible for me to say.

If it fall out that I see you not, I will endeavour to write more at large unto you; however, believe it as a firm truth, I am here ready and watchful to do you all the offers of a

faithful friend, and humble servrnt,

Dublin, the 13th of
June, 1642.

ORMOND OSSORY.

Having received these dispatches, I went on that night to Clonbrocke, a fair castle of Mr. Richard Dillon's, and the next morning I met my lord president at the ford of Garurrah, dividing the counties of Galway and Roscommon, to whom I gave the first intelligence of the coming of my lord of Ormond, and the English army, and the supplies intended for his lordship, which enforced his speedy departure to Athlone, and made our conference but short, in regard we could not conclude upon any thing until his lordship had received his instructions, and spoken with my lord of Ormond; but we parted with full assurance to keep a fair and clear correspondence with each other in all our proceedings; and at that time, with his lordship's consent, I delivered two barrels of powder and bullets, and match, to Sir Charles Coote, who very joyfully received them, with many thankful acknowledgments, as a principal means of his preservation, and enabling him to do service. Upon my return the next day to Loughreagh, I dispatched my steward James Danock to my lord of Ormond, desiring to know how long he stayed in those parts, and where I might most conveniently wait upon him; but his lordship came but within six miles of Athlone, and departed immediately after, delivering the supply to my lord president of two thousand foot, and two troops of horse, so that my servant could not overtake him; and I am much perplexed for missing such an opportunity that might have informed me of the true state of affairs; at the same time I wrote to my lord president.

My letter to my lord president of Conaght, the 20th of June, 1642.

MY LORD,

I KNOW not how to express the great contentment I have by waiting upon your lordship, and the obtaining so many noble expressions of your favour and respects to me, which I assure your lordship, as far as I have, or shall attain to ability, are not conferred upon a person that will be unmindful of them,

To my lord
president of
Conaght,
the 20th of
June.

X x

or

June 1642. or employ them otherwise than to your honour and advantage. I doubt not but your lordship hath by this time received the comfort of my lord of Ormond's presence, and the arrival of those forces that are come to your supply, and a clear knowledge, by your instructions, how to proceed in the great affairs of this time: But if they be so limited as mine, that no protection must be granted, though the persons might be thereby invited to do service upon others, and that no distinction be made of the nature and quality of crimes, or dispositions of men, but that fire and sword must proceed against all; I am doubtful, that though those forces that shall be left may preserve your person, it will hardly serve to prosecute so severe a design: And, for my part, when such intentions are divulged, I have just cause to fear I shall not only be disabled from doing any service, but be in imminent danger of utter ruin; my opposition to the designs of my rebellious countrymen, having drawn the whole hatred of the kingdom upon me; and I am informed, that at the siege of Limerick there is no other discourse than how to destroy me; and the bordering counties (for preserving the fort by Galway, supplying Sir Charles Coote with powder, and relieving Fort Falkland) have vowed to join in that work. If I could propose any way of safety for my wife and children, I should little value those threats, my thoughts being long since prepared, and resolution settled, for the worst events that can befall myself; neither would I fear their force, if these rumours of general severity did not fill all mens minds with distraction, and so early give them cause to discern my disability to preserve any, in whose mediation they did formerly repose much confidence. My lord, it will now be unseasonable for me to move in the behalf of any, until I receive some farther commands from your lordship, by any other expressions than still to declare, and approve myself

Loughreagh, the 20th
of June, 1642.

Your lordship's faithful friend and servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

From my lord president of Conaght, the 22d of June, 1642.

MY LORD,

From my
lord president
of Conaght,
the 22d of
June.

SUCH is my confidence in your favour, as I presume to contract this return unto your lordship in as few lines as possible I can, being oppressed with the burthen laid upon me by the access of these forces now under my command, and the difficulties I find to reduce things to such order as I desire.

My lord of Ormond came no nearer than within six miles of this place, where having the honour to wait upon him on Monday morning, I told him of your lordship's earnest desire to see him; but his resolution being taken for his present retreat to Dublin, I could neither prevail with him for his coming hither, nor to spend a few days upon some particular design, that would much have distressed that mischievous county of Longford.

My directions in the case of submissions and protection are somewhat suitable to those your lordship received from the lords justices, which, if I should observe, would be of such evil consequence, as I have presumed to crave their lordships leave to swerve from that rule; and as I am informed by my faithful friend Sir Robert King, that those that govern our affairs in England are moderate enough in that kind, so doth my lord of Ormond tell me, that strict course is the effect of some particular advices in this state, to which he himself doth protest to be opposite, and so shall I be (with God's favour) as my actions will demonstrate.

I was yesterday quartering my own and Sir Michael Ernley's regiment in several castles in Dillon's country, bordering on Longford, with intent not to remove them on this side the Shannon, until I have made my commanders acquainted with the course of my proceeding, in case of distinctions, wherein (God willing) I will endeavour to be obeyed. If I had time I would say much more;

more; haste makes me to conclude thus briefly, for which I humbly crave your lordship's pardon, as June 1642.

Your lordship's affectionate and most humble servant,

Athlone Castle, the 22d of
June, 1642.

RANELAOH.

A letter from my lord viscount Mount-Garret, some other noblemen, and gentlemen of quality, dated the 11th of June, received about this time at Loughreagh.

Right Honourable,

IN discharge of the duty we owe to the publick, and to satisfy the trust re-
posed in us by the lords and commons of three provinces in this kingdom, From my
lord viscount
Mount-Gar-
ret, and
other of the
nobility and
gentry.
who have sent their agents to this assembly, with full authority to provide for
the safety of the people against the enemies of our religion, our sovereign's rights
and prerogatives, and the liberties of this kingdom; we are to advertise your
lordship, whose profession of faith and interest in the country is the same as
ours, that however at this time your endeavours for the advancement of the ad-
verse part may merit a hallow applause, yet no argument, though you should
write it in our very bloods, will ever persuade them your affections are sincere,
while you bear about you those marks, by which they distinguish such as they
have appointed for perdition. Observe, my lord, with what infamy all ages have
branded the memory of them who have been but remiss and tepid in assisting
their afflicted country; have not the gentiles, next their gods, placed it before
parents, children, and estate? And, to render our cause abundantly justifiable,
have we not the service of the living God at stake, and to make this foundation
unquestionably firm, is it not cemented with perfect obedience to our sovereign?
Have not our adversaries, as much as in them lay, rendered the majesty of Eng-
land despicable to foreign princes? He must condemn whom they please, and his
mercy must extend no farther than their good liking; he cannot come to this his
kingdom without a pass from them, and they have declared them enemies to the
state that shall wait upon him hither; nor have the officers of his house liberty
to attend him at his summons, nor dispose of their places if they refuse to come.
This, and much worse, is the state of sovereignty after their new establishment.
And as they have presumed to abridge the prerogative of our king, so have they
endeavoured to overthrow the liberties of this his kingdom; and because to do it
by pieces might be tedious, they do receive for a point of undoubted doctrine,
that their statutes, if they mention this kingdom, are concluding to us; and to
lay the foundation of subordination, they summon members of both houses (our
parliament sitting) to attend theirs, to answer private complaints. My lord, you
are a Roman catholick, and placed in that eminence of power you enjoy in this
kingdom, by the merits of your much deserving catholick ancestors; let it not
come to you to sprinkle their graves with the blood of such as will sacrifice
themselves in that cause; give not way that this kingdom be a bye word to all
nations, who, to express the basest servitude, will call it Irish subjection; and let
us join to vindicate the honour of our sovereign, who suffers under the pressure
of the puritan anarchical faction; and let your assistance, my lord, be so season-
able, that the merit of the cause may rather be thought to have invited you, than
the strength of the prevailing party; this, my lord, is the request of all the ca-
tholicks of Ireland, and the desire of

Your lordship's assured loving friends and servants,

MOUNT-GARRETT.

SLANE.

UPPER OSSORY.

DAVID, episcopus OSSOR.

EMER, DUN. & CONNOR.

ROBERT TALBOTT.

JAMES CUSAKE.

GEORGE COMYN.

ROGER MOORE.

RICHARD BARNWALL.

TOR. O NEILE.

RICHARD BUTLER.

PIERCE BUTLER.

GERALD FENELL.

OLI. STEPHENSON.

June 1642.

Having intimation of such a letter to be sent me by the baron of Loughmoe, I found means to have him persuaded not to come to me, and hazard a restraint, at least a denial of admittance, it being certain that I would not confer with any so far engaged as he was ; whereupon he forbore the journey, but the letter came after to my hands, I do not remember by what conveyance, but I returned no answer, nor took any notice of it.

The 23d of June.

About this time I retired to Portumna, to make dispatches to the state at Dublin, and to the king, and to the parliament of England, and sent them by----

My letter to the Lords Justices and Council, the 27th of June.

My LORDS,

The Lords Justices and Council, the 27th of June.

YOUR lordships dispatch of the 13th of this present, by Mr. Terence Coghlan, I received on the 18th, being then upon the borders of the county of Roscommon to wait upon my lord president, where we had but a short conference, in regard we could not then frame any settled resolutions until his lordship had received my lord of Ormond, and the supplies and instructions from your lordships.

I render your lordships most humble thanks for the favourable acceptance of some part of my late proceedings, as likewise for your lordships free but moderate reprehensions of those errors, which your lordships observed to be committed by me in the prosecution of that service ; and that your lordships are nobly pleased to afford me that right, as to believe I would not have concluded an agreement, if I had received any intimation of your pleasure to the contrary ; of which you may always rest assured, that though I may fail in judgment when I have not timely intelligence in matters of difficulty, when the occasions will not admit of long delay, yet my disposition shall ever guide me to an exact obedience, and my will be ever resigned to observe and execute those commands I shall receive, with any hazard either of my person or fortune. It is true, my lords, that when I received the town of Galway, and some gentlemen that adhered unto them, into his majesty's protection, the fort, by my timely coming thither and putting relief therein, being seconded by the supply your lordships sent by captain Ashley, was in a good condition of safety ; but your lordships may be pleased to remember, it was a chief part of your former instructions, and I am sure a powerful inducement to me, that I should have a special care of the English, and there were then above four hundred in the town, and many of them of good quality, subject to the fury of enraged multitudes, if they had been prosecuted to the height of rigour and extremity ; and besides, your lordships might be pleased to observe, by the letters I sent out of Mayo, and divers advertisements I received out of Thomond and other bordering counties, that resolutions were taken to burn and destroy all behind me, and to enclose my small forces between them and those formerly confederated with the town, whereby, besides our own danger, not only many English long since planted in my towns of Loughreagh and Portumna, and others lately come in from other counties for relief and preservation, would have been destroyed ; but your lordships may be pleased further to consider the difficulty, or rather impossibility, to keep at a siege my own followers, and those other noble gentlemen that have assisted me, upon our own charge for almost eight months, and maintained forces without any supplies from your lordships ; our ears being daily filled with intelligence, that all we had would be defaced and ruined, and my wife and children, and a large English family, long exposed to danger in a remote border, during six weeks lying before Galway, not to be totally neglected ; and I humbly submit it to your lordships better judgments, whether it were fit to continue longer before the town, without any hope to gain the place, or to depart from thence without some settlement, would not have been held a deserting of the service, and an invitation to all ill-disposed persons to have gathered there in multitudes from all parts of the kingdom ;

kingdom; and further, I presume my lord president will bear testimony with me, ^{June 1642.} in what a dangerous condition not only this county, but the whole province was in at that time, and all passages so stopt, that we could receive no clear intelligence what were the resolutions taken for the prosecution of this war, or the forces that were in a readiness, either for the general advancement of the service, or our particular relief; which guided me then to believe, that the best present service was to gain time by moderation, and to take the benefit of their opinion of my interest in his majesty's favour, to reduce them to that obedience, which was not otherwise within the compass of my power to effect: And I will now only add one particular advantage got thereby, which did weigh much with me; which is, that by this agreement, the granting a protection to Francis Darcy, I gained almost three thousand weight of powder to be placed in good and sure hands, and himself to be assisting to captain Ashley to bring in his ship and ten pieces of ordnance, with store of provision of corn into the fort, which would otherwise probably have fallen into very ill hands, and have been of very dangerous consequence to all the English, that have maintained themselves in forts within this province; and having from the beginning relieved the fort constantly with all manner of provision within my power, (having discharged my duty in that important service) to have some care and regard of the rest of the county, long in danger and hazard: and your lordships not having particularly expressed the errors I have committed, I can but guess, upon a review of my dispatches, it may be my accepting of propositions in a stile improper for them to express themselves in; indeed, my lords, they did not sound well with me, but being earnest in their own way, and my answer being general, I did conceive it was rather a prejudice to them than a disservice to his majesty, whose royal word intrusted with me is but for a short time engaged, until the signification of his pleasure, I hope with more advantage; and that by this time of trial, a fit distinguishment may be made between the good and bad affections of the inhabitants of that town; and these true and necessary circumstances being duly considered by your lordships, and represented to the king and parliament, with those former papers of my proceedings, I will confidently hope to receive a pardon, and favourable construction of the errors I committed in the management of those difficult affairs, if I do not receive some approbation and allowance of my endeavours therein. Your lordships observe some other motives expressed in my former dispatch, hastening the pacification, as an opinion that I was mistrusted by your lordships, and should receive but small countenance or assistance; I did not mention them (under favour) as any trouble to my own thoughts, being confident to be valued by your lordships according to the integrity of my duty and affection to his majesty's service, and that if I suffered by any misreports, I should stand fair and clear in your lordships judgments, until by a knowledge of my charge I might be enabled to justify myself; but I intimate them as the apprehensions of others who judging commonly by the outward effects, and observing a great charge upon themselves and me, without any publick marks of his majesty's favour or your lordships remembrance of me, were apt to harbour such suspicions: for my part, your lordships noble expressions and favourable acceptance of my endeavours, shall always be a satisfaction to me; and the addition of your lordships intercessions for a troop of horse, obliges me to return most humble thanks, desiring to obtain the benefit of that request, much more for the advantage of his majesty's service, than any regard of advantage to myself.

For the notice I took of commissions and instructions granted for things to be acted within this government, without any mention of me, I assure your lordships it was not without good ground that made me reflect thereon; and though it might be an error in my judgment, I did conceive it not improper, either by instruction or discretion, for the captain of the ship to consult, and somewhat to be guided by the governor, who can give best intelligence how to distinguish

June 1642 between the rebels and others well-affected; and the rule I observed captain Ashley went upon, was to lay hold of those within his reach who had best store of goods or cattle, wherein not only Sir Richard Blake and his tenants suffered very much, but I had my particular loss by spoiling my tenants of their goods and provisions brought for payment of my rents; and some of his men with much contempt and scorn tearing a certificate of their good behaviour, and no punishment or satisfaction given; he standing with a very strict and rigid deportment on the latitude of his commission, upon hopes of better future regard: I past things by, being very tender of the least disturbance of the publick service.

There happened after some dispute between us about Francis Darcy, who having punctually observed all the conditions upon which his protection was granted, and gained the good opinion of captain Willoughby and myself, he was an earnest suitor for the loan of his bare vessel, to transport those back that manned her, to avoid their clamours or loss, who were masters of families, or natives of France, offering full security for the ship, or value of it, according to what order your lordships should make upon examination of the business; and this being approved of by the vice admiral, Sir Henry Stradling, then in the harbour, it invited me to be earnest with him in that behalf; but not prevailing, and finding him, as I thought, somewhat disrepective besides, it drew from me this inclosed letter, which, stating the business right, I held necessary to send your lordships, though therein you may discern some passion, chusing rather to discover my imperfections, than have truth concealed. Concerning captain Willoughby's commission, I shall be glad of any addition of favour or good fortune to him; but not knowing the extent of his power thereby, it will be necessary, to avoid mistakes for the future between us, that some rules or limits be set to guide us both; there lately happening an accident that may much disquiet these parts, if it do not receive timely reprehension from your lordships; the county on this side of Galway now quiet, captain Willoughby sallied forth into the country with a trumpet, and a troop of horse, I conceive without commission, that favour not being yet granted to myself; and coming to a town of mine, upon a slight complaint, or pretence of some small extortion, he took prisoner a serjeant of a company under the command of my lord Clanmorris, and, as I hear, a well-experienced soldier, bound him, carried him to the fort, and there immediately hanged him, and slighted a respective letter of my lord, without returning an answer; this act I conceive so rash, and unfit in itself without relation to others, so disrepective to my lord Clanmorris, as a person of quality, a friend and neighbour, so great an affront upon me, and infringement of my government, especially the man being an officer of those forces by me raised for his majesty's service; certainly the punishment for any offence he did commit, did properly, and only, belong to me: in this particular, I shall humbly and earnestly desire your lordships, that I may have full reparation in my honour, and for the preservation of my authority within this government; and I am very sorry that this hath happened between me, and one that I have so particularly cherished and respected; besides, my care of the publick service, which I shall still continue, and upon a right understanding settled by your lordships, I doubt not all will be fairly concluded, and we well united; in present it is generally discoursed with wonder and passion, which I endeavour to qualify. The cautions your lordships are pleased to give me in way of trust of those persons, by whose endeavours I did hope that some things might be acted for the appeasing of distempers, punishing offences, and performing what might best conduce to the peace and future obedience of the town of Galway, I do receive them as great arguments of your lordships publick care, and particular favour to me, and do so humbly and thankfully acknowledge them; and, I presume, your lordships shall always find that I am wary and reserved in the imparting of my counsels, and that, in point of advice, I may make use of all by way of information; yet I am not guided, or led by any,

any, but such as by their ability, long experience, and your lordships good opinion may deserve that trust; and when time serves, I hope your lordships shall receive good satisfaction that there hath been a considerable proportion of labour, charge, and industry used for the advancement of the king's service, and the overcoming of many considerable difficulties, which at this distance, and so many impediments in the way, cannot be clearly represented. For those persons I formerly mentioned, and most others of the better sort of the town of Galway, I must do them that right, according to the best of my intelligence, to declare, that they appear diligent to redeem the former offences of that corporation, and to preserve a fair correspondence with the commander of the fort; and I may assuredly say of some of them, and deservedly name Sir Richard Blake, and Mr. Recorder, that they do assist, and do all the good offices to the fort, and English in the town, for supply and accommodation, within the compass of their power; and for the encouragement of the good, I hope it is not omitted to be so represented to your lordships, as well as the inclinations and humours of those not so well affected are to be doubted and observed, wherein I shall keep a just equality to the best of my knowledge, and justify my informations to be free from partiality, or particular ends.

Concerning the powder, your lordships are pleased to express, that if those intrusted by me should abuse my confidence, and dispose of that dangerous commodity to rebels, or take up new resolutions of disloyalty themselves, I should find the inconveniency of not having the powder out of the disposal of the town: certainly, my lords, if any force, or industry of mine, could have gotten it out of their hands, there should have remained but a small proportion in their power; but upon the concluding of the pacification, though it had been mentioned, it was not insisted upon by the captain, nor myself; finding it impossible to gain it by force, we were in hopes by time, and fair means, to get it from them, but it hath not been of much advantage, as appeareth since; for during the siege and treaty, and upon knowledge of Francis Darcy's coming to the isles of Arran, as I am informed, they sent, and divided amongst their assistants in town and camp, and conveyed to some others, whose aid they expected, if the pacification had not succeeded. All the powder brought by Oliver Oge French, which was accounted above thirty-two vessels, about two thousand five hundred weight, or what was remaining so secretly hid by private merchants, that it could not be discovered. Several moderate and well-affected persons of the town were agreed upon by captain Willoughby and me, who were nominated by those that knew them, and were professed friends to the fort, and to them I gave a large commission, under the provincial seal, to examine upon oath, and all other ways, all those that were suspected to have any powder, arms, or ammunition, and all other witnesses that could discover any thing concerning that subject, and that they should seize upon the same, and deliver it over upon account to other able and discreet men, agreed upon by captain Willoughby and me, who were upon oath to issue no part thereof but by direction or warrant from me; but for all their care and diligence, there could none considerable be found but what Francis Darcy brought, about two thousand seven hundred weight, which was immediately put into these commissioners hands we had nominated, who approve themselves very honest and faithful men. After this, upon notice of some resort of strangers to the town, and upon information of some powder suspected to have been privately conveyed away, I sent immediately to the mayor, who, by a proclamation, freed the town of strangers; and having not forces sufficient under my command in his majesty's pay, I did agree with captain Willoughby that he should put a garrison into a stone house near the great east gate of the town; I gave him way to put a guard into a castle of mine, within a mile of the town, to keep the passage to the river; and likewise allowed him to place more men about the abbey on the west on Irconaght side, both to prevent access of strangers, and issuing forth of powder. I sent a war-
rant

June 1642. raht to the mayor to apprehend such merchants as were suspected to have hidden or conveyed some powder away; and I am informed, that Oliver Oge is put up on the sheriff's hands, and I am in good hopes to have him, and some others, sent unto the fort. By this account I have given your lordships, I hope it will appear I have used all possible diligence and industry in this business of so great importance; and if any errors have been committed, or inconvenience happen, I am not to stand charged alone. For the powder of Francis Darcy's in the commissioners hands, I have taken five barrels for my own store, to supply my companies in garrison in this place, and at Loughreagh, and for the defence of my bordering castles; and some moderate proportions I have by warrants issued out to some of the captains, and other gentlemen that assisted me, for the defence of their houses and families against ill-affected persons, having lately found the inconveniency to rely wholly upon the fort for supplies; for when I went against Galway, and their assistants, I was forced to hazard my life in that service, but with a small proportion of arms, and a very poor quantity of powder, having three barrels of my own, bought out of Clarke's ship, then in the fort, and could come to no part of it during the siege, until near the time of the pacification; the remains of the powder in the commissioners hands is most of it gross powder for ordnance; and I am in treaty with the town, and do believe they will deliver the gross powder into the fort, being about sixteen hundred weight. I cannot find that a considerable number of arms came to the town at any time, or hath been issued out by them; of those few pieces Francis Darcy brought, I had sixteen, the fort six, instead of some of his that were lost in the commotion by default of the town, and, as I am informed, twenty-two were left in his ship brought in by captain Ashley, and some others taken away coming to the town through Irrconaght; they were in all but fifty and odd at first. I am going to Loughreagh, and do hope to find the gentry so well inclined, as that I shall prevail, by a general consent, to take a settled course for supply of the companies belonging to the fort with fresh meat, by laying a proportion on each barony; and likewise to take into consideration how to settle the English again with safety, and reparation for the spoils and injuries done them. The crying sin of blood, which hath tainted most parts of the kingdom, not lying heavy here, more than two that were killed in Clarke's ship, and two or three more in the town of Galway by the rude kearns of Irrconaght; the humours and passions of both sides may be the more easily overcome, and some short time, with your lordships allowance and approbation, may frame a right and well-disposed settlement, all parts being now in good quietness, but the Flaherties of Irrconaght, who are out of protection; and though it be in a very wild and craggy place to fall upon them, according to the instructions your lordships have given me, I will endeavour to subdue them, without taking any of them into protection, as soon as my lord president shall advance into other neighbouring parts; though, under favour, I conceive it might be convenient, as occasion should be offered, to take some of them into protection, upon condition to do service on the rest; which, I believe, might be compassed, they being usually in times of peace in contestation amongst themselves in that untoward place.

For the pledges of Galway, which your lordships wish to be in the fort, I should be very glad they were there; but they were not so well satisfied with the humour and temper of captain Willoughby, as to hazard themselves in his custody; besides that, they do alledge the fort to be independent of my government; so that though it be with trouble, hazard, and charge, I know not how to avoid the keeping of them yet in my hands. I did formerly deliver my opinion to your lordships, that two thousand well armed foot, and some troops of horse, might be able to reduce this province, and the grounds I went upon was my observation of some gentlemen of quality, who either through fear of ill neighbours, or persuasions of friends, were drawn to countenance, or appear parties in the common distempers, who, not being active therein, seemed willing
(upon

(upon appearance of forces that might protect them) to come into their former due obedience; I did not then know what power was in readiness, nor the resolution taken to prosecute the war with that severity in general, as that no protection should be granted to any that had been in action, which with the great spoils made upon those that were formerly protected, and wherein myself, and Mr. justice Donnellan, that had a large share of loss by destroying my lord of Rathwire, hath moved general distraction, and armed most men with desperation, the danger whereof I much more reflect upon than any particular loss; and though your lordships have doubled the aids sent to my lord president, I am doubtful he will meet with many difficulties in the prosecution of the service there.

The late surrendering of Limerick castle hath given great encouragement to those in action, and it is affirmed, that store of powder is made in that town, and that from thence they are marched away with several pieces of ordnance; and in Thomond, Dermot O Brian M^e Teige is made commander, and with two pieces of ordnance intends to fall upon the castles there that are in possession of the English; so that if the armies about Dublin be not strong, and stirring abroad, we are like to have dangerous neighbours; and as this hath fallen out, I hope your lordships will not find cause to dislike the timely pacification of Galway. My lords, there is another particular in which I am overcome with daily importunities to be a suitor to your lordships, wherein I crave your pardon, if I move it unreasonably, or contrary to any course of justice, or reformation intended, which is, that many gentlemen of quality, both for birth and estate, by name Mr. Nicholas Plunket, Sir Thomas Nugent, Sir William Hill, Sir Oliver Tuite, Mr. Darcy of Platin, Mr. Christopher Fitz Williams, Mr. James Bath of Athcarne, and others of good note, make means to me by letters, professing their constant loyalty unto his majesty, and their aversion unto the course now pursued generally by the natives of this kingdom, and their innocence from any crime, only that their fear of both the English and Irish armies, and not their guilt, made them absent themselves and retire for safety among their friends and allies, whereof some, as I am informed, reside within this government, and some of them have been with me; and whatsoever offence any of their actions or omissions may carry by the laws of the kingdom, they seem in all humility and submission willing to implore his majesty's mercy and pardon for the same, and to redeem it with much remorse and grief, and all other ways that may be laid open, and made known unto them. I must freely confess unto your lordships, that the good opinion I have harboured (myself and my father before me) of those gentlemen, and my desire to minister consolation unto those that are in distress, and lie under so heavy affliction, hath thus far imboldened me to be an humble suitor in their behalf unto your lordships; living in a remote corner here, where, by the interception of letters and all intelligence, I am almost a stranger to all proceedings there against them or others, and unacquainted with any charge that may lie against them, and therefore do again crave your lordship's pardon, if I have offended herein, and your commands and directions for the time to come. Upon these and the like occasions, I should be glad, by his majesty's grace and goodness, and your lordships powerful intercessions, to be a messenger of comfort unto them, and others, so far as may not cross any design of his majesty's or your lordships for the reducing and settling of this unfortunate kingdom. I have, to the best of my memory and ability, given your lordships a large account of all passages and proceedings here; and submitting myself and endeavours to your lordship's censures and favourable consideration, I shall humbly take leave to remain

Your lordships faithful humble servant,

Portumna, the 27th of
June, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

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My

June 1642.

My letter to my lord justice Parsons, the 28th of June.

MY LORD,

To my lord
justice Par-
sons, the
28th of June.

I WANT ability to express my thankful acknowledgments for the great obligations your lordship hath put upon me by your noble, free, and large expressions, which confirms an assured confidence in me, that your lordship will continue a real true friend, and assist all just occasions of mine; and as I was before obliged to pay obedience to your publick commands, so now I shall hold myself tied to a strict observance of your lordship's private and particular counsels and advices, and, upon that confidence, I shall still presume to deliver my thoughts freely, though I shall submit my will, and use my power, for the prosecuting of the resolutions taken. My lord, when I moved for a cessation, I was not ignorant of the inhuman barbarous cruelties committed upon the English nation residing in this kingdom, by many wicked and desperate persons, and a probability that some might have designs, not only on the recent, but ancient plantations; neither was I so partial through any natural affection to my country, nor so void of duty, or regard to the honour of the king and state, as not to apprehend it necessary, and likewise to desire a large and full measure of justice and severity to fall upon those practisers of mischiefs; but my grounds were, that fire and sword having then made a sharp discovery of his majesty's high indignation, there being in my observation several sorts of offenders, some part of his mercy might appear by a distinction of punishment, which then, and since, hath fallen equally, not only upon capital offenders, and others less criminal, but even upon deserving servitors, that, by a cessation for a time, the confederacy would have been broken, the most guilty would have been forsaken, abhorred, and left to destruction; others to have their shares of severity upon a right understanding of the nature of their crimes, and all men by the law joined with power, brought insensibly, without danger, into a fit and sure subjection, without farther effusion of much innocent blood in all his majesty's dominions: These, my lord, were the apprehensions that drew me into that error, which I must now conceive to be so, since it stands in opposition to so able a judgment; but certainly some other way of moderation, upon particulars, may be agreeable to his majesty's greatness, the destruction and murders committed by the outrage of soldiers thereby prevented, now acted upon those that are protected by your lordships above, and known to be well deserving, which in present puts most men into high desperation.

My lord, I must now presume most humbly and earnestly to desire your lordship's advice and assistance in my own particular, being in a very dangerous and desperate condition, the hatred and malice almost of the whole nation being contracted upon me as the author of their ruin, by my relieving and preserving the fort at Galway; supplying Sir Charles Coote, and the garrisons of Roscommon, with powder; Sir Arthur Blundell with the same, and all other provisions; keeping intelligence and correspondence with Mr. Parsons (though hitherto unable to serve him otherwise by any power of mine); and the division and diversion I have made of the forces of Conaght from joining together on the other side; let my industry and endeavours be never so great, and that heaven and earth can witness with me, that no attempt or persuasions can move me to the least disloyalty, or breach of faith; yet I do know, and find it apparently in regard of my religion, and the dispositions of the times, I shall never be put into that trust or employment as to gain honour by my service, ease to the infinite burden of charge I am at, or, in probability, long keep myself in safety, nothing being more aimed at than my own person. Being in this state, I beseech your lordship deal freely with me, and let me know whether it be the only fit course I can take to repair into England with my wife and children, who, if I miscarry, will certainly fall into as great misery as any that have suffered in this kingdom; and if your lordship agree to this intention of mine, I humbly de-

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fire you will be pleased to appoint a good ship to come speedily to Galway to ^{June 1642.} convey us over; and to take some course that this county may be so governed, as that my friends that have stuck firm unto me, and my poor fortune here, may not be totally destroyed, having already suffered very far in other parts of the kingdom. Indeed, my lord, I had much rather end my days in prison in England, than enjoy any liberty this unfortunate kingdom can afford me. If your lordship pleases to assist me in this motion, the times are so dangerous in all places, that it will be necessary I carry with me from your lordship a licence, and a fair report of my endeavours here; and that my intention be privately carried, otherwise my own friends will hardly permit my departure from hence. Your lordship's consideration and direction in this business, is one of the greatest acts of favour and friendship you can afford me; and be pleased to pardon these tedious distracted lines, and vouchsafe ever to esteem me

Portumna, the 28th
of June, 1642.

Your lordship's most humble obliged servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the earl of Ormond, the 28th of June.

MY LORD,

YOUR lordship's of the 13th of this present, sent by Mr. Terence Coghlan, ^{To the earl of Ormond, the 28th of June.} I received on the 18th, being then upon the borders of Roscommon to meet my lord president. The assurance we thereby received of your lordship's speedy repair to Athlone, made our conference but short, and some considerable occasions called me back, yet with a resolution to wait upon your lordship; but neither my personal intentions, nor my letters that went before, could overtake your lordship, your return was so sudden. I am much joyed to find that my apprehension did move in such a way, as to meet and correspond with your lordship's noble thoughts for his majesty's service; and I shall endeavour so to guide my actions, as that they may constantly attend your lordship's proceedings for the advancement thereof, though, for the present, I have great cause to complain of the unruliness of some part of your lordship's army; upon their return to Dublin, contrary, I believe, to your lordship's resolution or knowledge, spoiling and destroying my whole manor of Rathwire, and many others protected by the state, who now do fill those parts with their sad complaints, and distract most mens minds to desperation, which, I doubt, will be of very dangerous consequence to this whole province, and render the service difficult for reducing of it, that by moderation, and granting protections to some, would be brought to obedience within a short time; but now I hear they gather all the forces they can make to encounter my lord president's new supplies, who met with a sharp welcome at their first coming. And the unseasonable and unnecessary exasperatings of captain Willoughby, of which I mention but one in my publick dispatch, doth much trouble and dishearten my friends and followers in this county; so that I am in a hard condition, being threatened from all parts. I have sent some additional motives to the state for my former proceedings, which if they do not give satisfaction, I do not know how to act better without assistance. Your lordship's noble favours preserves some comfort in me, and hopes for a better time, that may enable me to approve myself

Portumna, the 28th
of June, 1642.

Your lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

June 1642.

My letter to the King, the 28th of June.

May it please your MAJESTY,

To his majesty, the 28th of June.

SINCE I presumed to present some humble dispatches to your majesty of the 20th and 22d of January, I have beyond expectation, by the great mercy of God, preserved myself, friends, and family, in a reasonable condition, kept these parts in better obedience than other counties of this kingdom, and acted something that may deserve the name of service to your majesty, without assistance either from England, or the state here, of arms, ammunition, or command of men in your majesty's pay, and in the midst of tumults, threats, and high disorder; and though my troubles and afflictions were great, nothing could so deeply wound my heart, as in all this time not to receive one word of comfort from any of your majesty's ministers, that I was still preserved in your royal memory; nor no knowledge whether my letters attained to the happiness to be delivered, nor my messenger yet returned; and yet the clearness of my own thoughts, and my lively and ardent affection to serve your majesty, makes me still hope, that as my intentions were full of humility and duty, so the expressions derived from them, were not in the least kind offensive to your majesty; but that some other obstacle hath for this time diverted the course of your majesty's wonted favours to enlarge my future happiness, by a more plentiful stream of your majesty's bounty and goodness towards me, though the want of those comforts did much weaken my power. The opinion I upheld of your majesty's favour preserving obedience amongst my friends and dependants, and causing awe and respect amongst my enemies; the one, in hopes of the reward to be recommended unto your majesty's knowledge, the other, that upon repentance they might obtain a mitigation of severity; but being still kept in obscurity, and void of intelligence, some near to me in blood, joined with others, taking the intention of the time, and confederated with the town of Galway, then revolted; and though I was much amazed with the violence of this sudden storm, I summoned such friends as had stuck firm unto me for your majesty's service; and as formerly I had constantly relieved his majesty's fort, so then, notwithstanding the opposition of the besiegers, I put relief therein, until it was after plentifully relieved by sea from Dublin, and by diligence more than force, did so streighten and weary the town, and their adherents, that I drew them into a submission, and received them into your majesty's protection, until your gracious pleasure were further declared; and though the conditions were not such as others might exact, strengthened and encouraged by your majesty's forces and power; yet I hope I may affirm it was of some good consequence, consideration being taken of the dangerous state, not only of this county, but the whole province of Conaght.

Being newly informed by the lords justices and council, that my proceedings are sent over to be judged by your majesty and the parliament; lest their lordships might be sparing in the relation of those necessary circumstances belonging to that service, whereby I may suffer much in your majesty's opinion, I do therefore humbly present a copy of my letter to their lordships, for as much as concerns that particular, being additional to my former motives sent them; and to your majesty's clear and royal judgment, with all humility do submit.

I do likewise presume to send your majesty a copy of a late letter of mine to my lord justice Parsons; and his lordship not approving of the motion contained therein, I am commanded to proceed to acts of severity; but if that proposition may not sort with your majesty's justice for the punishing offences past, yet I humbly offer to your majesty's consideration, that some other course of moderation or distinction may be directed, since, at this present, the rigour of incensed force falls in a manner equally, not only upon capital offenders and less criminal, but even upon well-deserving servitors, natives of this kingdom; which, in my poor opinion and observation, will retard your service, and put all in desperation;

tion ; and, for my own particular, it will not only disable me from service, but ^{June 1642.} draw a certain ruin upon me, having not the honour to have English forces under my command ; but what I am to act, to be performed by those that conceive themselves destined to destruction, let their endeavours be never so loyal.

I have just cause to fear, and humbly acknowledge, that my proceedings in these unsettled times may be subject to much error, for which your royal goodness will vouchsafe a pardon, and be further graciously pleased to continue your former favours, that if any hard constructions, or misrepresentations, have been made of me, I may, by a knowledge thereof, be enabled to justify myself, since I take God to witness, as far as my life and fortune will extend, or my judgment direct me, I will ever be found

Your majesty's most humble and faithful subject and servant,

Portumna, the 28th of
June, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my brother the earl of Essex, the 28th of June.

MY LORD,

BEING informed by a late letter from the lords justices and council, that the papers of my proceedings with the town of Galway, and their adherents, were sent into England to be judged by the king and parliament, and their lordships being full of weighty employment, it may be probable they might forbear to express those necessary circumstances which I offered to their lordships consideration belonging to that service, and that thereby I might suffer in the opinion both of his majesty and of the parliament, for the manner of their submission, and my taking them into protection, I hold it a fitting duty to send some additional motives, expressed in a second dispatch to the lords justices ; the copy whereof, for as much as concerns that particular, your lordship will herewith receive, desiring you will be pleased to present the same in my behalf to the parliament, to take off, or mitigate any displeasure taken against my proceedings, which were really meant for acceptable service to the best of my power, and the condition I was in ; and, all circumstances considered, I will hope they may receive some approbation ; and, if that particular, or any other actions of mine have been subject to a hard construction, or misrepresentation, nature, and your own noble inclinations, teacheth me to be confident that you will preserve my honour and reputation, until, by a knowledge thereof, I may be made able to justify myself. My lord, though the outrageous cruelties that have been put upon the English nation here do deserve a high proportion of justice and severity, which hath not been sparingly prosecuted ; yet I beseech you take it into your care and consideration, that some speedy course may be thought of, and directed, that the fury and rigour of incensed forces may not pursue the punishment in that manner as is now acted ; for at this present, it lights equally not only upon capital offenders and others less criminal, but even upon well-deserving servitors, which I cannot conceive done by any rule or decree of state ; and which, in my own particular, must not only disable me for service, but render me up to ruin, having no English forces under my command ; that which I am to act being performed by those, whose apprehensions, terrified by these proceedings, conceive that they are destined to misery and destruction, let their endeavours be never so loyal. I have little now to say, but that at present I enjoy some quiet ; but threatened hard to be destroyed by my neighbours for relieving Sir Charles Coote, and the garrisons of Roscommon, with powder ; and supplying Sir Arthur Blundell at Fort Falkland, in the King's county, with powder, and all manner of provision, who otherwise must needs have perished ; and I

A a a

shall

June 1642. I shall endeavour this week to furnish Mr. Parsons at Birr, with some things most wanting to him, which is, and hath been from the beginning, a work of very great difficulty, and not yet attempted by greater forces that have been near it, only Sir Charles Coote, not long before his death, did suddenly put ammunition therein, with his troops of horse; these places are out of my government, which my ill neighbours esteem works of supererogation; but now I must make known my own wants, which is, that if I be not supplied with good tobacco out of England, I cannot hold it longer than Michaelmas, for other assistance, I hope time will discover. I might have deserved a greater trust, and that you might safely have conferred favours, and condescended to the earnest request of

Your most affectionate brother to serve you,

Portumna, the 28th of
June, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

As I was finishing these dispatches, I received a letter from my lord president of Conaght, desiring a meeting with me upon the borders of Roscommon, that we might advise of the fittest course for the present service, before all were destroyed by fire and sword; and to restrain those who yet remained well-affected to the general peace and settlement of the kingdom from running into desperation. His lordship was further pleased to desire, that I would furnish him with six score pounds worth of bisket to be made at Loughreagh, and from thence to be carried to such places as we should resolve upon for the advance of the forces then with him; and further requested, that I would supply Mr. Lefstrange at Raghra with some proportions of wheat, malt, powder, match, and lead.

My letter to my lord president of Conaght, the 28th of June.

MY LORD,

To my lord
president of
Conaght,
the 28th of
June.

I RECEIVED a letter from you last night by my cousin William Moore, wherein you are pleased to honour me with some commands, that would be of advantage to your lordship for the prosecution of the present service; my endeavours shall ever contribute thereto the best I can; but indeed, my lord, I grow into such an unhappy condition, as I fear will make me useless to my friends, and unable to preserve myself. Your lordship desires six score pounds worth of corn to be speedily made into bisket at Loughreagh; I presume I shall, with little difficulty, provide the corn, but I know not any that can make the bisket, nor could I get any for my own small army during my stay before Galway; but if your lordship sends experienced bakers thither, they shall not want materials; there came great quantities of bisket to the fort of Galway in several ships, and if your lordship sends to captain Willoughby, he may likewise furnish your lordship with some good proportion, my interest there being not much at this present. It is not now possible for me to name any certain time for my waiting upon your lordship, until I hear what becomes of the great assembly gathered in the county of Mayo yesterday, or how far their persuasions may work upon some unsettled dispositions of this county, of both which I expect good intelligence to-morrow night at Loughreagh. I am doubtful that the notice already taken of the resolutions of high severity, and the putting this kingdom to sale in England, as is given out, doth put men into such a course of desperation, as that there will be few found capable of your lordship's noble and moderate intentions, and my assistance in that service not so considerable as I did hope for; and as I find malice gather round about me for my opposition to their courses, so I perceive I am not to expect much strength or countenance to preserve me, more than your lordship's particular favour, in which I shall ever confide. These difficulties I should hope to overcome in time, and, in spite of distrust, appear full of that honour and duty, which inheritance, and my own inclination, shall ever preserve me in.

But

But that which doth most perplex me is, to find the amazed and troubled dispositions of my nearest friends, who though I persuade myself they will not forsake me, yet with what courage can they act any thing, when they conceive themselves destined to destruction, let their endeavours be never so loyal? or how expect preservation by my means, whom they conclude unable to protect myself? Some of the grounds of these suspicions I observe to be the neglect of my friends in England to supply me in any kind, the not obtaining of so much command as of a troop of horse, after long and earnest solicitation; the spoil and destruction, in a manner greater than any where else, over my whole lordship of Rathwire, and all others that, by my former intercession, had protections from the state, who now fill these parts with their sad complaints, and therein I may discern the friendship of the serjeant-mayor. But that which I most apprehend will kindle a flame beyond my power to extinguish, is a late strange proceeding of captain Willoughby, who came out into the country, now all quiet, on this side of Galway, with his trumpet and troop of horse, for which I am sure he hath no commission; and upon some slight pretence of complaint of a small extortion, he besets a house, and takes prisoner a serjeant of a company, under the command of my lord Clanmorris, a well-experienced soldier, binds him, takes him to the fort, and there immediately hangs him, rejects a very respectful letter of my lord's unto him, not vouchsafing an answer; this act, so rash and unfit in itself, without relation to others, so destructive to my lord Clanmorris, as a person of quality, a friend, and a neighbour, so high an affront upon me and my government, is discoursed of with so much passion throughout the county, that I much doubt the effects thereof, though I qualify it as much as may be; and am sorry that a person I have so particularly cherished, besides the care of the publick service, should thus injure both himself and me: besides that, I find his bent and inclination is to make disturbance, himself being safe and well furnished in the fort. I am likewise newly informed of some difference between him and the town of Galway about the election of a mayor, the old mayor being sick, and unfit for employment, wherein, I conceive, he was in the right; but how the town apprehends it, I must be inquisitive of. By these particulars your lordship may perceive what a perplexed condition I am in, of force to distract a much more noble judgment than mine. As soon as I come to Loughreagh, I will endeavour to give your lordship a clear information of the state of my own affairs, and better satisfaction to your lordship's desires, and will be ever found

Your lordship's most affectionate friend to serve you,

Portumna, the 28th of
June, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P. S. I must humbly desire your lordship to take the relieving Mr. Lestrange into your own care; it would be of some ill consequence to me at this present, as shortly I shall farther inform your lordship.

About this time I received a letter from the lord archbishop of Tuam, with two petitions from some of the clergy and laity residing with him in the fort, and in the town of Galway, desiring to be settled in their cures, and reparation for their losses.

My letter to the archbishop of Tuam, the 29th of June.

MY LORD,

I Received a letter from you the last night, with two petitions inclosed from the English clergy and laity of this county; and I assure your lordship, it hath been my continual care and study how to settle them in their livings, estates, and

June 1642 and possessions, with most safety and advantage; and I conceive, that until the forces coming to my lord president have advanced, and done service upon our neighbouring counties, and shall likewise be in a readiness to assist me, if there be occasion, it cannot be seasonably, nor securely done; but I shall within a few days give your lordship a more clear resolution in this particular, by which it shall appear, that nothing shall be wanting to them that my power and authority can procure for their good. For the present, I cannot but take notice of an aspersions laid upon me in one of the petitions, that I have been the cause to divert the English army from coming to their relief and settlement, which is a very unworthy and unjust either surmise or information; and observing it written in a hand that hath relation to your lordship, and inclosed in a letter of your own, I am sorry it past by without your lordship's notice and reprehension. I have been always ready to pay you those respects that might best express me

Your lordship's assured friend to serve you,

Portumna, the 29th of
June, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The several dispatches and letters, remonstrances of complaints, and all proceedings between the fort, and town of Galway, and my letters and directions to them, being very large and intricate, I shall leave them to be entered in a book by themselves, from the time of concluding the pacification the 13th of May, (except some few passages already entered) until the arrival of the lord Forbes, and his additional forces in August.

The third of this month, hearing of the bishop of Killalla's intention to depart speedily from Galway by sea to Dublin, I thought fit to write unto him concerning the present state of affairs here.

My letter to the bishop of Killalla, the 3d of July.

MY LORD,

To the bp of
Killalla and
Rofs.

THE time of your intended departure drawing near, I am obliged to salute you, though at this time burdened with many troublesome thoughts, and large dispatches, and to give you assurance, that at a greater distance I will be as ready to continue my respects as here. I have endeavoured to be assisting to you in such manner as the distempers of the time would permit.

It is probable your lordship will be called upon by the state to deliver your knowledge of these parts, wherein I shall desire, that as your lordship's own inclinations will invite you to give testimony of the good and loyal affections which you may observe in some, so you will not be sparing to deliver your knowledge of those whom you find to be ill-disposed, that a right representation may there be made, by a judgment and temper that cannot be wrought upon, or drawn into error by any particular ends. Your lordship is likely to be accompanied by those persons and dispatches that will run with a bias all one way, little to the advantage of the publick service, or their own particular good, having already begun somewhat too early to discover the height of their revengeful intentions, which may produce ill effects not easily to be quieted, and hath diverted the course of my proceedings, which was by a free consent of the county to have supplied the fort constantly with fresh meat; and likewise to have taken into consideration how to have settled the English with safety and good satisfaction, for their sufferings and injuries done them, the crying sin of blood having not lain heavy here; passions of both sides might have been the more easily overcome, and some short time, with power and justice, might have framed a right and well-disposed settlement.

The

The late actions and proceedings of the captain of the fort, and the extent of ^{July 1642.} power he pretends unto over the whole county at large, is of that nature as cannot stand with that government intrusted to me by his majesty, which, I presume, the state will not think fit to discharge me of; and yet certainly I must not hold it without preservation of my honour, and authority to support it. Your lordship will find the truth of my first expressions by this large relation, which hath given some ease to the troubles of my mind, imparting myself to so worthy and true a friend; and I should not be disquieted so much, if the quality of the person were equal to the greatness of the injury, &c.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord bishop of Killalla's answer, the 4th of July.

MY LORD,

WHAT your lordship hath given me in trust, if God bring me happily to ^{From the} Dublin, if affectionately and zealously I deliver not myself for the king's ^{bishop of} honour and service, and your lordship's noble deserts, let me be judged such a ^{Killalla, and} man as the worst do interpret me to be; if there be an error of imprudence, let ^{Ross.} the censure be my own. My lord, be pleased to remember, if at Terrellan that which I feared from the fort hath not now appeared; the greater will be your glory, with the beams of your noble worth, to disperse these terrestrial vapours. Virtue and nobility was never able to appear, but in the field of difficulty. I dare to say, it is not the gentleman's fault who hath the trust above his reach, but the advice of more perverse, or weak pates. I have encountered with some passages and humours since these humorous ways have fallen out, which have made me express more impatience than all my sufferings in this kingdom; yet I am hopeful in the end, it shall appear my judgment was not perverted, or corrupted by bribery. My lord, God will bless your ways; and I am confident neither wise nor honest men will blame your honour's sincerity, or prudence in your ways. Let me beg one thing, which I shall never fail to beg of God Almighty, that you be careful to secure your own person, lady, and children; if any thing fall forth that way, which God forbid, your lordship will have your reward with God; but your noble service may be forgotten, and your friends and servants suffer. These are the weak expressions of a strong affection and zeal to your honour, of him who truly accounts it his greatest happiness ever to be,

MY LORD,

Galway, the 4th of
July, 1642.

Your most bounden client and humble servant,

JO. ROSSENSIS.

About this time I received letters from my lord president of Conaght, one of the 29th of June, and the other the first of this present, both of them expressing an earnest desire for a meeting between us upon the borders of Roscommon, and if I could not speedily remove thither, that I would send Mr. justice Donnellan to confer with him before his advancing into Conaght, with a resolution to be much swayed by my advice, and to hold a correspondence with me in the course of moderation he intended to run; to settle peace in the province, and to deliver it from perpetual destruction; that, in regard it was dangerous for Englishmen to travel, he did forbear to send any to bake the bisket, but desired half the proportion of wheat I had provided might be converted to loaves of bread of four pound weight, well baked and wrought, to continue firm for three weeks, or a month, which he found would better content the soldiers than bisket.

July 1642.

That he found it the endeavour of those in action to put distress upon the forces by flying with their cattle, and stopping the access of corn to the garrison of Athlone; that many great droves of cattle were driven out of that county into the county of Galway, which he was confident should not be sheltered by my consent or allowance, and therefore desired liberty, and warrant from me for the pursuit of them.

My letter to my lord president of Conaght, the 4th of July.

MY LORD,

To my lord
president of
Conaght.

SOME large dispatches both into England, and to the state at Dublin, that doth very nearly concern me, have so taken up my thoughts and time, that I could not sooner, in writing, give your lordship the satisfaction I desired; and the rash inconsiderate acts of the captain of the fort falling upon both town and county, and even those who, with most affection and forwardness, assisted me, and relieved him in times of greatest danger and trouble, have so disquieted and perplexed all men, and put so great a distraction upon my proceedings, that I know not what course to take to prevent the mischiefs I foresee, by their discovering their revengeful intentions towards the natives of this county, whom I did soon hope to have brought into so good a disposition, that it was a chief occasion of my coming thither by a general consent of the county, to have provided plenty of fresh meat for the companies of the fort, and to have taken into consideration how to have settled the English with safety, and a good satisfaction for their former sufferings, and injuries done them. The crying sin of blood, having not lain heavy here, passions of both sides might have been the more easily overcome, and some short time, joined with power and justice, might have framed a right and well-disposed settlement; but now the violence, and the outrage committed, and the threats of greater cruelties, and the violation of the king's word and honour engaged, allowed of by the state, and his own publick faith given, his sallies of horse and foot, and likewise those of the ship, doth render my undertakings contemptible to all men; and the extent of power he pretends unto by a late commission over the town and county at large, would reduce me into that condition, as from being the governor, I should in effect be wholly governed by him. This being my present condition, until my honour and authority be righted, I cannot serve your lordship in a much better condition than that of a private person; and so as a careful master of a family, I may be able to furnish your lordship with that proportion of corn, out of which I had gathered for my own provision; the mills here have been likewise out of tune; but I have given orders to hasten what your lordship desires, though, I doubt, I shall find bakers very scarce, slow, and unskilful.

Concerning the cattle that are brought into this county out of Roscommon, it is far from my desire, or intention, that they should have any shelter here, and have therefore appointed a declaration to be published, that none be admitted to come in, and those already brought hither to be driven back, unless your lordship give me intimation of some particulars, that you may esteem worthy to be spared in the prosecution of the intended service, and this I hold the fittest course at this present; lest the unruliness of the soldiers, not easily restrained, coming in pursuit of them, might, contrary to your lordship's desire, do such mischief and prejudice here, as might raise a dangerous and unseasonable distemper; it being strongly reported, Mayo and Sligo are coming with forces, either upon your lordship, or me, or both of us.

The castle of Limerick is rendered up, and a fair quarter given; and colonel Barry in the field about Killmallock, with three pieces of ordnance; and Dermott O Bryan M^c Teige commandeth the forces of Thomond, and hath two pieces of ordnance, and intends to fall upon the castles there in possession of the English. If the English armies about Dublin be not the more active, and stirring

stirring abroad, I am doubtful we shall find them dangerous and troublesome ^{July 1642.} neighbours.

The differences between the fort, town, and county, are yet so unsettled, that I cannot with any conveniency wait upon your lordship upon the borders of Roscommon, nor spare Mr. justice Donnellan's necessary assistance; but if your lordship shall still insist thereupon, as that which may be of advantage to your lordship, I will endeavour to dispose so of my affairs, as that I may attend upon you to-morrow sevensnight, and sooner it will not be possible for me to comply with your lordship's desires in that particular.

I send your lordship here inclosed a letter from captain Willoughby; and for the interception of your lordship's letters, I have sent to captain Teige Kelly, who I am sure will be much troubled at that accident, and a diligent enquirer, and severe punisher of that offence, in which I doubt not to give your lordship very soon full satisfaction; and shall in all actions of mine endeavour to be constantly found

Your lordship's most affectionate friend to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 4th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord president of Conaght, the 6th of July.

MY LORD,

AT this instant I have received your lordship's letter of the 4th of this month, ^{My lord president of Conaght.} and do with grief of mind apprehend the evil consequences that may ensue by the unadvised proceedings of captain Willoughby in this fickle time, when experienced men, both interested and intrusted, cannot easily find out the way to prevent sudden mischiefs, nor to contain them from running into desperation, as I begin to doubt some of my neighbours in the adjoining counties of Westmeath and Roscommon, that hitherto have reserved themselves intire, will now forsake my counsels, by the example of that sad accident which lately happened, by the killing of Christopher Magawly, notwithstanding his protection from the state, grounded upon a recommendation of mine.

Seeing your lordship's occasions will not afford you liberty to come towards the borders of the county before Tuesday next, I shall now think of some other way to employ the forces under my command, than what I intended when I first moved your lordship for a proportion of corn at Loughreagh; and as I am humbly thankful to your lordship for your readiness to comply with me in that request, so now having cleared my thoughts from putting that burden upon you, or expecting any fresh supply of biscuit from the fort, I have taken a resolution to bend my course another way, yet with good intentions towards the province of Conaght; if, by their timely addresses to your lordship, they shall put themselves into the same condition whereunto they were formerly inclinable, and give me matter to work upon for the preservation of such, as by their good affections to the general good of the kingdom, may render themselves capable of his majesty's grace and favour.

If your lordship shall conceive this overture of mine (which indeed I had reserved for our personal meeting) may be set on foot as the desire of the country, I shall express my own forwardness to prevent those sad events which other ways may happen, and be yet ready to interpose my strength both in England and Ireland, for reducing things to a better temper than at the present they seem to be in; and in this it will be very necessary, that I receive your lordship's opinion and advice by Saturday night at farthest; so, my noble lord, I kiss your hands, whilst I remain

Your lordship's most humble and affectionate servant,

Athlone-Castle, the 26th of July,
1642, nine in the morning.

RANELAGH.

July 1642.

The rash violent proceedings of the captains of the fort and ship, and the little respect they shewed to me, began now to stir up very bad humours generally throughout the country, and in particular upon my lord Clanmorris, who had been constantly obedient to me, and very active in all service; I put him upon both, for suppressing disorders in the country, and to assist and supply the fort; he now began to absent himself from me, and to hearken to the counsels of rash and ill-affected persons, and, by their advice, by letter, charged me with neglect of my country, friends, and kindred, and an insensibility of the wrongs and injuries done me and them, and want of care to provide for their preservation, and that therefore he and they would have a regard to their own safeties, by resisting the insolencies of those of the fort, and being revenged of them. In all things else he would be advised, and obedient to my commands.

My letter to my lord Clanmorris, the 9th of July, 1642.

MY LORD,

To my lord
Clanmorris.

YOU are much mistaken if you apprehend I am not very tender and sensible of affronts, or injuries done me, or that I am not careful to make the punishment severe, with least prejudice to myself, or those that have relation to me; they that only look upon the time present, without consideration of the future, must run into many rash errors, now grown the common disease. The ways you propose of revenge, and defence of the country, will destroy both, and you will draw upon you the country's curse, instead of the preservation of it, and bring in the English army, and consequently others; and being so made the seat of the war, what will then be the case of the poor country is easily to be discerned; and if you had repaired unto me, as you ought to have done, you would have found resolutions of more discretion for preservation of the country.

The unkindness, or disobedience of so near a kinsman, will appear a greater affront upon me, and injury upon yourself, than captain Willoughby can offer to either of us; and your taking ways, contrary to my advice, will stir up, and draw that resort of ill company to you, that you will, too late, wish were absent from you. To conclude, I require you upon sight hereof to repair immediately unto me, to receive and observe those directions I shall think fit to give, and must be obeyed without distinction or exceptions. My love and care of you is so great, that I must not see you abused by those ill-disposed persons, that take advantage of your present passions, contrary to the good intentions of

Your lordship's affectionate cousin,

Loughreagh, the 9th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

About this time I received letters from my kinsman Redmond Burke of Killcornan, making great apologies for some reports raised of him, with many protestations of his constant resolutions to be guided by me, and to continue obedient to my commands, with his forwardness to join in supplying the fort, that they might have no pretence to fall abroad; and though I was much displeased with him for former ill carriages, yet the times being so fickle, I thought it best to pass them over, and to give him encouragement to continue his present good purposes and professions.

My letter to my cousin Redmond Burke of Killcornan, the 12th of July.

Cousin REDMOND,

To my cousin
Redmond
Burke.

I Received a letter from you yesterday, which gave me much content and satisfaction; and you holding constant to those resolutions, it is not to be doubted but it will prove for your own particular, and the general good of this country;

county; for besides the future danger and blemish, it were much to be lamented that some rash, inconsiderate, or spiteful acts of the captains of the fort and ship, or the danger of losing a few cattle, should be a provocation to act any thing that might hazard the drawing in of forces into this county, to make havock and destruction therein, which, by God's mercy, hath hitherto been preserved in a good state of plenty, in the midst of miseries and calamities of other places; and by the divine providence of almighty God, many alterations may happen before any imminent danger or prejudice may fall upon this county, if by our own errors we do not draw it upon ourselves; and certainly we shall have a great advantage either for peace or war by a present preservation. For the report of the captains coming upon you with ordnance, it might be the prating of some drunken soldiers; but it cannot be possible that the captains can be so unanswerably indiscreet, as to hazard the king's ordnance so far into the country, and no more men to defend or convoy them safe back. I send you herewith the warrant for the provision for the fort, which I recommend to your care to be speedily effected, to prevent any farther prejudice or disorder. I have sent dispatches both to the state, and into England, and if they meet with a safe passage, I doubt not but a return will afford full satisfaction to those that are now grieved and disturbed, and that my care hath not been wanting where I might best employ it; I have now no more to say but, &c.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Mr. John Bermingham, merchant of Galway, 13th of July.

Mr. JOHN BERMINGHAM,

HIS majesty's fort being in want of several provisions, which hath occasioned much trouble and disorder of late, both in town and country; for the future prevention thereof, and that I may not appear remiss in so important a service, I am resolved, that there cannot be a better, quieter, nor cheaper course taken, than to furnish captain Willoughby with ready money to make his own provisions at the best rates; and for the effecting thereof, knowing that there is money lying in your hands for tobacco, which cannot be better employed than upon this urgent occasion, I must earnestly desire you, and expect the careful performance thereof, that you forthwith deliver two hundred pounds unto captain Willoughby for supplying of the garrison there; and if his acquittance, and mine, for so much received to that use, be not a sufficient discharge unto you to secure that money, to be allowed by the state, I will give you good security for the payment of it upon demand, together with what I have formerly borrowed of you, and shall recommend your care and forwardness therein to the state for your best advantage: and I pray you fail not to do it with expedition, for it doth very much import the present service, and the peace, quiet and safety of the whole government; and let me hear speedily from you, so as may add to my former desires to express myself

To Mr. John
Berming-
ham, mer-
chant of
Galway.

Your very loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 13th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Mr. Bermingham, upon sight, the same day, undertook payment of the two hundred pounds, and paid it the next day to captain Willoughby; and the country at the same time, at my importunity, resolved to send him supplies of fresh meat, notwithstanding the great spoils he had causelessly made.

C c c

Upon

July 1642. Upon the 14th I received letters from my lord president of Conaght, dated the 12th, advertizing me of his then being before the castle of Ballagh, that he had made a breach, and was in hopes to take it speedily, if not diverted by the forces of the county of Mayo, whom report gave out to be coming upon him with multitudes; likewise informing he had received several intelligences, that many gentlemen of good quality in this county would forsake me, and adhere to the contrary party now grown desperate; yet if it might sort with my conveniency, and might be possible to reduce the people to some temper by his endeavours and mine, he would still advise a present meeting at the former place; but if my intelligence did inform me, that our advices, or interposition, should not incline the better sort to be persuaded by us, it did much concern him to know what might be expected from them, and desired my opinion with expedition, being still very hopeful, that notwithstanding many unhappy accidents that had confirmed the people in a fear of not being received to mercy, my former propositions by his negociation might receive life.

My letter to my lord president of Conaght, the 14th of July.

MY LORD,

To my lord
president of
Conaght.

SINCE the receipt of your letter this morning, I am informed, that the castle of Ballagh is surrendered unto your lordship; and, in the first place, I congratulate your lordship's good success, and do wish it may prove a happy beginning to your future fortunate proceedings. I understand out of the county of Mayo, that they are not yet settled in their resolutions, and that they hold some suspicions of their general, and that yesterday they were to have another assembly or meeting; what that shall produce, as soon as I receive intelligence I shall hasten it to your lordship, and shall desire the same, if your lordship shall receive notice of it.

I have observed much discontent and distraction in many gentlemen of quality, both in regard of the accidents abroad, and the rash proceedings, and more idle threats and speeches, of the commanders of the fort and ship, upon the access of more forces to them; but I do hope I have again brought my friends into some good temper, if captain Willoughby's trumpet may be kept a while within his limits. I have in the midst of their discontents prevailed with them to send him forty beeves, and eighty sheep, for this month, and procured him two hundred pounds to make his other provisions at best rates; and if he will be respectful, and satisfied with this, I doubt not to double that proportion the next month, if there be occasion; but if he again put them into distempers, I cannot hope to keep them in their due obedience: and, if your lordship shall so please, I conceive it necessary that you give him some touch, that any rupture in this county would be of ill consequence, and a dangerous retarding of your proceedings, for the prosecution of the general service of the whole province; for, I believe, his young judgment conceives that my advices are all in favour of the country, and not a provident forecast of the ill consequences that may ensue by such early discoveries of revengeful intentions, which, I conceive, need not be so sharp here, as where blood doth call for deserved punishment.

I have several ways sent to try the inclinations of many of the better sort of the province, but have not yet received any return, whether they will make themselves capable of your lordship's noble intentions, or of my intercession or mediation with your lordship for favour and moderation in their behalf; and if that were known, I would, with all expedition, wait upon your lordship at the place appointed; but until then, I can do your lordship but little service, and may run some hazard in another place, being newly informed, that some of the King's county and Ormond do begin to stir and trespass upon the borders of this county, occasioned, as I hear, by some indiscretion of one Bigo, that dwells
in

in a corner of this county. I do much wonder it is so dead a time for news; ^{July 1642} have heard nothing these many days, neither from about Dublin, nor from Munster, or any other part; I hope by Saturday I shall know some certainty in answer to what your lordship proposeth, and that it may be such as may give me good occasion to offer my speedy attendance upon your lordships, which is much desired by

Your lordship's affectionate and faithful friend to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 14th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 14th of July, 1642.

MY LORD,

BY my dispatch of the 27th of the last month, which I first endeavoured to send by land, and after sent to Galway to be conveyed by sea, I gave ^{To the Lords Justices.} your lordships a large information of my proceedings, and all other passages here, and of the hopeful ways that were intended for the supplying of his majesty's fort, and preserving and settling the English in other parts of the country, though interrupted by the rash act of the execution of my lord Clanmorris's serjeant, which is still subject to much discourse, as it reflects upon my lord and me, as likewise the man being well allied in the country; but since that time scarce any day passes without great complaints of the fort and ship, falling out with their soldiers and trumpet, and troop of horse, burning and breaking open houses, taking away goods, preying of the cattle with ruin and spoil, rather than supply to themselves, not only upon those that are protected, but upon them that were most forward to relieve and assist them, and not sparing mine, frequently upon fancy or rumour, without examining the occasion, shooting his ordinance into the town, or threatening to do it, keeping disorderly centries at every gate, abusing those that offer to go out, offering to take them prisoners to the fort, and to exercise martial law upon them; killing and robbing poor people that come to market, burning their fisherboats, and not suffering them to go out, and no punishment inflicted upon any that commit outrages; and, as I am well informed, acting most things without any regard to the king's honour engaged, or any respect at all to me in action, though much in profession. My sense thereof, and the claim of power he makes over this county at large, your lordships may observe by a copy of a letter of mine sent unto him, which hath taken little good effect, and to your lordships consideration I offer it. These particulars, my lords, do so distemper and disquiet all mens thoughts, even those that have been most forward to do service, that it will not only make difficult the supplying of him by fit and orderly ways, but like to be of most dangerous consequence at this time, when Mayo, Sligo, Thomond, and other counties, have prepared forces, and are ready to fall upon my lord president and myself. I must therefore most humbly and earnestly intreat your lordships to take a speedy course, that the country may be quieted, and satisfied, that destruction is not intended against the well-affected, that I may be repaired in my honour, and preserved in authority, now grown into contempt, and that important place governed with more discretion, with relation to my advice and direction; or that your lordships will be pleased to discharge me of the burden of this government, for in this manner I may no longer hold it, with disservice to his majesty, and danger and dishonour to myself; and that your lordships will vouchsafe that addition of favour, as to pardon for the safety of myself, wife, and family, by giving order for a good ship to come speedily to Galway for the transporting us over into England; and, in the mean time I shall use all possible diligence to allay distempers, and divert dangers; and no disrespect, or unkindness of particular persons, shall make me neglect the fort, or publick service of
the

July 1642. the county, knowing how far my duty is therein concerned; and I do now most humbly take leave of your lordships, and shall ever be found

Loughreagh, the 14th
of July, 1642.

Your lordships most humble and assured servant,

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord justice Parsons, the 14th of July.

MY LORD,

To my lord
justice Par-
sons.

I AM very sorry that without neglect of duty to the king's service, and the particular safety of the fort, together with my own honour, publickly affronted, I could not forbear to make my earnest complaint of captain Willoughby, whose passions and imperfections I have ever laboured to hide and excuse out of my respects to his father; but they are grown to that height, that they may not be longer concealed, though I am still unwilling to publish those that are most dangerous, only to your lordship, that may provide safety with least disgrace; besides the complaints in my dispatch, I am now to inform your lordship, that he is so extreamly profuse, and improvident in his expences, that what provisions your lordships send him, or England hath supplied him with, or my credit or endeavours can procure for him, will not be sufficient; and, by a late letter from him, he vows and protests that all his winter provision is already spent, which did so much amaze me, that I thought fit to give your lordship speedy notice thereof, for prevention of future danger; for truly, my lord, if he will be expensive, and offensive at one time, all the power and industry I can put together cannot supply him; besides, the truth is, those expences occasion disorders, and that produceth passions and distempers unfit for such a command; and if ill consequences follow, I have discharged my duty by a timely information; and such an opinion is held of him, his humour, and breach of promise, that there can never be any good agreement between him, the town, and country; and, for my own part, such are the prejudices, dangers, and dishonour that falls upon me thereby, that I must renew my former suit for my departure into England, that this government may be managed by some person of more ability, and better encouraged and countenanced, though none more loyal to his majesty, nor more affectionate and respective to your lordship, than

Your most humble and assured servant,

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

I received letters out of Munster from my lord Burke of Brittas, and his lady, my great aunt, bemoaning the lamentable condition of the times, inquisitive and careful for my safety, and recommending their son Sir John Burke to my care and protection; and sent me a letter of his, desiring my recommendation in his behalf to the earl of Ormond, and the lord Lisle.

My letter to my lord Burke of Brittas, the 15th of July.

MY LORD,

To my lord
Burke of
Brittas.

NONE can be more sensible of the sad distempers of the time than myself, being deprived thereby of the great content and happiness I did confidently hope to receive, after so many years absence from my native country, being now arrived to be an unfortunate witness of the misery and calamity that doth threaten all parts of the kingdom, and hath already produced many woful effects of desolation; and I cannot find many disposed, or inclined to apply fit remedies for preservation, but rather fresh fomenters, and increasers of a disease,
already

already grown to a dangerous height of distemper; in what condition your lordship hath kept yourself in these distractions is unknown to me; but, I presume, your long experience hath directed you to walk in just and warrantable ways; and I am guided by the example of my ancestors, rather than by any plausible or general pretences, though I shall not be failing to use my best endeavours and intercessions, for the good and preservation of this poor kingdom, when they shall be inclined to make them capable of his majesty's grace and mercy. I give your lordship many thanks for the hawk you are pleased to send me; and I will not despair but that there may be a time for such recreations, the violence of this storm being too great to continue long; and a fair season may, by God's mercy, suddenly fall out when least expected; and I shall be very glad that all times and occasions may afford me means to give testimony of my being

Your lordship's affectionate kinsman to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 15th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my aunt, the lady Burke of Brittas, the 15th of July.

Noble Aunt,

THE tumultuous and unfortunate disorders of this time have wholly diverted the happiness I expected upon my arrival into this kingdom; and I account it none of the least misfortunes that I am thereby debarred the personal knowledge of yourself, so full of worth, and near to me in blood: I hope in good time we shall meet with comfort, after this violence of the tempest is blown over; and when God's wrath is satisfied for our past offences, his mercy will abundantly appear, if by perseverance in bad actions we do not draw a continued scourge upon ourselves, which God of his infinite goodness divert, and guide us to the best performance of his holy will. Your son, I conceive, is for the present in a good condition, and it may be better than in other parts, where he would not meet with that example, and good occasions I hold him worthy of: I shall contribute my best endeavours for his preservation, both in present and future; and wherein my service may be most useful to any affairs wherein your ladyship is concerned, I will with all true faith and diligence approve myself

To my aunt
the lady
Burke of
Brittas.

Your ladyship's most affectionate nephew,

Loughreagh, the 15th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the earl of Ormond, the 15th of July.

MY LORD,

I Am very glad of all occasions that do afford me means to carry my service and respects unto your lordship, and do take hold of this with much content and comfort, being in the behalf of my kinsman Sir John Burke, who hath continued constant in his resolutions to be guided and directed by me in these distempered and much distracted times. His residence is in the county of Kildare, not far from Sir John Gifford, who can, and will, I presume, be ready to give your lordship a good testimony of his carriage, and loyal deportment, during these troubles; and according to that rule, I recommend him to your lordship's favour and noble protection, and that he may receive countenance and assistance

To the earl
of Ormond.

July 1642. assistance from your lordship, in all just occasions, which will add much to my many former obligations, to serve your lordship with the best affection of

Your lordship's most humble and assured servant,

Loughreagh, the 15th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord Lisle, the 15th of July.

MY LORD,

To the lord
Lisle.

THE happiness I expected to receive by my lord your father's government in this kingdom, was a principal motive to invite me hither after a long absence; but the unfortunate distempers of this time make this place unworthy of receiving so noble a person, and hath only brought me to be the sad witness of ruin and desolation; but your lordship's arrival revives my hopes, that though his lordship's coming hath been for a time deferred, yet not so diverted, but that he may shortly appear with comfort to the afflicted, and increase of honour to himself. It was lately a great addition to my other afflictions, that I could not overtake your lordship at Athlone, and that you should be so near my poor habitation, and myself not made happy by your much desired presence.

My lord, I must beg leave to presume upon your former favours, and knowledge of me, as to desire your lordship's care, assistance, and protection, unto a near kinsman of mine, Sir John Burke, residing in the county of Kildare, who, I am confident, will deserve your lordship's taking notice of him, by all ways of service and respect within the compass of his power; and no longer than he daily pays that observance to your lordship, shall I own his relation to me. His friendly neighbour, Sir John Gifford, can give your lordship a right character of him; his carriage and deportment in these doubtful and searching times, and to his testimony I shall refer him, and my request unto your lordship; and myself, with all watchful diligence, shall attend those occasions that may best approve me

Your lordship's most humble and assured servant,

Loughreagh, the 15th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir John Burke, the 16th of July.

Noble Cousin,

YOUR letter of the 4th of this month afforded me much content, giving me assurance of your well being, and that you have preserved yourself in a good condition, to make my applications and intercessions useful to you, for your present safety and future advantage. I do now, according to your desire, send you herewith two letters, for the earl of Ormond and my lord Lisle, not doubting but you will receive the benefit of their lordships favour and assistance, answerable to your own worth, and my earnest mediation, which shall be at all times freely and readily employed, where it may best approve me

Your truly affectionate cousin,

Loughreagh, the 16th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My

July 1642.

My letter to Teige Kelly of Aghrim, Richard Dillon of Clonbrock, Allaghlin Donnellan, and the rest of the gentlemen of the barony of Kilconnel, the 17th of July.

GENTLEMEN,

I Understand of two meetings held already, and another intended to-morrow, by your authority, at Kilconnel, which, at first apprehension, I could not believe; but I since hear the report seconded several ways, and the report likewise makes a sound of several great offices that are intended to be nominated there, and all grounded upon letters and advices from *those, whose counsels and constraints have produced deplorable complaints, depopulations, and destructions in other places. It hath been my chief care, through God's blessing, and by his majesty's authority, to preserve this county hitherto from that common calamity which most parts of the kingdom have already heavily felt; and I shall still trust in the same God, use the same power, and hope the same blessing, if some birds of our own do not defile their nests, and after haply be an occasion of setting them on fire. I do as a friend advise you, and as a governor require you, and the rest, to whom I would have you impart this letter, that you forbear such meetings, and all levying, or drawing of men, or soldiers together, without direction from me, wherein, if I find not your speedy conformity unto these my commands, you must expect that I will raise, and draw all the power I can to prevent and suppress such insolency and disorder; and I would advise my friends to remember, that by doing of unlawful acts by the name of necessary defence, they may draw that on themselves, and their country, for which the present times and posterity may curse them: I having already taken care that no part of the English army shall do any harm within this government, if they be not called upon by me, or provoked thereunto. And hereunto I expect your speedy answer, and shall be glad you may give me no occasion to be other than I have always been, and yet am

To the gentlemen of the barony of Kilconnel.

*The clergy.

This letter was directed to those gentlemen, that they might with the more authority persuade or suppress others, and no doubt of their own good carriage.

Loughreagh, the 17th of July, 1641.

Your loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The 19th I received letters from my lord president of Conaght, with one enclosed to captain Willoughby, persuading him to better temper, and ways of moderation. His lordship desired me, for some occasions of importance, to give him a speedy meeting upon the borders, however the humours of the province should incline, which he should be glad for their own safeties might be to conformity. His lordship likewise informed me, that, upon the Saturday before, the enemy appeared one thousand in a body, close about the castle of Tully, and drew out their men with shew of fight; that, coming upon them with his forces, they were beaten out of their trenches, forced to fly to their fastness, he burnt the castle, and all from thence to Ballinacadd, killed about twenty of their men, and had none hurt of his side.

My letter to my lord president of Conaght, the 20th of July.

MY LORD,

SOON after my receipt of your lordship's letter yesterday, as I was considering how to dispose of my affairs, so that I might wait upon your lordship to-morrow, I received letters from Galway, Terrellan, and other places near adjoining, that the captain of the fort and ship have consummated their former rash attempts, by spoiling and burning the houses and mills about Galway; and at midnight, without any provocation given that I can hear of, let fly

To my lord president of Conaght.

July 1642. fly his ordnance into the town, and so continued all day yesterday, and all his guards and centries, with their muskets, shooting at the gates and walls of the town: this proceeding doth so amaze me that I cannot imagine what course to take, all mens thoughts being now fully possessed, that he hath private instructions to put all in confusion or desperation; or that he hath some fits of phrenzy; the latter I am apt to believe, either by former accidents, or late disorder, from which, in few hours after deep vows and protestations by his letters to be ruled and guided by me, he daily falls into these extravagancies. Your lordship's letter I have sent unto him, the good effects I might expect thereof I am afraid he hath too far prevented. I am now going to my old garrison at Clare, to labour, if it be possible, to prevent the ruin and misery that is coming apace by his unseasonable rashness; and I shall speedily give your lordship an account of my proceedings there. I cannot, by any return yet come to me, find the gentry of this province inclined to any ways of moderation and submission, but, on the contrary, that they and Meath are strongly preparing to fall upon your lordship, and all these parts; puffed up with great expectation, by the general constant reports, that Owen Roe O Neile is landed in the North with some forces, and store of arms and ammunition; and colonel Preston in Munster; and that general Monroe is returned into Scotland upon some late distempers there; that the king hath a strong army in the field, confronted by another from the parliament; others relate, that his majesty is come with his forces into Lancashire, with a resolution to come speedily into this kingdom: these particulars, confidently reported, raise high confusion in all places. I am very credibly informed, that a branch of the English army was repulsed from Ballysonen, in the county of Kildare, with some loss, and, in their return to Dublin, were set upon by the Byrnes and the O'Tooles, four hundred of them killed, and all in danger to be lost, but that my lord of Ormond came timely to their relief. My lord president of Munster is certainly dead, and affairs are in some disorder there. My lord, it is like to be a miserable time, if God's mercy do not speedily appear, and certainly there might have been ways found out very lately, to have brought these distempers to a better and more speedy conclusion. Your lordship shall very speedily hear from me, since it is not possible for me to give my personal attendance upon your lordship. In all fortunes and places I shall ever be found

Your lordship's most affectionate friend, and faithful servant,

Loughreagh, the 20th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Mr. Terence Coghlan, the 20th of July.

Worthy Cousin,

YOUR letter of the 15th, I received yesterday morning, and the intelligences being of so much weight and consequence, I must still entreat your care and trouble to second them with fresh confirmations, or contradictions, as you shall make a discovery of the truth. For what concerns my own particular, it hath been, and still is my resolution, to preserve this county in peace and plenty, and the inhabitants to walk in just and warrantable ways; and I should be now very sorry some rash acts of the captain of the fort, or the inconsiderate proceedings of some young heads of the country, should destroy that which hath been so long preserved in the midst of many dangers and difficulties; and, I hope, by God's favour, and the advice of friends, which way soever I bend my course, either to lenity, or severity, I shall not want satisfactory and well-grounded reasons, that may abide the examination of any strict accomptant; and though, in present, my rules and actions may be subject to misconstructions on both sides, assisted by God's grace I shall always bear about me the testimony of a clear conscience in point

point of loyalty to my prince, and fair and faithful dealing for my country's good, ^{July 1642.} though otherwise burthened with sins of frailty. The high proceedings of captain Willoughby grow dangerous, and I am now hastening to my old garrison of Clare, to try whether I can find a fit and timely remedy for that, which as yet appears to me rather phrenzy in him, than any thing that hath relation either to judgment or valour; and if he will not be speedily guided by my directions, I believe it will not be in my power to divert those that will endeavour to right themselves with the hazard of their own particulars, and the general fortune of the country. I shall not be unmindful of your motives and considerations, which I do easily believe proceed from your affection, and do return the thanks and kind respects of

Your assured loving cousin,

Loughreagh, the 20th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

I received two letters from the lord president of Conaght of the 21st and 22d, ^{21st and 22d of July. Lord president of Conaght.} complaining of the miserable distressed condition of his forces left with him, without any provision of victuals, money, or cloaths, and no news of the promised supplies to be sent him from Dublin. The first letter mentions Sir James Dillon's falling upon the town of Athlone with fifteen hundred men; the last letter informs of his repulse by the garrison there, and that the next day a defeat was given him by Sir Michael Earnly; both letters desire a supply from me of three or four-score barrels of corn, and condemn the rash acts of captain Willoughby, and the captain of the ship, breaking forth very unseasonably beyond the rule of reason or judgment, and he feared was likely to prove of dangerous consequence, if my power and interest shall not be of force speedily to allay that storm.

My letter to my lord president of Conaght, the 24th of July.

MY LORD,

I Send your lordship herewith a letter from the lords justices, which came by ^{To my lord president of Conaght.} sea to the fort, and two canonical letters, to be returned after your lordship's perusal, the one from Dublin, the other from Kinsale, from a jovial Welchman, Floyd, whereby your lordship may observe the choice of physicians made for this dangerous disease. My former intelligence comes confirmed several ways unto me, with an addition, that the king hath declared the duke of York lieutenant of this kingdom, and the earl of Ormond his deputy, which, in my opinion, seems probable, being a report that could hardly be contrived here, had it not been debated, if not so concluded in England; and I do conceive it may produce good and moderate effects, and the discourse thereof may keep men's minds and inclinations in better temper. I have received both your lordship's letters of the 21st and 22d; and as I was much dejected with the first, so I was highly pleased and comforted with the last, as that which will much advance his majesty's service, conduce to your lordship's future safety and mine, and may likely induce many to be more submissive, and wery of their carriage; and I shall, with the best expedition I can, give notice to the state of that important service; but never since the supplies came to your lordship, could I get any passage for my letters to Dublin, mine being now more narrowly sought for than any other man's. Your lordship's letters to the lords justices were sent yesterday morning by sea, but drove back last night. Being now in a corner of the county, and in the midst of confusions, I cannot certainly promise the supplies your lordship desires. If I may have liberty to return to-morrow to Loughreagh, I shall give your lordship a speedy account thereof, and my utmost endeavour shall ever attend your service. The captains of the fort and ship, without any occasion given that I can discover, discharging above one hundred and twenty great
E e c shot

July 1642. shot into the town, without doing any considerable harm, hath only produced these bad effects, a vast expence of powder, and a discovery of their own weakness to prejudice the town. The retreating back into the fort of all their centries that have for a long time been placed near each gate of the town, and have stirred bad humours, and discontent throughout the county, which is like to grow so high and dangerous a distemper, that, upon consideration of the whole matter, I find no other possible way of remedy, but to run the hazard of residing for a time with my family within the town, that all pretences of suspicion and jealousy may be removed when I am there to answer for their actions; for I do conceive, that the good or bad state of the whole province doth depend much upon the proceedings of this fort and town; but I shall only keep it in discourse, until I receive your lordship's opinion and advice therein, though I find the town well inclined, if I be not much mistaken, and ready to suffer much to redeem their former faults. God send your lordship happiness and good success, am the constant wishes of

Your most affectionate servant,

Terrellan, the 24th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 27th of July.

MY LORDS,

To the Lords
Justices.

MY dispatches of the 27th of the last month, and the 12th of this present, have met with very ill success, being severally attempted to be sent by land, and afterwards to Galway to be conveyed by sea, where they were long detained by contrary winds, and lately when the ship was going out, being in the custody of Henry Lee, who was to have gone therein with a servant of mine, he altering his resolution, neglected to deliver them to my servant; but as he informs me, he remembered them before the boat was gone off a musket shot, and desired captain Willoughby to stay it a while that my packets might be conveyed to them, but could not prevail, which I much wonder at, being a courtesy that might well have been placed upon a person much inferior to me, either in quality or employment; now necessity compels me to adventure them by land, together with my present relation of the proceedings since that time; the actions and attempts of the fort and ship having given general discontent, as I formerly expressed. Captain Willoughby continued very earnest with me for large supplies from the county upon ticket, having newly taken the preys of the country, reported to be above one thousand sheep, and two hundred head of cattle, besides burning and spoiling; these losses could hardly be so soon digested and forgotten, as to make my endeavours so speedily successful in that behalf, or the country to believe there could be any need of farther supply so suddenly, after so great a booty; yet I acquainted captain Willoughby with my hopes, that, in a short time, upon assurance of better future quarter, I did not doubt to prevail; and, in the mean time, upon the 15th of this present I procured two hundred pounds for him in ready money, to make his own provision at best rates, of Mr. John Bermingham, out of the money raised for tobacco in his custody, I giving him my assurance to repay it upon demand, if your lordships did not command a discharge for him from the contractors for the tobacco, Mr. Joshua Carpenter, Mr. George Carr, and Mr. Thomas Little, unto whom John Bermingham is bound in a grand sum for the proceed of the tobacco in his charge. Upon the 16th, Sir Richard Blake furnished him with one hundred English muttons upon ticket, having had about the same number formerly of him. What followed these supplies, and my careful endeavours, your lordships may perceive by this inclosed remonstrance of the town of Galway, and the violence therein expressed hath only produced these effects; a vast expence of powder;

powder ; a discovery of the small prejudice the ordnance doth the town ; the ^{July 1642.} quitting and retreating back into the fort of all their guards and centries that had been long placed near the gates of the town, and himself, by letter, to desire a cessation, they returning some small shot in their own defence ; the raising and spreading bad humours and discontents throughout the country, like to grow to such distempers, as I have cause to fear will soon make me unable to supply him, preserve myself, or perform those respects to my lord president that were necessary for the present service ; his lordship having written to captain Willoughby to persuade him to ways of moderation, and declaring, that any breach in this county, from whence he was to receive supplies, would be a great interruption to his proceedings. The noise of the cannon heard throughout the country drew me speedily to Terrellan, where the corporation came to me with their complaints, imploring my aid and assistance for their safety, their hands being tied up, and bound by their promised constant obedience to the observance of the pacification, broken to them by the outrages on the other side, daily subject to ruin and destruction. I sent Mr. justice Donnellan to captain Willoughby to know the occasion of this sudden storm, and to inform him of the danger he might draw upon himself, and much more upon me, my greatest power for the king's service, and preservation of us both, consisting most in persuasion, and the affection of my friends and kindred, who would now alienate themselves from me for breach of promise, and draw me into suspicion, as a secret contriver of their ruin and misery. The whole country lying waste for many miles on this side Galway by his incursions, and those of the ship, wherein myself and tenants have the greatest share of loss ; from him I received fair promises for the future, but no clear satisfaction for what is past ; and, upon the best examination I could make, I did observe, that errors had been committed by some of the town, that might deserve some punishment upon particulars, but no cause of such sudden and dangerous disturbance ; and indeed the town hath continued more firm and patient than I could expect, after so many great sufferings and provocations. I have always desired captain Willoughby to give me first notice of any such faults, and if justice were not then done, he might exercise his power as he thought fit ; and indeed, out of his own disposition, I am apt to believe he would be advised by me, but captain Ashley is of that covetous disposition, that he draws most of these mischiefs upon us by his precipitate counsels and actions ; and I assure your lordships the particular affronts he puts upon me are very great. I hear he presseth captain Willoughby very hard for a large certificate of his great services, attributing all to himself ; I pray God he may not rather deserve the testimony of being a means to raise disorder and confusion here. I am sure these proceedings have put me into a very hard and strange condition ; and, upon consideration of the whole matter, I find no other expedient at this present to qualify the distempers that are rising, but by hazarding myself to reside some time in Galway, to remove the jealousies, and prevent the violences likely to happen between the fort and town, being hopeful that both of them will shew respect to my residence there, and, by that means, the country be kept quiet, who are likely to guide their actions according to the proceedings of those two important places. This, my lord, is my present intention, but not grown to a settled resolution, being a business of some difficulty. Captain Willoughby is still pressing for more supplies, and that in large proportions ; what I have of my own I do readily spare, sending him now a good quantity of malt, which I find is most wanting to him ; what may be provided in the country will take up farther time, they being discontented, and my interest much impaired, and not knowing what security they may have of living quiet after supplies granted, the king's word past unto them being so unseasonably broken, neither could there have been any pretence of want, if captain Ashley had not sold, and converted to his own benefit, the large provisions of corn he got in Francis Darcy's ship, which might have plentifully furnished the fort, and relieved the poor English that are in want.

I must

July 1642. I must likewise desire the signification of your lordships pleasures, whether he is to be supplied without limitation, or what rules you will be pleased to appoint therein, and what course shall be taken for payment, I standing engaged almost for whatsoever he receives; and what burden of debt lies upon myself, I presume is not unknown to your lordships.

My lords, I cannot but be very sensible of the misfortune that lies upon me, having contracted the malice almost of the whole nation against me, and no power, under my command, for my defence, which inforceth me to renew my former request for my repair into England, at least your lordships warrant and directions to the admiral, or vice admiral, for a good ship to come to this harbour of Galway, to transport my wife and children over. Indeed, my lords, I find my health so much impaired with unusual pains and labour, and so unable to perform that service I desire, that I must earnestly intreat your lordships licence likewise for my own departure; and no doubt the affairs of these parts will be managed with more power and ability, and better satisfaction to your lordships, &c.

Your lordships most humble servant,

Loughreagh, the 27th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Henry Stradling, the 27th of July.

Noble SIR,

SINCE your departure hence I have suffered much trouble and vexation, in composing the differences between the fort, town, and country, upon very slight occasions. Captain Willoughby, with the assistance, and by the precipitate counsels of captain Ashley, whom I observed to be of a violent covetous nature, hath not only broken the pacification, after it had received the lords justices allowance, but likewise preyed upon and spoiled those that were most forward and industrious in the service of that most important place, even my tenants have not been spared; he hath burned all the suburbs of the town, valued at one thousand pounds yearly rent, and without any provocation given, that I can find. When he was by some friends desired to forbear until my coming the next day, he would not forbear, but at midnight began to shoot his ordnance in the town, and so continued all day, until he, and the ship, had discharged above one hundred and twenty great shot with violence, which produced no better effect than a vast expence of powder, a discovery of the small prejudice the ordnance doth to the town, the quitting and retreating back into the fort of all his guards and centries that had been long placed near the gates of the town, and the raising of bad humours and discontents throughout the country, likely to put me into a very hard and dangerous condition; having in a manner contracted the malice of the whole nation upon me, and my only strength consisting in the power of my persuasions, and the affections of my friends and kindred in this county. In their publick views, and to their infinite prejudice, they see the king's word, and my engagements broken, and myself ungratefully dealt withal by those I have with so much industry preserved, and, which most disturbs their thoughts, a report that they have sent for a squadron of ships, and land forces, under the command of the lord Forbes, a Scotchman. I can hardly believe that they will take so much upon them without my knowledge, to send for such forces from places, where likely there is necessary occasions for their service, to come hither, where peace and quietness is desired. And to you, as my noble friend, I shall freely declare my unwillingness to be assisted by such power, as comes without order or direction from the state, or any relation or respect to me; though I should think myself happy to have the aids of English forces that would be guided by me in their proceedings. And if yourself be not at this present in some important

tant service employed, I should heartly desire your speedy repair into this har-^{July 1642.}bour, for, as I believe, the fort, and Ashley, would shew respect unto you, so I am confident, that both town and county hold so good an opinion of your worth and gallant disposition, that I should easily rule and draw them to any course you shall direct, otherwise, if they be dealt withal by an unruly power, I can expect but confusion and misery; besides, I have somewhat of importance to impart unto you, which concerns the safety and preservation of some persons, whose quality may deserve some care and respect; which I dare not adventure to the danger of interception, though I am assured my noble kinsman Sir Roger Shagh-nuffy will use all possible diligence to convey this safely to you; and if it lies in your way to shew respect and favour unto him, you cannot employ it upon any that doth better deserve it. Sir, my interest in your brother, and your own noble nature, hath raised this confidence in me, which, I hope, will not be dis-pleasing to you, there being nothing I wish more than all good occasions to make it appear how highly I value you, and how truly I desire to approve myself

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 27th of
July 1742.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord of Inchiquin, the 29th of July.

MY LORD,

THE bearer, my noble kinsman Sir Roger Shagh-nuffy, being by my li-cence upon his departure out of this government into Munster, to take care of his lady, family, and estate in those parts, which, by reason of his long absence, hath and may suffer much by the general unhappy distempers in this kingdom, I could not let so much worth and merit pass from me, without gi-ving your lordship notice, that in his own person, his son and followers, he hath constantly, and, with much forward affection, been present and assisting to me in all my proceedings and endeavours for his majesty's service; and I must truly attribute much of what I have been able to compass therein to his diligence and ability. And the due consideration thereof I do recommend unto your lord-ship, that he may find your favour and assistance in all his just occasions, both for reparation, and for the safety and preservation of himself and estate in those parts; and our condition here I shall refer to his relation. I must not omit to give your lordship many humble thanks for your favour shewed to Marcus Lynch and others of Galway, upon my letters in their behalf to my late lord president, which came to your lordship's hand and power to effect; and if in any thing my service may be of use to your lordship, I shall esteem it a very great happiness to be guided to those ways and employments, that may with most re-spect approve me

Your lordship's affectionate kinsman to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 29th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Charles Vanefon, the 29th of July.

Noble SIR,

MY former knowledge of you in England, and the respects you were there^{To Sir Charles Vanefon.} pleased to afford me, doth easily invite me to take hold of any oc-casion to salute you, and to wish much happiness to you, and your proceedings in those parts, whither my noble kinsman Sir Roger Shagh-nuffy is now with my licence repairing, having long neglected his family, and private interest in Mun-ster,

July 1642. After, out of his publick duty, and forward zeal to his majesty's service here, by his constant diligent attendance upon me in his own person, his son and followers, and his care of the English inhabiting near him; and I should esteem it a great disservice to his majesty, and blemish upon me, if so much worth and merit should suffer prejudice in any kind by my occasion. Therefore, Sir, give me leave earnestly to intreat you, that, by your favourable assistance, he may meet with reparation and preservation in himself, and what belongs unto him, which will be an act worthy and becoming your free and gallant disposition, and place a very great obligation upon me thereby, who will ever thankfully acknowledge it, and value those actions of mine as best employed, that may give the clearest testimonies of my being

Your assured true friend to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 29th of
July, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

About the latter end of this month I received an advertisement, that one Mr. Philip Bigo, a Frenchman, who had set up glass works in several places, and most in the King's county, was besieged by some of that county, and out of Ormond, in a castle called Newtown, within the limits of this county, but on the other side of the great river of the Shannon, which made it very difficult for me to send forces to relieve him in the condition I was in; yet, upon his address unto me, I sent captain Thomas Leicester with my own foot company, and some other forces, to endeavour the raising of that siege; but before he could get thither, they in the castle being in great want of water, it was surrendered upon composition, and a fair quarter given them; so that the forces I sent served only for a convoy to bring Mr. Bigo, his family, and some goods of considerable value, to Loughreagh.

My declaration sent to Ardaghan, the 1st of August.

My declaration sent to Ardaghan, in the barony of Dunkel-lin.

WHEREAS I am newly informed of a great meeting appointed this day at Ardaghan, as it seems, by directions of some of my kindred, without my privity, as if there were neither the king's governor, nor earl of Clanricarde, to which my own desires would carry me, as one most interested in the affairs of this country, to take notice of the propositions and passages there, and the authors thereof, but that I cannot on so short a warning repair thither in that posture as becomes my quality and authority; these are therefore to let the country there assembled know, that I require from them, that no farther meeting be without my allowance, who must yield an account of men, and their actions here; and that none presume to impose any taxes or contributions, or lay soldiers, or other charge upon the king's subjects, but such as I shall advise or approve of; and that however I have formerly connived at some particulars, yet I shall hereafter take notice of those masters, servants, and soldiers, that colhere and impose what burthen they please on my tenants, and often spare their own, and their friends. The unadvised actions and secret intentions of some of my friends had need be coloured under the name of defence of the country, and other specious pretexts, whose infirmities, though I have laboured long to cover, yet, I fear, they now endeavour to break out, not only to their own apparent ruin, and the dishonour of my family and friends, but, instead of defence, to the sudden and woful destruction of this whole country, which, by God's blessing upon my proceedings, and the assistance of my friends, hath been preserved for these nine months from the general desolation that hath overspread the whole kingdom, though some inconveniencies have lately happened to some parts of the inhabitants of the county, to which I did apply a speedy remedy, that would have been well effected, but for some unseasonable interruptions,

ruptions, where I least expected it; yet if the county will adhere to my advices ^{Aug. 1642.} and ways, and others that have offended return to a due obedience, and fit conformity, I shall hope to overcome these late difficulties without any heavy charge upon them, and to keep them in such a posture of loyalty, that either upon his majesty's happy access to this kingdom, now soon expected, or other signification of his gracious and royal pleasure, they will find the fruit of these good counsels and resolutions; but if they will rather pursue the undertakings of such as strive to wrest the government of the county out of my hands, and that such persons shall still persist in their wilful errors, and divert those ways of reparation and preservation, which I have contrived for their general good, I cannot be blamed if, by the king's authority, I speedily apply such sharp remedies, as so rash and dangerous a distemper shall require; and farther then, to make some fit applications or propositions for myself, in a dutiful and respective manner, if such present occasion be. I do hereby, in his majesty's name, dissolve, in all other respects, your present assembly.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

With this declaration I sent my steward John Donnellan, and some others, who found only my lord of Clanmorris, and some few other gentlemen of the barony of Dunkellin, and upon expostulating the business with them, they pretended the cause of the meeting was to contrive some remonstrance of their sufferings and wrongs to me, and to express my neglect of their security and welfare, having promised that they should receive no prejudice by the fort or ship, so long as they should continue their loyalty, and contribute towards the supply of the fort, which was broken, both by spoiling and preying upon them in a violent manner, without the least cause or provocation given; and my lord of Clanmorris made great expostulations of the wrongs he suffered by the fort, notwithstanding his great care and travel for their relief, and that I did him no right, neither in that, nor other particulars, which invited him to repair himself; the execution he committed upon some of the fort soldiers, being in revenge of his officer executed in the fort, and the rather, conceiving they came as spies to do mischief, having no writing or direction under captain Willoughby's hand. The conclusion of all was, that if they might be secured from the incursions and hostile acts of the fort and ship, they would be as ready as any to yield fitting provisions out of that barony for relief of the fort.

After this, every day I received several advertisements, that the lord Forbes, with his fleet of additional forces, had departed from Kinsale, with a resolution to come into the bay of Galway, which I gave no credit unto, until they were discovered about the isles of Arran; and upon the 8th at night I received letters from captain Willoughby, giving me notice of their arrival, and desiring my speedy repair to the fort to confer with them; whereat being much amazed, and vexed with captain Willoughby for inviting such forces to come in that had no commission for this government, nor under the rule or direction of the state at Dublin, I wrote my sense freely to him of his carriage in that business.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 9th of August.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

I Received a letter from you the last night, which informs me of the arrival of the lord Forbes and a squadron of ships in the bay of Galway, and expressing your desire of my speedy repair thither to confer with his lordship, to which, in present, I can only answer, that I am altogether a stranger to his lordship; and unto the nature and quality of his employment. If my lord has a particular commission for his repair unto this government, or any order or direction from the lords justices and state at Dublin, I presume his lordship will give me notice thereof,

My letter to captain Willoughby concerning the arrival of lord Forbes, the 9th of August.

Aug. 1642. thereof, before he proceeds to any acts of hostility, and I shall be most ready to serve his lordship, and obey those commands; but if my lord were passing by upon other designs of service, and hath come in upon your invitement, you know best how to direct the prosecution of such a service, having, by the general opinion of these parts, broken the pacification, both with the town and country, after it received the allowance of the state, and their direction, that it should be observed, until his majesty's pleasure were declared, and myself borne with many infringements upon my government; and by their commands, when there was occasion, I was to call upon the assistance of my lord president, as to the forces properly designed for this government, and to his lordship I have imparted the condition of this place, and my desires thereupon; and unless particular supplies come unto me out of England, or new directions from the state, to whom I have dispatched a post this morning, I shall not, without good advice and consideration, seek any other aids, or break the pacification on my part. And having discharged my duty by a constant supply of the fort, and preventing danger from it, it is likewise my duty to observe publick faith and the king's word, past unto the inhabitants of this county, and leave it to the judgment of his majesty, and the state, who they are that have broken the pacification, and likewise for the punishment of such as have been led by the spirit of revenge to some late acts of cruelty. When I shall more clearly understand my lord Forbes's intentions and employment, I shall not be failing to serve him with all fit respect; but it may become you seriously to consider the danger, by drawing a settled war about you from all the bordering counties, when it may be the necessities of other places may draw this fleet too suddenly from your assistance, and carry away the spoils that might be employed for your future supply, or relief of the English formerly inhabiting, or to inhabit here; those forces being (as I conceive) for no settled service, but to round the coasts of this kingdom. I have no more to say but to express myself

Your loving friend

Loughreagh, the 9th of
August, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord president of Conaght, the 9th of August.

MY LORD,

To my lord president, the 9th of August, concerning the arrival of the lord Forbes. He had but 1200 men, as after did appear by his own letter to my lord president.

I AM newly informed by a letter from captain Willoughby, that the lord Forbes, with his Squadron of ships, and two thousand land-men, are coming into the bay of Galway, which truly, my lord, doth much perplex me, and is like to put me into a most miserable condition; he coming without any particular commission for this government, or any order or direction from the state. Himself, and all his company, are strangers to me; his employment not for the advancement of any settled service, but to make spoil and havock along the coast, wherein, according to the relations from Munster, he spareth none, of what quality or condition soever. My lord, the town and country are under a pacification allowed by the state, but broken by Willoughby, and these drawn into our destruction, to make good his inconsiderate actions; upon all which grounds, I conceive, I might justify a natural defence, but I am resolved rather to be a sacrifice than leave the least colour of suspicion to posterity of my loyalty. If the interposing of your lordship's advice, power, or authority, may relieve me in this desperate case, I am confident you will speedily apply some comfort to

Your lordship's most affectionate, but unfortunate friend,

Loughreagh, the 9th
of August, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

The same day, the mayor of Galway sent me copies of the lord Forbes's letter to him, and the submission he required, together with a copy of their answer to him. Aug. 1642.

Alexander, lord Forbes, lieutenant-general of the additional forces by sea and land, sent by his majesty, our dread sovereign lord Charles, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and the parliament of England, for reducing of Ireland.

To the magistrates of the town of Galway, in the province of Conaght.

WHEREAS before our coming from England we were certainly informed, that, by the mediation of the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde, all commotions and seeds of rebellion were appeased and stilled both in the town and county of Galway; and that you, as became loyal subjects, were ready, according to your power, and as you should be commanded, to assist the suppressing of rebellion raised in the other provinces of this kingdom; but, contrary to our expectation, since our coming to this coast we do hear you have presumptuously attempted, at least threatened, the besieging of his majesty's fort, which, in the judgment of charity, I do rather believe to be the acts or words of some factious spirits amongst you, than of you that are magistrates, or of the body of the town; it being a thing contrary to common sense, that men of your quality, wisdom, and gravity, should be accessory to make yourselves guilty of so treacherous a rebellion; and thereby not only hazard your lives and estates, and the ruin and loss of whatsoever you hold dearest, but also debar yourselves, and your posterity, of all hope of pardon and mercy. Being doubtful therefore what to believe concerning you, I have sent these presents to reclaim you, if it be possible, to your due obedience to his majesty, and the state of England; which if you testify by your humble submission, after this pattern I have sent, which is the form I am appointed to receive of any that may hope for pardon, you may then be well assured, not only of such favour as I, and those under my command, can shew you, both for protection and preservation of your town, but also I will mediate and extend my best endeavours for your full and final pardon from his majesty, and parliament of England, for any of your former slips; so till such time as I receive your answer, I resolve to continue

Your well wishing friend,

FORBES.

Alexander, lord Forbes, lieutenant general of his majesty's forces by sea and land, sent for Ireland.

THES E are to signify and make known unto you, the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the town of Galway, and any other whom it may concern, that any person or persons, of what quality or condition soever he or they be of, who shall be desirous to come on board my ship, now in the road of Galway, to treat with me concerning a message sent by me to them, and their humble submissions, by returning to their allegiance, and due obedience to his majesty, and the parliament of England, may safely and freely come and return without fear of danger or imprisonment. Given under my hand, from on board the Speedwell, this present 8th of August, 1642.

ALEXANDER FORBES.

Aug. 1642.

The submission required by the lord Forbes of the mayor and corporation of Galway.

The submission required by the lord Forbes of Galway.

A very strange and unusual way of obtaining pardon.

A discharging of my government.

WE the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the town of Galway, as we are almost the last of your Irish nation that did shew ourselves in arms in these late unhappy troubles, and have done least harm to any of your majesty's British subjects amongst us, being now truly informed of your majesty's fatherly care over us, to manifest our loyalty and obedience to your majesty, and the state of England, under whose blessed government we have enjoyed a sweet and a long continued peace, are now the first that return, with all humility, submitting our lives and estates to your majesty's mercy, vowing and protesting, that what we have done, that may now be interpreted rebellion, hath, out of the simplicity of our hearts, been done, as we thought, and were informed, in obedience to your majesty's commands; and our greatest grief is, that our credulity should have blemished your majesty's honour, either at home or abroad, which toucheth us nearer than the threatening of our extirpation, and banishment from our native country, which, in all likelihood, cannot be eschewed, unless your majesty's unparalleled mercy shelter us in this extremity, and intercede for us to the parliament and state of England, that our misdemeanours may be pardoned. And, in further testimony of our future loyalty, we admit of such garrisons, and governors to rule us, according to your majesty's laws, as your majesty, and the state of England, shall appoint; and until we receive your majesty's gracious answer, we have laid down our arms, and betaken ourselves to be under the protection of the lord Forbes, your majesty's lieutenant general of the additional forces, to whom we shall give our best assistance for repressing of any rebellion that is in any of the other counties; and your majesty's answer of mercy and peace we do humbly expect.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 10th of August.

Mr. Mayor,

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 10th of August.

The cruel execution done by my lord Clanmorris on some of the fort.

IT hath been much in my care to prevail with the town and country to supply his majesty's fort with competent provision, thereby to preserve peace, and the pacification concluded upon, and to take off the edge of the enmity arisen between the town and fort, wherein I could not have my will, tending to their own good, which hath drawn these forces hither, that I fear will draw more charge and danger both upon town and country. I have already done what lay in my power to prevent that which you fear, and will be constant in my care therein, though you know how far my power is lessened by some late rash acts abroad, and by the unhappy dissensions between town and fort. I will this day dispatch unto the state to know their pleasures, and to inform them of passages here. I have written to captain Willoughby, and insisted upon the pacification, in such manner as you may perceive by my letter, a copy whereof I have sent unto Sir Richard Blake, to be shewn unto you. As soon as I hear of the lord Forbes's landing, or that I shall be able to send to him, I shall declare unto him how things stand here, and my opinion thereupon; and I wish that you from thence make your address with some declaration unto him. I shall take the best advice I can, both with my lord president, and others, how to carry myself, and preserve both town and country, until I shall hear from his majesty, or the state; wherein, if I may not prevail, the fault will be theirs rather than mine, that would not be ruled by me in small matters, whereby they might preserve the whole. God of his goodness direct and protect us. I remain

Your loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 10th of August, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 10th of August.

MY LORDS,

MY several dispatches sent from hence the 27th of the last month, I hope are come safely to your lordships hands, and your lordships thereby fully and clearly informed of the state of affairs here. I have newly received advertisement from captain Willoughby, that the lord Forbes, with seventeen sail of ships, and two thousand land-men, are come within the bay of Galway, which I assure your lordships doth much disquiet and disturb my thoughts in many respects, apprehending, by several circumstances, that they come without any particular commission, or direction for this government, or any relation or respect to me, having been sent to captain Willoughby, or rather sent for by him, without any address as yet unto myself; and, by the relations out of Munster, they did not make any distinction in their proceeding, but spoiled upon all alike, and, in particular, did besiege and assault Sir Roger Shaghnessy, his lady and children, when he was here, with much forwardness employed in his majesty's service, and myself thereby very unseasonably enforced to permit his departure hence, for the preservation of his family, but before his coming they did quit the place, and sailed hither; and it is now reported, that they have landed on Thomond side, and do burn and spoil Mr. Daniel and Turlagh O Brian, the only two that remained in firm obedience there, and preserved and relieved the English to the best of their power, and provided and sent their long boats to me for the relief of the fort when it was besieged. These particulars, my lords, proving true, I must ingenuously confess I do not know what safety to promise to my own person or family, or how to guide my actions in this government, unless your lordships be pleased to interpose your authority and directions with expedition, to prevent the mischiefs that may suddenly arise here. I cannot but much wonder, that Mayo, Sligoe, and other parts totally in action, where there are fair harbours to come in, and assistance necessary, and desired by the lord president, should not be the first attempted; but this place to be chosen without direction, to countenance the rash actions of some that invite them hither, where there is no publick hostility or rebellion, but, not without some provocation, many disorders often arising, which might be soon appeased and punished, when the neighbouring parts are quieted; but until then, I assure your lordships, it may be of very ill consequence to make this the seat of the war, when the fleet either laden with spoil, or oppressed with number, may be enforced to leave both fort and us here, in imminent hazard and danger. I beseech your lordships take into your serious consideration the most hard condition I am in, that have none of his majesty's forces under my command, but still subject to the humours and passions of all men, even my own friends and kindred holding me now in suspicion, as a secret contriver of their ruin and misery; and the rash actions of other men laid upon me on all sides, the town of Galway likewise loudly exclaiming, and calling upon me, that they are spoiled of all they have abroad, broken and shot through within their walls, and now likely to be totally ruined, relying upon the pacification made with me. I hope your lordships will be pleased to remove those present aids, where they may do better service, and, as occasion shall require, give order that Mr. Michael Earnly's regiment may be observant to my call, orders, and directions, if I must still be so unhappy as to have no addition of horse and foot under my own command; but instead of a governor, with a vast expence in my fortune, and the hazard of myself and friends, to be only in the state of a futler, to gather provisions and contributions, with little thanks or respects for my labour from them that receive it. I send your lordships herewith the copy of my letter I sent yesterday to captain Willoughby, upon the notice he gave me of the lord Forbes's arrival, and the copy of the submission sent by my lord Forbes to the mayor of Galway, wherein are
some

Aug. 1642. some expressions I cannot well tell how to understand, or obey, the which I submit to your lordships judgments; and my desire to hasten this dispatch away, will not give me leave to add any thing more, but to renew my former request in my last dispatch, and still to express myself

Your lordships humble servant,

Loughreagh, the 10th of
August, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The mayor of Galway to the lord Forbes, the 9th of August.

Right Honourable,

WE the mayor and aldermen of this his majesty's town of Galway, have received your lordship's letter of the 8th of this present, and do give your honour humble thanks for the same, and pray your lordship to understand, that the troubles and distempers heretofore happening in this town, were appeased by the mediation of the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde, our lieutenant governor, and an humble submission made by the town to his sacred majesty, and certain articles then agreed upon by the said earl, the captain of the fort, and the town, which were to be observed until his majesty's express pleasure were signified; which articles were allowed by the state of this kingdom, and inviolably hitherto observed by this town; and as we never meant any prejudice to his majesty's rights, nor entertained the least thought of disloyalty, however, we cannot say we were free from errors, so we shall ever hereafter continue to his sacred majesty, and his posterity, most faithful and loyal subjects; but in regard of the keeping of our gate shut, at this time, and the information your lordship may receive of our fidelities, we shall humbly desire your honour to understand, that the said articles of our pacification were concluded by the assent of the captain of the fort, yet he hath failed in performance, as he made no distinction between us and the archest rebels, for he hath violently taken our goods, killed our people, assaulted and scaled our walls by night, battered our houses, and done us many other injuries, so as we scarce these three months past, since we have made our submission, have enjoyed any rest, insomuch as having troubled our said lieutenant governor with our frequent complaints; and his directions and commands not prevailing with the captain of the fort, we have addressed our humble remonstrances to his majesty, and state of this kingdom, in expectation to be that way relieved; and till then, and for avoiding the occasions of running into further inconveniencies, we keep our gates next the fort shut, not giving any just cause of discontent, other than that we cannot keep the hands of much grieved persons from shooting, when they are provoked from abroad, but had no intent to besiege the fort, as your lordship was informed. We shall therefore most humbly pray your lordship to entertain a good opinion of this town of Galway, until you shall receive your information from a more indifferent hand. We do likewise most humbly beseech your lordship to excuse us in not returning a present answer to the other parts of your lordship's said letter, and the form of the submission sent with it; for that, in a matter of that nature, we hold it our duty first to acquaint the said earl, our lieutenant governor, therewith, and to expect his lordship's answer, and to that purpose do presently dispatch a messenger to his lordship; so wishing your honour all happiness, I remain

Your lordship's humble servant,

Galway, the 9th of
August, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, Mayor.

My

My lord Forbes' letter to me the 9th of August, received the 10th.

My very honourable good LORD,

SINCE it hath pleased God to bring safely hither the fleet of additional forces, sent by his majesty, and the parliament of England, for the reducing of Ireland, I was much rejoiced to understand, by a letter I received from the governor of his majesty's fort, that your lordship, in emulation of your worthy predecessors, hath preferred your loyalty and allegiance to his majesty, and the state of England, before the deluding hopes of those, who are like to run themselves, and such as will be seduced by them, upon the rocks of rebellion. My lord, as your ancient and honourable family hath been ever loyal to the crown of England, so your lordship inheriting of your progenitors virtues, in remaining constant under such a trial, deserveth double honour, and, I doubt not, in due time shall receive, both from his majesty and the parliament of England, a double reward: perseverance crowns the work. I would gladly, as my desire and duty is, come and wait upon your lordship, but the charge intrusted to me will, I hope, at this time, excuse me at your lordship's hands; and since his majesty's service doth so require it, I am bold to intreat your lordship to repair speedily to his majesty's fort, that I may have your lordship's good advice how to chastise, or reduce those that are in rebellion, and cherish such as have continued their due obedience, wherein your lordship can best distinguish in this province; and to this end also, I have likewise written to my lord Ranelagh, president of this province, whose power and assistance I much desire should be joined with ours, to effect the same, which I humbly intreat your lordship may be conveyed to his lordship, with as much expedition as your lordship can direct, that, by this means, all our forces being joined together, we may crush the rebellion where it is strongest. So to your lordship's answer, and meeting, so soon as possibly may be, I do kiss your lordship's hands, and desire still to be esteemed, my lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,

From on board the Speedwell, in Galway
road, the 9th of August, 1642.

FORBES.

My letter in answer to the lord Forbes, the 10th of August.

MY LORD,

I Have newly received your lordship's letter of yesterday's date, and do congratulate your lordship's safe arrival upon these coasts, and wish much happy success to your lordship's proceedings for the safety and relief of all his majesty's distressed subjects residing in this kingdom, which, by some unnatural and rebellious acts, and the accidents of civil war, have fallen into much misery and desolation; and I do render your lordship many thanks for your noble expressions, and the notice you have been pleased to take of the ancient merit, and fast fidelity of my ancestors, and my own most zealous and faithful (though weak) endeavours for the advancement of his majesty's present service, in which, by God's grace, I shall constantly persevere with the uttermost hazard of my life and fortune, not only by the good example of former times, and the ordinary rules of duty due from a subject to a prince, but for the many great and particular favours his majesty hath conferred upon me, and the eminent grace and virtue adorning his royal person, whom God long preserve in all true honour and happiness, to the joy and comfort of his people. Your lordship is pleased to desire my speedy repair to his majesty's fort, for to guide your lordship, by my intelligence, to distinguish the good and bad affections of the inhabitants of these

H h h

parts

Aug. 1642, parts under my command, and accordingly to distribute reward or punishment. I presume the former revolt of the town of Galway, upon some particular contents between them and the fort, and the drawing of some gentlemen of this county to lay a siege thereto, is well known to your lordship; and that thereupon, with much difficulty at that time, I drew together the best forces I could make to suppress that sudden and dangerous distemper, and to relieve the fort, which then, together with this county, and the whole province of Conaght, was in very great hazard and danger, all assistance, and even intelligence, being totally kept from us, only some provision in a ship, commanded by captain Ashley towards the latter end of that service; and my endeavours therein met with that good success, that after six weeks, through great labour and trouble, and no small charge, I brought them to submission, and thereupon a pacification was concluded, and articles agreed upon, and signed by captain Willoughby and myself; they were sent to the state at Dublin, received their allowance, and after transmitted into England, to be judged by king and parliament; and, in the interim, the lords justices sent directions to both of us, to observe the pacification, until his majesty's pleasure were declared. Since that time, my lord, by the general voice and clamour of the town and country, captain Willoughby, upon slight occasions, and no considerable provocation given that I could discover, no publick acts of hostility appearing on their parts, hath often and frequently broken the pacification, by discharging multitudes of great and small shot into the town, without first acquainting me, their governor, with the occasion, and many other particulars, which I perceive the corporation hath acquainted your lordship with. I can speak my own knowledge of the spoils, and large booties taken from the country, without any provocation then given by them, not only of those that were protected, but the well-deserving, and many great infringements upon my government, notwithstanding my constant care to relieve and supply the fort, and the settled course I was taking therein, which, though interrupted by his own proceedings, I shall still endeavour by all fit ways and means I am able to procure. Many particular persons, both of town and country, are answerable for much disorder, and irregular courses; but nothing that I can declare to be so great a breach, as to deprive the inhabitants of the town and county of the king's royal word and protection past unto them, until the state send more particular directions, the assertions and complaints of both sides being sent unto them. And though a great reformation may in due time be necessary, yet I may in present affirm, they are in better order and obedience than any other part of the kingdom; and I was labouring to put it into a much better frame for the relief and comfort of the English, if those interruptions had not been, and convenient time allowed me. This, my lord, is the true state and best information I can give you of this government, except those of Irrconaght on the West side of Galway, who are out of protection, and fit persons to receive chastisement. And for my own waiting upon your lordship, at this present I must crave your pardon, until I can put myself into a fit and safe posture, and answerable to my quality, and the employment I go upon; most of the country, by my countenancing of the late proceedings of the fort, and the sudden arrival of your lordship's forces, holding a suspicion of me, that I do secretly contrive their ruin, whilst they, with confidence, have relied upon the publick faith I have past unto them in his majesty's behalf; and their fears are increased by my breeding and long residence in England, and but late arrival into this kingdom. And withal, to deal clearly with your lordship, I dare not adventure by advice, or power, to engage myself in a business of so great importance, that may hazard the future safety both of fort and county, making this the seat of war, by drawing in the forces of the neighbouring counties; until I have advised and debated the business with my lord president of Conaght, Sir Charles Coote, and the other English commanders with his lordship, who is most interested, and best acquainted with the affairs of this whole province; being doubtful that any disturbance here may

may cause a great diversion to those designs his lordship hath laid for his majesty's service in those parts, where aid and assistance may be much more necessary, by the general revolt of the whole county; and captain Willoughby can inform your lordship what little prejudice above one hundred and twenty great shot hath done unto the town, which will make it a work of time and difficulty. I did immediately dispatch your lordship's letter unto the lord president upon the receipt thereof, and do hope it will come safe to him, and that your lordship will receive his resolution by a speedy return.

My lord, I received this day a draft of submission from the mayor of Galway, sent unto him by your lordship, wherein, among other particulars, is expressed that they should have a garrison, and submit to other governors, and, in present, to be under the protection of the lord Forbes. This, my lord, may hold in other places where there is no immediate governor appointed by his majesty; but here, where the government, by patent, hath been long conferred, first upon my father, and ever since upon myself, your lordship knows I may not with safety, or preservation of my duty, make any separation, or resign to any other such an important part of this government, but by a subsequent discharge of equal authority. If your lordship have a particular commission for my resignation of my place unto you, and for your lordship's repair into this government, I shall with all humility, and ready obedience, submit to his majesty's pleasure therein, and wish your lordship all happy success for the advancement of his majesty's service; the known directions that I am to be guided by, being upon all occasions, either for garrison, or other service, to be assisted by part of my lord president's forces; and I shall be ready to observe such further commands as, by your lordship's authority and judgment, shall be found fit to be imposed upon

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Loughreagh, the 10th of
August, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The same day the mayor of Galway sent me copies of a letter of my lord Forbes to him, and his answer, giving me thanks for my care of their preservation, and humbly desiring the continuance of it.

My lord Forbes to the mayor of Galway, the 10th of August.

Mr. Mayor,

I Received your letter in answer of that I sent, and am glad my expectation of your loyalty to his majesty is not altogether frustrated, since you seem to appeal to your lieutenant governor, the earl of Clanricarde, and adhere to your humble submission made, and the articles agreed upon by his lordship's mediation, which you pretend to have been inviolably observed by you, but broken by the captain of the fort, who doth mightily complain of your perfidious dealing, as he calls it, and doth likewise appeal to my lord of Clanricarde, whom you have done well to send for, and whom I will be glad to assist for procuring, or securing of your peace, if you be, as you profess, loyal and faithful subjects to his majesty. For my part, I will not believe to your prejudice those that are, or may seem to be partially interested, but will abstain from acts of hostility against you, if you keep within your own ports, till my lord Clanricarde come; and will do my best to secure you from any violence by the fort, till the said time; but will for your security, and the managing the business committed to my trust, land some of my men to refresh them, and will expect from you, as a testimony of your loyalty, such supplies of fresh provisions as I shall stand in need of; and for the purpose, you shall do well to send one or two of your discreetest men to confer with me, for whom the pass I sent shall be a sufficient warrant for their safe

Aug. 1642. safe return; so to our said meeting, and my lord Clanricarde's coming, committing all further, I rest, as I desire to continue

Your well wishing friend,

From on board the Speedwell, in Galway
river, the 10th of August, 1642.

FORBES.

The mayor of Galway to the lord Forbes, the 10th of August.

Right Honourable,

I HAVE received your lordship's letter this morning, and do humbly thank your lordship, that you are pleased to take the state of this town to your further thoughts, and to suspend your belief of any reports to our prejudice, until your lordship shall be further informed. For our parts, we are so confident of the clearness of our carriage since the pacification, that no just charge of perfidiousness can be laid unto us, but do engage ourselves to make the truth of that information we sent your lordship, appear more fully than as we have written, and doubt not, but that our right noble governor, the earl of Clanricarde, will represent the state of this town to your lordship in its true colours.

According to the direction of your honour's letter, we employ Walter Blake, alderman, and Christopher Kirowan, merchant, to your lordship, to give satisfaction of the case we are now in for fresh victuals, having more need to have our recourse to your lordship, or any other, that is well inclined to the king's service, for our relief, we having not a beast left us, or our neighbours within a great distance of the town, some few milch cows excepted; and those we have neither, but at pleasure, as your lordship shall be more fully informed; so committing your lordship to God, I am

Your lordship's humble servant,

WALTER LYNCH, Mayor.

The 11th I received letters from the mayor of Galway, giving me notice, that according to my lord Forbes' desire in his second letter, they sent Walter Blake, alderman, and Mr. Christopher Kirowan, to his lordship, and that he used them courteously, and that he seemed desirous to concur with me in settling all differences; he by them required two hostages to be sent him for two of his he intended to send to view some new works he was informed they had made; and they pausing upon it, his lordship wrote unto them; the copy whereof, and his answer, he now sent me.

My lord Forbes to the mayor of Galway, the 11th of August.

Mr. Mayor,

I Perceive you do but dally with us, and delay time; for neither have I answer from my lord of Clanricarde, nor, as your alderman and merchant you sent hither did promise, are they returned, or others in their place, to give testimony or assurance of your loyalty you so much profess; but, on the contrary, I am informed you are raising batteries, and have sent your men to steal my horses: wherefore, if I be not presently satisfied in these things, I will be no longer deluded with your verbal professions of loyalty, but will proceed against you as rebels, and enemies to his majesty, and the estate of England, which I thought fit to intimate, lest you should at any time hereafter think yourselves evil dealt with, whereas your words and works disagreeing, you do but deceive yourselves, and hasten your deserved ruin, which, with God's assistance, before I part from hence, I shall either see, or reduce you to that due obedience to his majesty,
and

and the state of England which you owe, and, as my duty is, I am sent hither ^{Aug. 1642.} to procure. So to your answer, which I expect within two hours after the receipt hereof, or none at all, I rest

Yours as you deserve,

From on board the Speedwell, in Galway
road, the 11th of August, 1642.

FORBES.

The mayor of Galway to the lord Forbes, the 11th of August.

Right Honourable,

WE take God to witness, that we have no intention to delude your lordship, or mean otherwise than as we have professed, and written to your lordship. We have staid the return of an answer of the message brought us by those that attended your honour yesterday, in expectation of the earl of Clanricarde, or hearing from him; but since his lordship is not yet come, and that we have not heard from him, I pray your lordship to excuse us a while, and we are very confident we shall at least hear from his lordship very soon, and then we hope your lordship shall be very well satisfied concerning our loyalty.

The information given to your lordship of our raising of batteries, and that we went to steal your lordship's horses, is but a mere aspersions; we do raise no batteries, neither did we mean, or were so forgetful of our duty, or so careless in our respects to your honour, as to send to steal your lordship's horses; but if any of your lordship's horses be missing, and that you will be pleased that we may know so much, with the marks or colours of them, we will make the best enquiry after them we can, and if they shall be found with any here, they shall be presently restored; so praying your lordship to take us for his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, and such as detest the name of rebels, I rest

Your lordship's humble servant,

Galway, the 11th of
August, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, Mayor.

My lord Forbes' letter to me, the 11th of August.

My LORD,

I Received your lordship's letter, containing an information concerning the state of business in this town and county of Galway, wherein as your lordship's wisdom and authority hath composed the former troubles, so now it is more fit to appease these late commotions, and repair this breach that is made upon so small grounds betwixt his majesty's fort and town of Galway; wherein my power or pains can be sufficient to these ends, your lordship shall have power to command them. For my own part, I am not ambitious of government, either of town or county, which I do acknowledge doth more properly belong to your lordship than any other; but I would wish both so secured to his majesty, the state of England, and your lordship's authority thence, that no irregular persons whatsoever have power to disturb that agreement, and escape unpunished; for which end I believe your lordship will think it fit they receive a garrison. And if naming of my name in the submission gives offence, either to your lordship or them, so the work be done to his majesty's honour and the good of the state, I shall easily consent your lordship rather take them under your protection, and answer to his majesty, and the state of England, for them. But since your lordship seems to decline the charge, as having already incurred a suspicion of contriving their ruin, I not being tyed by any pacification made by your lordship, but my commission being against all that have been in rebellion since the 23d of October last, your lordship, being sent for by them, may, for preservation of your own government, and preserving them from ruin, cause them

Aug. 1642. them to receive a competent garrison, which will be the only testimony of their so much professed loyalty, and the honour and strength of your lordship's government, the garrison also, as well as the town and county, being under your lordship's government, which I no ways intend to incroach upon, being I do so truly honour your lordship's worth, that it would rejoice me much to see your lordship so strengthened and established in your government, that you may be out of fear of danger, and may securely answer to his majesty and the state, for that government intrusted to your lordship's charge. And therefore, since I perceive the town to give nothing but fair words, and to be strengthening themselves on purpose to persist in their rebellion, unless your lordship's wisdom and authority prevent it, to make them suitors to your lordship I will ply them hard till your lordship's coming, and use them as their miscarriages both formerly, and since my coming, have deserved. And if your lordship cannot speedily come, I intreat your lordship to write to Sir Richard Blake, to let me have your lordship's house of Terrellan for a garrison, to keep off the rebels of Irrconaght; whereby your lordship shall oblige me to continue

Your lordship's affectionate and humble servant,

From on board the Speedwell, in Galway
road, the 11th of August, 1642.

FORBES.

My letter to the lord Forbes, the 13th of August.

MY LORD,

I HAVE received your lordship's second letter of the 11th of this present, to which with all trust and clearness I do return this answer; that in discharge of the duty of my place, and his majesty's trust, none shall exceed me in the advancement of his majesty's service, and the securing of the loyalty and obedience of his people of this town and county of Galway, as far as my power or judgment shall enable or direct me; and to prevent the danger and inconvenience that may happen, I do esteem it an essential part of my duty to observe the pacification, and preserve without breach the publick faith I have past in his majesty's behalf. And though your lordship is pleased to intimate in your letter, that you are not tyed to the pacification I have made, yet I am confident your lordship, deriving your authority from his majesty and the state of England, will not positively affirm that you are not obliged to the performance thereof, until his majesty and the state have declared their pleasure; for as I make no doubt but your lordship hath power to punish and prosecute rebellion, since the 23d of October, so long as they continue and are declared still to be in rebellion, so I shall presume to believe there is no power granted to any to break the pacifications or treaties concluded upon by the lords justices, or other inferior governors of provinces or counties, without special and particular directions from the king and state. And though I do not esteem myself bound to render an account of my government unto any, but immediately unto his majesty and the state of England, or to the lords justices, or rather chief governor of this kingdom, yet in regard of the importance of the present affairs, and that some disorders have happened, and heat and distemper fallen out between his majesty's fort, and the town and county, I will not so far rely upon my own judgment, as not to communicate the business, and be advised and directed by my lord president, and the English commanders with him, whose forces are appointed for my assistance; and after, upon full knowledge of the state and condition of the service to be performed throughout the province, I shall be the better able to apply myself to your lordship, with all due respect to your lordship's quality, and the great command intrusted to you by his majesty and the state of England. And for the more full and clear search into the dispositions and affections of this county, I have appointed

pointed a meeting upon Monday next of all the prime gentlemen, to propose ^{Aug. 1642.} such things unto them, as may best advance his majesty's service, give clearest testimony of their loyalty, and for the quiet and common safety of the county. In the mean time, if your lordship, by the procurement and inciting of the captain of the fort, or captain Ashley, have or shall assault the town or county, I know not how I can be able to divert them from seeking their own preservation by a natural defence; and if any affront or prejudice be put upon myself, by burning my towns, or spoiling my tenants, I doubt not but by his majesty's favour and knowledge of me, and the good affections of many of my friends in parliament, whereof I am myself a member, I shall in due time receive full reparation both in honour and fortune.

My lord, I have displaced the lord viscount of Clanmorris from his garrison of Athenry, with order for the disbanding of his company, by reason of his violent prosecution of revenge for a former execution of one of his officers. I have secured that important place by my own foot company, and other good assistants, lest it might be a harbour or receipt for any ill-disposed persons; and shall be watchful over all fit occasions of service.

I should be very glad that any place of mine should be made fit or capable to receive your lordship; but for my house of Terrellan, I have no other place in those parts for my own residence, or to entertain my lord president and your lordship, if this business should come to a treaty. I am newly informed that my lord president hath received your lordship's letter and mine, and I do hourly expect his answer, which as soon as I receive, shall be conveyed to your lordship with all expedition; and upon all good occasions I shall be ready to give testimony of my being

Your lordship's humble servant,

Loughreagh, the 13th of
August, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord president, the 12th of August, received the 13th.

My LORD,

BY the return I made to your lordship's letter of the 9th of this instant, I gave you some touch of what I had before intimated by a former letter, of a dangerous inconvenience like to befall me, which being for the present happily avoided, I am in hopes shortly to see your lordship, and then shall inform you of the particulars, when your lordship shall take consideration of my letter to my lord Forbes, which I herewith send you with a flying seal that your lordship may see it; you will then judge how far my sense of your present condition, and my own affections unto you, do engage me to adventure myself in your service, and reducing this miserable country to some better temper, if it may yet rest in my power to contribute towards it; and if those of Galway may be drawn to such a correspondency, and compliance, as may stand with our occasions that are here, I may probably prove an instrument for their preservation. The sooner your lordship shall appoint the time, at the place of our former meeting, and with such a guard of horse only, as, together with those I shall bring with me, may secure our passage towards Galway, the more it will conduce to the furtherance of the present service, and benefit of that county under your charge; to-morrow morning I shall go to Roscommon, where I shall attend your lordship's summons, and be ready to serve you, as

Your lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,

Athlone-Castle, the
12th of Aug. 1642.

RANELAGH.

Aug. 1642.

My lord Forbes, to my lord president of Conaght.

My honourable good LORD,

I Thought it my duty to give your lordship information of my arrival in these parts, with such forces as are under my command, where, if I could be so happy as to join them with your lordship's, I make no doubt, but in the compass of a small time, we should do God and our country good service against the rebels. I have written to my lord of Clanricarde for his assistance, which I stand assured of his lordship will not fail to comply with my desires, and the necessity of the occasions, so that I want nothing to further our designs but your lordship's aids and advice, which would advance the service much, if I could be happy in the enjoyment of your lordship's presence. For being a stranger in this kingdom, I cannot possibly make so perfect distinction of persons, as one whose constant residence and knowledge in these parts makes him acquainted withal, which I am confident your lordship is capable of, both in respect of your lordship's power, and eminence of place in these parts, with whom of necessity the best and most principal gentlemen must have to do withal, as also your lordship's more special residence amongst them. All which I thought meet to acquaint your lordship with; and so I leave it to your lordship's consideration and wisdom, and kiss your lordship's hands, and remain,

Your lordship's assured friend to serve you,

From on board the Speedwell, in Galway
road, the 9th of August, 1642.

FORBES.

My lord president of Conaght, to my lord Forbes.

MY LORD,

YOUR lordship's letter of the 9th of this month, hath happily found a safe passage unto me, and with it the assurance of your lordship's arrival in the harbour of Galway, whither, if my wishes could suddenly convey me, I should hasten unto you with the best of my advices for prosecution of the present service; but such is the condition of this time, that I conceive it not seasonable for me to march with my forces into the county of Galway, until it may be discerned how far my lord of Clanricarde's authority and interest may yet contain those within the limits of subjection, that hitherto have with fidelity stood firm unto him in the king's service, seeing some particular persons of prime quality are lately fallen from him, under pretence of high provocation given them by captain Willoughby.

I observe in your lordship's letter an inclination to make a distinction of persons; and truly, my lord, if that course shall not be held, I see little hope of a speedy reducing this kingdom to obedience, seeing most men are possessed with an opinion, that an utter extirpation is intended, and that conceit being fomented by the priests and friars, all are falling into such a course of desperation, that being once engaged, and their counsels and forces united, will certainly be an occasion to lengthen the war, and draw a vast charge upon the crown to make a complete conquest; whereas by a just distinction between practick and passive rebels, with severity to the one, and moderation to the other, the happy effects of peace may ensue in these remote parts, that are so infected with an universal rebellion, whilst the county of Galway hath hitherto almost wholly been contained in obedience, by the industry and integrity of my lord of Clanricarde, to his great honour and merit in the king's service.

My lord, this being some part of what I should offer unto your lordship's consideration, the best course I can advise at this distance is, that, in regard
your

your lordship is a stranger in this country, and that I conceive it not safe for you ^{Aug. 1642.} to remove from your own strength, that you will forbear all acts of hostility until there may be a personal meeting between your lordship and me, that we may consult how to order the service; for which purpose I intend, by the favour and correspondency of my lord of Clanricarde, to adventure myself, with a private convoy, to wait upon you with all possible speed, having, by this dispatch, moved his lordship to give me a present meeting near the confines of his government, for my more safe conduct to attend your lordship with all possible diligence and expedition, which shall be performed by

Your lordship's assured friend to honour and serve you,

Athlone-Castle, the 12th of
August, 1642.

RANELAGH.

The mayor of Galway's letter to me the 12th of August, received the 13th.

Right Honourable,

AT this present we received the inclosed letter from the lord Forbes, which how far it toucheth upon your lordship, and your government, besides the burning, hanging, and other acts of hostility committed yesterday, your lordship best knows; but for our parts, as we intend not to do your lordship that wrong as to submit ourselves to the lord Forbes' judgment, not knowing what authority he hath, or from whom, yet we do not purpose to engage ourselves by any material answer to him, until we shall hear from your lordship, and be directed by you, wherein we must humbly beseech your honour to study our preservation in this extremity, as we always relied upon your honour and worth; so I rest

Your lordship's assured friend and humble servant,

Galway, the 12th of
August, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, Mayor.

My lord Forbes to the mayor of Galway, the 12th of August.

Mr. Mayor,

AS I am unwilling to do any act of injustice in condemning you, or seeking your ruin, until you be fully heard to speak freely for yourselves before me, and before your accusers, so you must not think that I will trifle time with this chargeable fleet in attending your leisures, if I receive not present satisfaction in the particulars following.

1. You shall, during my abode here, enter common with none of the rebels without the town.

2. You shall offer no violence or injury to any that belong to the fort, or any poor distressed people about it, during my treaty with you.

3. You shall, in testimony of your loyalty, send three or four of your ablest and discreetest men that are known not to be factious, to represent your real grievances, since the pacification by the earl of Clanricarde; and the captain of the fort, and captain Ashley shall be present to accuse you of all breaches of duty and allegiance on your part, that after a full hearing of both parties, I may know what to determine concerning you.

4. If it shall be thought fitting for preservation of this county and province, that the governor, the earl of Clanricarde, place here a garrison in your town, you give your concurrence and consent to it, or otherwise find out such ways

K k k

for

Aug. 1642. for reducing and preserving both of county and province, as may secure their obedience to his majesty, and the state of England.

5. That course be taken speedily by you, and your governor, for providing his majesty's fort with, at least, eight months provision, and sureties given him for preservation of peace and amity betwixt you.

6. That the protestant religion be with that same liberty preached and professed, and such as desire to live amongst you secured of their lives and estates, as before the first troubles.

These conditions being yielded unto, send for your governor, and by his advice, and those that are best affected amongst you to his majesty's service, I will provide for your future peace and surety, as I will be answerable to his majesty, and the state of England, and will, in the mean time, draw out some of my forces to secure you from any interruption of the Irconaght rebels, from whom you shall fear no harm or prejudice, either to the town, or persons, or your goods, till such time as the treaty be finished, or discharged; and as my forces shall be employed for your good, if you approve yourselves loyal subjects, so if you be found guilty, or impenitent, expect to find your recompence accordingly. You may safely send to me, either to the ship, or when you see me land; and if you be doubtful, because, I presume, you will send men well qualified, I shall upon advertisement exchange hostages with you, and shall still desire to be esteemed, as I profess myself to be

Your well wishing friend,

From on board the Speedwell, in Galway
road, the 12th of August, 1642.

FORBES.

The mayor of Galway to the lord Forbes, the 12th of August.

Right Honourable,

I HAVE received your lordship's letter dated this morning, and in that it expresseth a care to settle peace and amity between the captain of the fort and this town. We humbly thank your honour, and wish we may be believed, there is no earthly thing we desire more than to live as dutiful and loyal subjects under the protection of his majesty's laws, and in a secured peace and amity with all our neighbours; but may it please your lordship to understand, that a pacification, and certain articles, being concluded for settling a firm peace in this town, and subscribed by captain Willoughby for better assurance, since which time, we have done nothing contrary to the said articles, but the same have been several times by him infringed (as we have formerly informed your lordship) which gave us occasion of many complaints against him to the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde, to whom the government of this town and county is committed by his sacred majesty, under the great seal of England; and who had the honour, by his great care, and his majesty's power, heretofore to restore us peace, when the town and country stood in need of it; the copy of which several complaints have been sent to captain Willoughby, which he promised to answer in person, or writing, and to that purpose the earl came to Terrellan near the town to end the difference; but we could never hear that he hath given any satisfaction for his proceedings, but made coloured pretences, which he could not make appear; and the town being not redressed for the wrongs they suffered, nor secured of the captain's good carriage towards us for time to come, have addressed their humble complaints to his majesty and the state of this kingdom. And so our business being already in this way of hearing, we humbly beseech your lordship not to expect a sudden answer to the particulars you are pleased to send us, until we be well advised concerning them, lest we should seem to give way to any intrenchment upon this government, or the state of this kingdom, or seem to appeal from
those

those jurisdictions, in whom we can alledge no want of power, or failure of justice. So assuring your lordship, that we will demean ourselves according to our expressions to your honour, I humbly rest

Your lordship's humble servant

Galway, the 12th of
August, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, Mayor.

My lord Forbes to the mayor of Galway, the 12th of August.

Mr. Mayor,

YOUR council that advise you mistake both your rights and my intentions, for if I would deal strictly with you as my commission bears, I need acknowledge no pacification; but such is my desire to secure your loyalty to his majesty, and your future peace with his majesty's fort, that I proposed conditions to you favourably, beyond your deservings, and was willing, in any amicable way, to have removed all differences betwixt you and the fort; but since you chuse rather a legal way, and think, by that means to distress his majesty's fort, you necessitate me to take part with the fort; whereas, if your loyalty be approved, and cleared, even since the last pacification, I was rather desirous to be a mediator than a judge betwixt you; and very careful to give my lord of Clanricarde that respect due to his honour and worth; and whereas I promised assurance till the treaty was discharged, I do verily take your letter to be a discharge, if not that, yet your men coming out of the town to shoot at my soldiers from under ditches, is more than a sufficient discharge of it; yet, if you be resolved to give a present answer to these particulars, one by one, before you engage me in hostility against you, there may be a means found out of greater advantage to you, than you can conceive at present; but if you decline all reality, then the treaty is ended, and I can instile myself no longer

Your well wishing friend,

The 12th of August,
1642.

FORBES.

The mayor of Galway's letter to me, with their answer to my lord Forbes' propositions, the 13th of August.

Right Honourable,

WE have written yesterday by Sir Richard Blake's way to your lordship, and sent a copy of a letter, and propositions then sent to us by my lord Forbes, to which we made answer somewhat generally; a copy of which I send you inclosed, together with a copy of another letter sent by his lordship last night, and our answer to it, which we sent this morning, which is all we can inform your lordship of, save that yesterday the lord Forbes landed all his men in the West, and possessed himself of our Lady Church, where he doth yet lodge with his forces, and planted two pieces of brass ordnance; yesterday they burnt all the villages near them, but I believe they have got but little prey or booty, and will find the work your lordship propounded to them of some difficulty.

Yesterday one of the lord Forbes' soldiers in his arms came to the gates, and being questioned, had no occasion but to drink some beer which they wanted; we understood by him that the lord Forbes intends to garrison eight hundred men here this winter; that his soldiers had no pay, and would gladly be in London again; that about one hundred of his men were lost at Kinsale; and nothing else of any consequence: the man with his arms we safely conveyed to the fort. My lord, this is all we have to trouble your lordship with at this present time, only that as we expect nothing but blows, that your lordship will prepare ways for

July 1642. for our relief, and favour us with your letters and directions, as your honour shall see occasion; so praying for your lordship's happiness and the peace of this country, I humbly rest

Your honour's assured friend, and most humble servant,

Galway, the 13th of
August, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, Mayor.

The mayor of Galway to the lord Forbes, the 13th of August.

Right Honourable,

I HAVE received the letter you were pleased to send from the West last night, and pray your lordship to excuse us, that we are not acquainted with your lordship's commission; but inasmuch as your lordship is pleased to declare, that by it your lordship need acknowledge no pacification, we have very great reason to thank God that such an ample power is committed to one so exceedingly well tempered, and so moderate in the execution of it; and do most humbly thank your lordship for the expressions your lordship is pleased to make of your good inclination to peace, for which we would run very great hazards to embrace it with security; and we pray your lordship to believe, that the ways we have taken in the redress of our complaints were such, as we thought fittest to bring us peace, considering what little regard captain Willoughby and captain Ashley have had to the pacification so solemnly concluded, and approved by the state of this kingdom, having never observed it but in shew, to serve their own turns, and having, in that respect, made very great benefit of it.

My lord, since you press us so much to a particular answer to the propositions sent by your lordship for your satisfaction, and to so pious an end, we will endeavour to give your lordship satisfaction as far as is fit for us.

To the first therefore of the propositions we do agree, having nothing to do otherwise.

To the second we likewise agree, so the fort men and your lordship's do the like to us, and not approach to endanger us or our walls, or spoil or take the goods of the inhabitants.

To the third we answer, that our charge against captain Willoughby and captain Ashley is sent to them in writing, which if they please to acquaint your lordship with, and that we may know by writing what they can lay to our charge, we shall be most willing to give your lordship the best satisfaction we can, with a saving of our respect and duty to our governor and superiors, that your lordship may, as you are pleased to express, in an amicable way help to remove all difference between the fort and us; for your lordship may be assured we intend not the distress of the fort, we do, in defence of our own lives, and of these walls, for his majesty's service, distress ourselves.

To the fourth, we have very great confidence in the earl of Clanricarde's worth and honour, and have a strong hope that he will not move the first matter of this proposition unto us, being expressly against the articles of the pacification, especially we being of late clogged within our walls with above seven hundred families, who having their houses burnt in the suburbs by the soldiers, and their means and ways of livelihood taken from them, we are forced to shelter and maintain; but would willingly, to the utmost of our abilities, serve his majesty for securing the obedience of this county and province to his sacred person, and royal posterity, whereof our noble lord the earl hath a vigilant care.

5. This proposition principally concerns our lieutenant governor, without whom we cannot answer it, having no ability to perform it.

To the sixth, it is always observed; and as for securing of private mens fears we may not undertake; but such as have lived amongst us know to what dangers we have

have exposed our own to secure their lives and estates in the times of our late ^{Aug. 642.} distempers; but now we are clear of those guests that have so troubled us.

This, my lord, being that we thought fit to present unto you in answer to the propositions, I beseech your honour to take it in the best sense, and apply those peaceable remedies your noble inclination will direct you unto, without giving credit to those captains, and others, that have expressed so much malice and spleen to this town.

My lord, there was not one man of this town with any arms out of the West gates yesterday, since we understood of your lordship's intention, for we had a special care of that, and therefore I beseech your lordship not to give credit to the report you had, that they were of our men that shot; and so wishing the long continuance of your friendship to this town, I rest

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Galway, the 13th of
August, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, Mayor.

The mayor of Galway's letter to me, the 13th of August.

Right Honourable,

SINCE my last writing to your lordship to-day, I received a letter from the lord Forbes this night, at nine of the clock, a copy whereof I send your lordship inclosed, by which your lordship may understand how he would decline the pacification, and make use of the unlimited power of his commission.

My lord, it were of no use for us to admit verbal complaints between captain Willoughby and us, where his lordship's relation (whom we may not think to be indifferent) may bring an unavoidable prejudice upon us; therefore, and since there is no hope to put off this state commissioner fairly, we beseech your honour to bethink some way for our security, without intrusting your own person to his power, for we are bound, and do heartily wish your lordship happiness, though my lord Forbes be pleased to think otherwise; so praying your lordship to consider what short time is given, I humbly rest

Your lordship's assured friend and most humble servant,

Galway, the 13th of
August, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, Mayor.

My lord Forbes to the mayor of Galway, the 13th of August.

Mr. Mayor,

IF neither the earl of Clanricarde your governor, nor any other such as myself, sent by his majesty, and the state of England, can secure your peace, which you profess you would run a great hazard to embrace, it argues your greater guiltiness, that your fears put you beyond hope of pardon; but seeing there is no end of writing, and I cannot answer it that I am so long put off with fair words, I send you this for the last. I intend, if your answers be not more satisfactory (for your declining meeting face to face, and sending able and discreet men to represent your grievances specified in the third article, intimates so much) that you either fear you are not able to answer their challenge, or otherwise you distrust my integrity and intentions for your good, and therefore will not trust any of quality to confer with me; and your declining of the fifth, argues greater disloyalty, whereas you only have distressed, and been the occasion of distressing his majesty's fort, you will put off the relieving of it to the earl of Clanricarde, whom you have, through your misdemeanors (so may I say) banished from his government, that I verily believe he dare not trust himself to come

Aug. 1642. within your walls: and in your denial of the fourth, your purpose to continue in rebellion doth appear most of all; for although your governor did not require it, his majesty's service must, and will have it, either by him, or some other, at least, till the province and the whole kingdom be reduced to their wonted loyalties; and if you were so wise as I did take you to be, and also loyal as you profess, you would have more benefit than prejudice by it: and as for the sixth, I would rather lay that burthen upon your governor, if the other three were condescended unto, whose duty it would be to see his majesty's laws observed, and his subjects protected; but your governor not coming, and your distrustfulness, will occasion your ruin; and although I should be sorry that a trial should be wanting to Israel, or his majesty lose a corporation, yet, with God's assistance, your walls, which you so idolize, shall be razed, before his majesty, and the state of England, have not that due obedience from you, which you, and all other good subjects, owe. I will yet give you the sabbath's rest, and time to bethink yourselves, and send for your governor; but if before to-morrow night your governor come not to secure your obedience, I do hereby discharge all farther treaty, and so leave you to that judgment which God hath appointed for you.

From on board the Speedwell,
the 13th of August, 1642.

FORBES.

Though I was much distasted with these letters of my lord Forbes, sent me by the mayor of Galway, assuming so great a power to himself, and expressing so little regard of me, and slightly repeating the title of their governor so often to them, yet I would take no notice of it, but wrote back to the mayor, that those letters were written by my lord Forbes before his receipt of my second letter, which together with a letter to him from my lord president of Conaght, which I sent immediately after, would, I was confident, give him that satisfaction, as that he would be better advised than to offer any acts of hostility before my return from the borders of the county of Roscommon, where I was going to meet my lord president, and would be very speedily at Terrellan for a farther treaty with my lord Forbes; and in the mean time advised them, as occasion should be offered, to continue the same form of civility to his lordship, as they had discreetly begun.

My letter to the lord president of Conaght, the 14th of August.

MY LORD,

BOTH your dispatches to one effect I received in the afternoon yesterday, within a short space one after the other, both the messengers, striving who should be most diligent in the safe conveyance of them. I will not fail, by God's favour, to wait upon your lordship at our former meeting place on Wednesday about twelve o'clock; though such is the misery and confusion like to be in those parts, that until I have had some farther trial here, and conferred with your lordship thereupon, I dare not adventure to advise your lordship's coming into this country as you intended, for a full trial of the affections and inclinations of this country. I am to go to-morrow to Athenry, to a general meeting of the prime gentlemen of all the county; and if they will be ruled, and conformable to what I shall propose unto them, in discharge of my duty and theirs, to give satisfaction to your lordship, and the other commanders, and for their own safeties and preservation, I shall then with much comfort attend your lordship, and not doubt of prosperous success. But some expressions in this inclosed draft of submission sent to the town by the lord Forbes, and some other passages, doth very much trouble and disturb the thoughts both of the town and country; and, at this instant, I am informed from Galway, that he is resolved to fall upon the town to-morrow; but

but I presume your lordship's letter will divert that intention. Whatsoever happens, I will run any hazard rather than miss some conference with your lordship that is of great importance, whereby I shall clearly deliver my thoughts unto you, if your lordship's progress hold. I have appointed Wednesday night for Clonbrock, Thursday to honour this poor place, and Friday at Terrellan, during your pleasure; it cannot be otherwise well contrived with safety and fit accommodation, &c.

Loughreagh, the 14th of
August, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The mayor of Galway's letter to me, the 15th of August.

Right Honourable,

THIS corporation cannot sufficiently express their thanks to your lordship, for the infinite labour and pains your lordship have taken for the safety and quiet of this town.

My lord, we are informed that my lord president of Conaght comes in your lordship's company to Terrellan; and it does much trouble the thoughts of all townsmen, lest his intentions should not be so clear as your lordship may think; and a letter sent by the lord Forbes to his lordship was lately intercepted in a poor man's waist, a copy of which we send your lordship inclosed, which much increases their jealousies, inasmuch as if your lordship come without him, their hopes will be much the better; so craving your lordship's pardon, that we are bold thus freely to open ourselves to your lordship, I rest

Your lordship's assured friend, and most humble servant,

Galway, the 15th of
August, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, Mayor.

A copy of my lord Forbes' letter to my lord president of Conaght, dated the 10th of August, intercepted, and sent me by the mayor of Galway the 15th of August.

MY LORD,

IF your lordship can march hither with any considerable forces, I have twenty sail, and of which I can spare one thousand or twelve hundred men to assist your lordship to quiet this province, as the good of the publick shall require. I doubt not by your lordship's power with the state of Dublin, and the favour I expect from the Scotch army in Ulster, we shall make a considerable body to march forth, and daunt the rebels in any part of this kingdom. My former letter, conveyed by my lord of Clanricarde's means, I doubt not is come to your hands. If your lordship like well of this project, you may write letters before you march hitherwards to the state of Dublin, and to your son-in-law Sir John Clotworthy in Ulster, to provide such forces as they can spare, and your lordship shall think sufficient, to be in a readiness to march through Ulster and Leinster hitherwards, with all possible speed; and as our designs concur to do his majesty and the state acceptable service, so I shall, in my proceedings, be advised by your lordship, and shall ever approve myself

Your lordship's affectionate friend,

From Galway road, the 10th of
August, 1642.

FORBES.

P. S. All my ships are not yet come, but the better part of them are here already.

This

Aug. 1642.

This letter, as it occasioned much trouble and fear to the corporation of Galway, so it gave my lord president and me, who understood the state of the kingdom, great cause of mirth and laughter at our meeting, observing the ridiculousness of the design, it being almost impossible to convey any letters unto those remote parts of the kingdom, and altogether impossible for any forces to march from thence clean cross the whole kingdom, and the Irish all in arms in the way, unless they would leave all those parts defenceless, and draw all their forces to answer this deep plot: the earl of Ormond having found much difficulty, with most of the forces of Dublin, to convey two thousand men to Athlone to my lord president, and forced to make a sudden retreat back the middle of June last, when the Irish were nothing so strong, nor so generally united. We apprehended it one of captain Willoughby's wise designs, approved of by the well-experienced commanders of the city of London, who attended my lord Forbes, and gave me good caution of his intentions to draw in the Scots to destroy all these parts: a cure far worse than the disease.

I returned answer to Mr. mayor of Galway, that as they had hitherto found me careful of them, so I desired they would still trust the managing of the business to me, who, by God's favour, would contrive it best for their preservation, the good of the county, the king's service, and my own safety.

The same day I met most of the principal gentlemen of the county, and declared unto them my constant care, with much trouble and excess of charge, not only to secure them, and their posterities in future, by continuing in their loyalty and due obedience to his majesty, but likewise to preserve them, in present, in peace and plenty in the midst of war, that had made general destruction in other parts of the kingdom; that now an imminent danger was come upon them by the dissensions between the town of Galway and the fort, and partly by some miscarriages in the country, and that they would not trust wholly to those ways I had contrived for their preservation, though I could not but acknowledge a constant duty in many of them to his majesty, and good affection to myself; and, to remove that danger, it would be necessary to resolve of some speedy course to give me such assurance of their future carriage and obedience, as might both secure me in the discharge of my duty to his majesty's service, and enable me to give satisfaction therein to my lord president and his commanders, whose counsels, advice, and assistance I was resolved to make use of in this business, and likewise to my lord Forbes, and his fleet, who would not certainly depart from hence, without good motives and grounds for his lordship's removal. And it growing late, and I having a farther journey to go, I desired they would take the business that night into their serious considerations, and meet me the next day with their settled resolutions and desires, which, for my discharge, and the satisfaction of others, I should expect in writing under all their hands.

The next day they met me according to appointment, and there delivered me the following petition and propositions.

The humble petition of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and others, the inhabitants of the county of Galway.

To the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, lieutenant governor of the county and town of Galway, the 16th of August, 1642.

SHEWING,

THAT notwithstanding the general troubles grown in most parts of this whole kingdom, your petitioners for these nine months and upwards, in testimony of their faithful and hereditary loyalty unto their natural and dread sovereign the king's most excellent majesty, and the crown of England, have made their constant applications unto your lordship, as their most noble and just governor under him, and, upon all occasions, being called unto, have attended

tended your lordship, and tendered and performed their best power and affections for the advancement of his majesty's service, and defence of the country, in which course of obedience they intend to walk to the end, though to the hazard of their lives, wives, children, and estates, and all that is dear unto them, whereby they have drawn much causeless malice and indignation upon them. Aug. 1642

Yet so it is, right honourable, that all fears and jealousies happened between captain Willoughby, who commands his majesty's fort near Galway, and the town of Galway and some considerable gentlemen in this county, being removed by the interposition of your lordship's authority, the submission of the said town and gentlemen, a perfect (and the petitioners well hoped lasting) and inviolable pacification ensued, which was soon afterwards ratified by the right honourable the lords justices, and council of state of this kingdom, until his majesty's express pleasure were therein declared.

Yet, nevertheless, the said captain Anthony Willoughby, and the soldiers under his command in the said fort, and one captain Ashley, who commands a ship for divers months riding in the harbour of Galway, well knowing of, and being privy to the said pacification and ratification, have, in all the material parts thereof, broken and violated the same, and his majesty's word, and publick faith therein included, by notorious depredations and robberies upon sea and land in the said county, shooting off great ordnance at the said town without intermission, or any manner of provocation given known to the petitioners, interruption of all manner of trade, murders, burning of houses, and all other acts of unnatural and cruel hostility exercised, not only upon the persons comprised in the said pacification, but likewise on many other persons of all sorts and qualities within the said town and county, who never offended since the said troubles began, and who contributed their best endeavours to the relief and maintenance of the said fort.

And further, so it is, that the petitioners do apprehend great and just fears, that by the misinformation and untrue suggestions of the said captains Anthony Willoughby and Ashley, and others in the said fort and ship, the lord Forbes hath been invited of late to arrive in the port of Galway with a considerable navy of ships, and great number of land soldiers, who have committed all acts of hostility in this county, and other adjacent parts, and laid a streight siege to his majesty's said town of Galway, without any warrant or authority from his majesty, known to the petitioners, or offence done by the said town since the said pacification; whereas the interest of the said county and town are interwoven by reason of their mutual and necessary intercourse and commerce, which tend to the consistence of both; by means of which proceedings the said town, and this county, which for the general offended not, are like to be made the seat of a long war, and which do threaten danger unto his majesty's said fort, and visible calamity, if not apparent destruction to your lordship, your countess, children, family, and friends, and many zealously affected to his majesty's service therein. All which being taken into your lordship's tender and speedy consideration, it may please your lordship to take some present course for removing the petitioners jealousies, fears, and dangers, by the present disassieging of the town, and stopping of the incursions of the said lord Forbes, and the captains of the said fort and ship, and the soldiers under their respective commands, for the security of the petitioners, their lives, goods, and estates, whereunto they conceive his lordship, or the rest, cannot in honour or wisdom but condescend; or otherwise, that your lordship will not blame them if they betake themselves to that natural and just defence allowed by all laws for their own and the said town's preservation and safety, which they will use no further than they are provoked; and still having a dutiful and awful regard unto that loyalty and allegiance which they will ever chearfully observe, and inviolably bear unto his sacred majesty, and the crown of England.

And they shall ever pray.

M m m

Aug. 1 642 Propositions and agreements of the knights, gentlemen, and inhabitants of his majesty's county of Galway, humbly presented to the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, lieutenant governor of the said county and town of Galway.

THAT the said knights, gentlemen, and inhabitants will unanimously join and yield their assistance to the said earl in the preservation of his majesty's authority and peace, and punishing of all malefactors within this government, according to the common law of England, and laudable statutes of force in this realm.

That they will assist the high sheriff of the county, the justices of the peace, and all other magistrates and officers, in the lawful executions of their places; and that the said sheriff, justices of the peace, and other officers, shall duly manage their places for the preservation of his majesty's peace, and punishment of malefactors.

That they will assist all such as have any lawful warrant or authority from the said earl in the due execution thereof, and in yielding obedience thereunto.

That they will with their best power give assistance unto the said earl, and all his majesty's officers and magistrates, in suppressing all insurrections, rebellions, riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies, and other great offences committed within this government, and in punishing the actors and accessaries therein.

That being secured from the incursions and violences of the fort and ships, which now are, or which hereafter shall arrive in the bay of Galway, or any other harbour or creek in or near this county, they will take such constant and effectual course that the markets shall be supplied with all victuals and provision, and that the fort shall have priority of buying at reasonable and conscionable rates for ready money, and the victuals and provision so bought securely conveyed to the fort; notwithstanding that captain Anthony Willoughby, now captain of the said fort, and captain Ashley, who commands a ship now in the said harbour, and the soldiers under their respective commands, and others, by their direction and encouragement, have exercised, and do daily exercise all acts of hostility upon great numbers of his majesty's faithful subjects in this county, as murders, without distinction of age or sex, robberies, breach of publick faith, and all other sorts of mischief, to the great impoverishment and destruction of the county, for which the said knights, gentlemen, and inhabitants, do humbly desire reparation against the said captains for their losses.

That they shall use their best power to preserve the few English that are in this county from any violence or wrong, and to bring to justice those that shall wrong them, and assist the said earl in procuring restitution of such goods as were taken from them, or satisfaction for the same, reciprocal satisfaction being made for their losses sustained by, and by means of the said captains Willoughby and Ashley, and others.

That they will duly pay all his majesty's compositions and exchequer rents, and assist the sheriffs and collectors in the levying, and safe keeping, and conducting thereof for his majesty's service, they being secured from after-payments of the said rents.

That they will, to their power, suppress all robberies and violences in or near the highways and fields, and bring the offenders to justice; and endeavour to keep the highways and passages free from danger, whereby the subjects may repair to towns and markets in other places, and travel in security about their honest affairs.

That they will assist the earl against any that shall levy soldiers or men, or raise or keep companies, or cefs or charge them on the country, to take loss, or maintenance from the country, without his lordship's allowance, other than in cases of inevitable necessity, for the necessary preservation of their lives, estates, and goods; and in case timely remedy be not applied by his lordship for their
said

said preservation, and in such case all forces to be levied shall be commanded ^{Aug. 1642.} and directed by his lordship.

That they will assist his lordship in procuring all tradesmen and labourers, in this busy season, to follow their occasions, that they may not be wandering, or taken to be soldiers.

That they will assist the execution of the said earl's lawful warrants against any that shall enter into possessions, take distresses, or other goods, with force or violence, or shall commit any rescues, or disobedience to any of the said earl's lawful orders or warrants within this government.

They humbly desire a speedy and effectual answer of their humble petition, presented to his lordship on the 16th of this present month of August, 1642.

Upon their delivery of the petition and propositions to me, I told them it was not possible for me to give any certain answer in present to their petition, nor to frame any settled judgment of their propositions, the necessity of my speedy departure to meet my lord president scarce allowing me time to read them over; and withal, nothing could be certainly concluded without a conference with his lordship, and a farther treaty with my lord Forbes; and therefore I advised them to chuse a committee amongst themselves, to attend upon me at Terrellan at my return, and to oblige themselves to the performance of what should be there concluded upon between the said committee and me; and I did not doubt, if they would be concurring with me as they ought, I should be able to remove the present dangers, and still to preserve them in a happy and prosperous condition.

They well approving of the motion I made, and seeming very firm and well settled in their duty to his majesty, and good affections to me, I left them to their election of a committee, and went that night to a castle of Mr. Richard Betagh's, some five miles from the place of meeting, with my lord president, and there received a very handsome and friendly entertainment. The next day I passed over the ford of Garurragh into the county of Roscommon, accompanied with about two hundred horse, and there I found my lord president, expecting my coming, with about that number of horse, and some four hundred foot, to secure that dangerous passage, some of the enemies being in those woods; and after some two hours discourse with my lord, and the other commanders there, his lordship resolved, only with his guard of horse, to go along with me to Terrellan, to treat and confer with my lord Forbes, having laid some designs, which, if his lordship would undertake, we conceived would be of much more safety and advantage to his majesty's service, than the present enterprize he was put upon by the malice and precipitate counsels of captain Willoughby and captain Ashley; and that night we went eight miles to Mr. Richard Dillon's of Clonbrock, and there at better leisure, I shewed his lordship all my proceedings with my lord Forbes before, but briefly discoursed of, and all was very well approved of by his lordship, as likewise what passed betwixt me and the gentlemen of the country.

The next day's journey proving somewhat long to my house at Loughreagh, his lordship's troop of horse being with service much weakened, his lordship was pleased to rest there on Friday; and I wrote an excuse to my lord Forbes, and desired his lordship to do me that honour as to meet my lord president at Terrellan upon Saturday at dinner. Upon Saturday morning, in our way to Terrellan, I received the letter following from my lord Forbes.

MY LORD,

I Received your letter, and my lord president's, and am glad your lordship is so near, and would for myself be most willing to wait upon your lordship, or my lord president, at any greater distance, if my charge would permit, or captain Willoughby (who must not leave the fort) could be present with me. I do humbly thank your lordship for your noble favours, but our first meeting will

Aug. 1642. will be most conveniently in his majesty's fort; and, as your lordship shall be pleased to appoint, shall command such horse as I have, and some foot companies, to meet your lordship at Castle Gare, and shall attend your lordship with the rest, ready to be set on work for the advancement of his majesty's service, as your lordship and my lord president shall advise, on whose wisdom and judgment I do rely; and shall ever approve myself

Your lordship's most faithful and humble servant,

From his majesty's fort of Galway,
the 19th of August, 1642.

FORBES.

Upon imparting this letter to my lord president, his lordship proposed that we should first go to the fort, before we went to Terrellan; but I did presume to differ in opinion, and told his lordship that I conceived my lord Forbes declining that meeting was a great disrespect to both of us, and argued much of pride, or distrust, or both, his lordship having taken so much pains to come so far from his government, that he should refuse to come one mile to give him a meeting, where there was not the least shadow of danger, and captain Willoughby for his pleasure, or to do mischief, could go many miles with his trumpet, and a few horse, but must not now leave the fort to wait upon his lordship; that, for my part, I was so sensible of the affronts and disrespects of captain Willoughby towards me in many particulars, and now especially in calling in my lord Forbes into this government, without my advice or knowledge, and his lordship being so high in his expressions, both to myself and the mayor of Galway, and assuming a power in a manner to wrest me out of my government, and being fully informed of the high division between the king and parliament, and their hatred to all of my religion, though never so faithful, as appeared by their total neglecting of me all this time, I could not hold it either safe or honourable for me to put myself into their power, until I could find that they were better inclined, and would be advised, and observe those rules that his lordship and myself should think fit to prescribe unto them. His lordship was very sensible of my expressions, and did acknowledge that my apprehensions were well grounded; but concluded, that, having come so far, he would not neglect the business he came upon, by standing upon points of civility, how, or to whom they should be paid; and his danger and mine being not equal in many respects, he would presently go unto them, in regard there could be no other fit way for to remove those jealousies and discontents between them and me. But by my disputing the business freely with him, and this being his lordship's settled resolution, I sent Mr. justice Donnellan, and some other gentlemen, and most of my horse, to wait upon his lordship thither, and went myself to Terrellan.

His lordship at his return in the evening was pleased to tell me, that most of their discourse that day had been of the affairs of England, and that they had briefly touched upon the present business; and the next, being Sunday, he was invited thither to his devotions in the morning, and to dine there, and that in the afternoon they would debate the business at large; and by some words his lordship had let fall, I did conjecture he was not well satisfied with their humour and inclinations.

When his lordship was gone the next day to the fort, some of my lord Forbes' and captain Willoughby's horse swept away all the milch cows belonging to the town that were grazing under their walls, they being confident, that, during the treaty, and my lord president's being there, and mine, no such injury should be offered them, or that they would make it their sabbath-day's work in the morning; and his lordship returning, found me much distasted with such an affront, and many of the chief men of the town there making loud complaints of the injury done them, and expecting that his lordship would take some course that

that justice should be done them, and satisfaction made. His lordship said, that ^{Aug. 1642.} if they had complained of it when he was at the fort, he would have gotten them restitution, and the next day would freely express his dislike to that proceeding, and would labour for reparation.

The townsmen being gone, his lordship declared unto me, that they had a very large and hot debate; that, by my information, and the complaints he received from divers of the town and county, he had charged captain Willoughby very home with these miscarriages and violent proceedings; and though he laboured much to justify himself, yet he could not but acknowledge to me, that he found him faulty in many particulars, and especially in his disrespect to me, who had so carefully relieved and preserved him by my own private power and interest, without any the least assistance from the state, or any other; that though he had alledged the difficulties of making any attempt upon the town, the diversion of service in other parts of the province, and the unwillingness he found in many of my lord Forbes' own commanders to undertake the business, the danger and dishonour that would be put upon me by drawing thither all the Irish forces of those parts of the kingdom, and the breach of publick faith, and the king's word engaged for the keeping of the pacification, which would draw all mens obedience from me, yet the lord Forbes, by the instigation of captain Willoughby, and a pragmatick chaplain of my lord Forbes brought from London, by whom he was much guided, his lordship did still press to fall upon the town; but that he would advise further with his commanders, and consider of it until the next day; and desired to know what the town and county would do for supply of the fort, if he should be persuaded to decline the course he intended here.

The next morning his lordship going to the fort, and not yet forward to have me go thither, until affairs were brought to a fuller resolution, lest their way of disputation might give me further distaste, I desired his lordship to excuse me to my lord Forbes, the committee of the country and some of the town being to come unto me, and to speak to captain Willoughby for a particular of his demands, that I might treat with them about whatsoever he should propose.

My lord at his coming home at night told, that they had continued all day in an endless unsettled dispute; sometimes they would be ruled and ordered by whatsoever my lord president and myself should appoint; soon after, it was not for his reputation that I invited my lord Forbes thither, nor for my lord's honour that came there, to depart without acting somewhat: and as for the cattle taken away, after his wonted course of satisfaction, said he gave them no encouragement to leave them there, and there finding them, he thought them lawful booty.

My lord president told me farther, that, according to what we had formerly considered of, he had proposed to my lord Forbes to remove with his fleet and forces to the bay of Sligoe, which was but a short passage, an excellent harbour, a town easily to be gained, and to be strongly fortified, and a place fittest for a magazine in all the province, and would most of any thing conduce to a speedy settlement of the whole province; a good agreement being settled here between the fort, town, and county, that I might supply his lordship with provisions, and countenance his proceedings, by drawing some forces to the borders of the counties of Roscommon and Mayo as occasion should be offered; and that my lord Forbes was inclinable to the motion, if the commanders would consent thereto, and that he believed it would be agreed upon, if captain Willoughby did not give some indiscreet interruption to it. And that night there came with his lordship to see me Sir Edward Denny and Sir Samuel Crooke newly landed, who came out of Munster to my lord Forbes for his assistance, a very strong * place, and of very great importance, belonging to Sir Edward Denny, being in ^{* Tralee.} distress, having been long besieged, and not to be relieved but by sea; and by discourse with them I perceived that much good service in those parts was neglected

Aug. 1642. glected by my lord Forbes' sudden departure out of Munster, to pursue this well-laid design of captain Willoughby.

In the morning early I received some propositions from captain Willoughby to be proposed to the town and county, which put me in hopes that they were moderately and peaceably inclined; and my lord president being soon after ready to go to the fort, I desired his lordship to let my lord Forbes know, that if his lordship and captain Willoughby would come to some settled resolution, I did not doubt but I should be able to wait upon his lordship next morning with good satisfaction from the town and country, such as might make a good conclusion, and bring all to a right and fit settlement.

The demands of captain Willoughby of the town and county of Galway, the 22d of August, 1642.

1. **H**ostages, such as the earl shall at his peril answer for, and such as he shall think fit to nominate, to remain with himself.
2. One hundred butts of beer, for which the captain will give full satisfaction.
3. Thirty thousand weight of biskets, for the like satisfaction.
4. A fair correspondence between the town and fort.

From the country was required a present course to relieve the fort, for six months, and to be sent into the fort, as followeth.

The allowance of beef and mutton for one week, must be at least twelve beeves and forty muttons; and this weekly proportion I desire may be all sent into the fort in six weeks, as will victual the fort for six months.

As I was labouring with those of the town, and the committee appointed from the county, we might see all the country on fire all along the sea coast, and word was brought me that it was done by some of my lord Forbes' men, and other of captain Willoughby's; and, to my comfort, I could discern that the destruction was most upon my own land and tenants. This strange proceeding, as it much disturbed me, so it did so very much affright those I was in treaty withal, that I had much difficulty to stay them with me, fearing some sudden treachery; but I earnestly pressed them, whatsoever happened, to take off the blame from themselves, and to yield to some fit contribution for supply of the fort, that we might be speedily rid of those dangerous guests that did demand it; and with much trouble and amazement I drew this answer from them.

Soon after I had dispatched them, I received a very strange and unexpected letter from my lord Forbes, then at the fort.

My lord Forbes' letter to me, the 22d of August.

MY LORD,

I AM heartily sorry that my tender respects to your lordship's honour, in waiting patiently this fortnight for your lordship's coming to compose the differences betwixt his majesty's fort and the town of Galway, should have so bad an encounter as that your lordship should mistrust my integrity, and chose rather to treat with me by my lord president's mediation than face to face; I know the streights that the disloyalty of some of your friends, and near kinsmen, have brought you into, and do therefore, for the advancement of his majesty's service, and preservation of your lordship's honour and government, tender myself, and those that are under my charge, to supply the place of these kinsmen and friends that have left you, till such time as this disloyal town, and all those under your government, be reduced to that due obedience, that your lordship may put confidence in them, and be able to answer to his majesty, and the state of England, for them; but unless your lordship come hither, and cause some special men of the town of Galway come either to clear themselves of the breach of the articles of the pacification, or enter upon new grounds for a firm peace in time coming

coming, I do not see how your lordship can preserve both your honour and ^{Aug. 1642.} loyalty (pardon my freedom) of both which I will be as tender as of my own; and am bold to undertake, if your lordship will make use of my service and advice, to clear both sufficiently; but if your lordship leave me to myself, and lay the whole blame and burthen of the breach of any alledged pacification upon me, to vindicate your lordship's honour (if it cannot otherwise be) I will bear it, only I will humbly intreat your lordship to lay your commands on Sir Richard Blake, to let me have the use of your lordship's house of Terrellan, which will be so needful for me, so long as I am employed in his majesty's service in these parts, that it will be a very great prejudice to his majesty's service if it be denied; and seeing Sir Richard Blake was willing to let captain Willoughby have it, upon the obtaining your lordship's consent, the least favour I can expect is that your lordship will give your consent to it, and I shall be very careful that it shall not be any ways prejudiced during the time it is in my custody, and until it be restored to your lordship, or Sir Richard Blake in your lordship's name; but if your lordship please to come so long as my lord president is here, I will undertake to give your lordship full satisfaction in any thing you can require of captain Willoughby for reducing your kinsmen, or any thing else, and shall endeavour to approve myself still

Your lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,

From Galway-fort, the 22d of
August, 1642.

FORBES.

The receipt of this letter did much amaze and disquiet me, the lord Forbes having not formerly shewed the least discontent at my absence, but rather commended my discretion, to have all disputes qualified and settled by a third person, and the town and county, by my endeavours, brought into a fit conformity for supply of the fort, and future good correspondence between them, before I did myself appear to make a perfect conclusion; and being, as I conceived by my lord president, much satisfied in the former carriage of the town and county, and inclined to give over his former intentions of attempting the town, now to be thus suddenly altered, and so insolent in his expressions by calling my honour and loyalty in question, appeared very strange, and made me conclude he must be a man of very weak judgment, and much unsettled in his resolutions, that this must be done without the knowledge of my lord president, and that there could be no fair intentions in it towards me, but that being now in a corner of the country, easy to be blocked up, they would secure me, if my answer were not agreeable to their resolution; I thought it therefore best to dissemble my discontent and intentions thereupon, and to return a civil answer, without expressing any distaste, until my lord president were returned safe back again.

My letter to my lord Forbes, the 22d of August.

MY LORD,

I Conceived that my lord president had given your lordship clear satisfaction of the reasons and motives that occasioned the delay of my personal attendance upon your lordship, and that I was this day employed in drawing both town and county to one agreement, and conformity to those propositions captain Willoughby sent me for victualling and supplying the fort, and for the securing the future obedience and loyalty of the town of Galway, which being now in a fair way to answer your lordship's expectation, I hope to wait upon your lordship to-morrow morning with that full and clear resolution which I have long desired; and to give your lordship assurance that there is nothing that I have power of, but shall be readily and faithfully disposed of for the advancement of his majesty's service;

Aug. 1642. service, neither shall I be at any time failing to give your lordship, and your employment, all due and fitting respect, and to approve myself upon all good occasions

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Terrellan, the 22d of
August, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord president returning in the evening, I asked his lordship whether he had observed the country on fire, or heard of the killing of four or five innocent poor women and children, or whether of a letter of my lord Forbes to me, or observed his lordship discontented at my absence; to all which my lord affirmed that he knew nothing, but that he still found them unsettled in their resolutions, and concluded, that they would not declare their intentions until my repair thither the next morning, which they earnestly pressed; this relation did confirm my belief, that if I went thither, and did not condescend to whatsoever they should propose, they would secure my person to work their own ends. Then I told his lordship of the outrages that day committed, and that it lighted most upon my tenants, and such others as had been constant friends to the fort, and withal shewed him my lord Forbes' letter; whereat being much amazed, I told his lordship farther, that I had taken a settled resolution not to treat any longer with persons so violent and unsettled, and that laboured to cast such foul aspersion upon me, but would be gone early the next morning, and leave them to their own designs; and desired his lordship would resolve on the like course, it being neither for our honours, nor safeties, to remain there. His lordship, after some consideration, told me he was so sensible of the injuries they had done me, and so confident that they durst not meddle with him, as that he would go thither in the morning, and for a farewell, let them know the danger and prejudice they might draw upon themselves, and the service of these parts, by giving me so just occasion to depart away in discontent, and that he had himself a feeling of the trouble and inconvenience they had put upon him, by drawing him so far, and so little inclinable to his advices and propositions.

The next morning, his lordship being upon his departure, I desired he would let my lord Forbes know from me, that though I was the day before so much master over my passions as civilly to pass by the injury his lordship had done me, yet now, upon full deliberation, I was so sensible of it, that I esteemed it neither for my honour or safety to treat any longer with his lordship, who had cast a suspicion of disloyalty upon me, and was so easily and frequently withdrawn from well-grounded resolutions, to entertain and follow the precipitate counsels of rash and inconsiderable persons: and that, upon these considerations, I was upon my way homeward; but that his lordship might find I had not been idle, nor careless in procuring competent provision for the fort, I did now send him the offers and propositions of the town and country, which if they did not prove to his satisfaction, the town was before him, and he might pursue his designs as he thought best, for I would meddle no more in the business, conceiving that his lordship had no commission to question me, or meddle with my government, so far as he had done, or that there was any obligation upon me for those respects I had already paid him, though they should have appeared in a much better manner, if his lordship, or those by whose counsels he was guided, had not given frequent interruption thereto.

Soon after my lord's departure towards the fort, I went away myself to a hill near the highway, that had a full view both of the town and fort, and there I expected his lordship's return, who about two hours after came thither, accompanied with two of my lord Forbes' chief officers, to speak with me from his lordship, who told me, that my lord was very much troubled, and sorry to hear
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of my departure in discontent, and the more, finding by my lord president that it ^{Aug. 1642} was grounded on some proceedings of his; that for the burning and spoiling the day before, it was by some part of his forces a ship board, who coming ashore for fresh water, and thinking it the enemy's country, did commit some outrages without direction, and should receive punishment for it; that for the letter he sent me, he would not justify his expressions, which might be subject to mistake, but his intentions were with all honour and respect unto me, but only a doubt of the dispositions of the people, as they were represented unto him, lest their miscarriage might draw any suspicion or inconvenience upon me; that for the main business, he did with so much confidence rely upon my lord president's judgment and mine, that he would no farther dispute it, but prepare for his departure, captain Willoughby seeming satisfied with the offers and propositions of the country; and that now all debates and questions being determined, he should esteem it a great misfortune, having been there so long, and myself, being so near, to leave the country, without having the honour to see me; and lest the country should believe that I came away unsatisfied, he should acknowledge it for a great favour if I would make a step back, and he would meet me upon the way to the fort. I returned answer to his lordship, that I was very thankful for the pains he had taken to give me satisfaction; that from the beginning I was very desirous to have waited upon him, and had performed it if his lordship had been either on ship board, or any where else but in the fort, holding it in some respects a disparagement to me to go thither, until all former disputes were ended, or that captain Willoughby did first repair to me; but now that his lordship was pleased so nobly and freely to express himself, I would immediately return and wait upon his lordship on the hill before the fort, it being now so late as would take up too much time to wait upon his lordship in the fort. And so returning to the place appointed, his lordship came speedily thither with captain Willoughby and divers of his commanders; and but little of business being treated, and an hour spent in compliment, we parted, only at my going away his lordship told me, he was informed that he had a countryman and kinsman, my lord Castlestewart, who lived at Fort Falkland, in the King's county, upon the verge of my government, and being doubtful he might be in some distress, he desired I would convey a token to him of four barrels of powder, and match and lead proportionable, or if I found any difficulty therein, he would send five or six hundred musqueteers along with it: I told his lordship, that was a place I had from the beginning of the troubles taken into my special care, having been totally neglected by the state; and that if his lordship would be pleased to send the powder by a boat to my castle of Oran More, I would send convoys for it, and cause it to be safely delivered, without his lordship's farther trouble. It proved to be very late that night before we could reach Loughreagh, where we were not a little welcome, when it was reported that we returned with peace.

The next day his *lordship before his departure bemoaned very much his own ^{*Lord president.} hard condition, having forces left him without any care taken, or provision made for them by the state, and at first delivered to him in a wasted country, wanting cloaths, victuals and money, so that at his return he did fear a dangerous mutiny, or that they would all forsake him, and return back to Dublin, not knowing which way to furnish himself with money to give them some reasonable satisfaction for the present. I told his lordship, that my wants were altogether as great, but his lordship had so highly obliged me, and I was so sensible of the danger that might befall his lordship, myself, and the king's service in the whole province, if those forces should depart discontented, that I would use my uttermost endeavour to provide some money for him; and with much difficulty I got four hundred pounds in gold for his lordship, of one Mr. Philip Bigo, a French gentleman, that I had newly fetched off, and conveyed with all his goods from the borders of the King's county, and at my earnest intreaty he took my lord's

Aug. 1642. bond and mine for it ; and his lordship was afterwards pleased to acknowledge, that it proved a very seasonable curtesy for the contenting of the soldiers, and advancing of the present service. That night I waited upon his lordship about six miles to Bally-Donnellan, a castle of captain Laughlin Donnellan's, a man very stout and faithful to me in all the troubles, and son to John Donnellan, long steward to my father here, and afterwards to myself.

The next day I waited upon his lordship out of this county over the ford of Castle Gare. Garruragh, a mile into the county of Roscommon, until I saw his lordship over a dangerous passage, where it was reported some of the enemy's forces lay in wait for his lordship, but none appeared ; and that night I returned some ten miles to Castle Gare, Mr. George Yelverton being my tenant there ; and the next night, being the 26th, I reached home to Loughreagh very ill, and much dis-tempered with a cold. Upon the 27th I received letters from the lord Forbes and captain Willoughby, picking new quarrels against the town of Galway, and desiring to garrison in my house of Terrellan.

Captain Willoughby, the 25th, received the 27th of August.

Right honourable, and my much honoured LORD,

I HAVE received your lordship's letter, and have delivered the inclosed to my lord Forbes. Upon your lordship's departure hence, I wrote a full letter to the mayor of Galway, wherein I promised a cessation of all hostile acts on my part towards him, and desired the like from them towards the fort ; I desired also that they would open their gates, and yield us free and peaceable commerce ; but I have received from them no satisfaction in any of these particulars, for they still keep their gates fast shut to us, and proceed in fortifying themselves against us, and have newly mounted a piece of ordnance on a tower against the fort ; nor do they only proceed thus for themselves, but encourage the rebels abroad against us ; for they of Irrconaght coming, to the number of three or four hundred, yesternight as far as Lynch's castle, were presently relieved by the town with beef, bread, and strong waters, of which we have sufficient proofs ; which carriage of theirs I thought fit to signify to your lordship, and leave it to your wise consideration, humbly desiring to have your lordship's leave and approbation to place a garrison in Terrellan, (thereby to hinder them of Irrconaght from being relieved from the town, or Lynch's castle) as also another at Castle Gare, for I do conceive it may much conduce to the furtherance of his majesty's service, to have a garrison in both those places. I desire your lordship's resolution herein, and so, with tender of my humble service, take leave, and remain

Your lordship's most humble servant to command,

His majesty's fort, the 25th of
August, 1642.

ANTHONY WILLOUGHBY.

My lord Forbes to me, the 26th of August, received the 27th.

MY LORD,

AS I have many times expressed my tender regard of your lordship's honour, and the advancement of his majesty's service for reducing those that are under your lordship's government to their due obedience, both to his majesty and your lordship, as his majesty's governor ; so the honour I have of your lordship's acquaintance, shall still oblige me to continue that due respect I owe to one of such eminent quality, and to endeavour, by the improvement of my best abilities, to do your lordship some acceptable service ; for I am much afraid the town of Galway doth abuse your lordship, for they are still making their own advantage of all treaties, and have this day done that which I hope
your

your lordship will find to be a breach of the pacification, as captain Willoughby ^{Aug. 1642.} will inform your lordship, who is resolved to acquaint your lordship before he proceeds against them; so that your lordship's speedy repair hither will be requisite to prevent a breach between him and the town. So long as the winds are contrary, and some other services may be done here to this place, I shall always furnish your lordship with messengers for England, and shall be ambitious of the honour to be esteemed

Your lordship's most affectionate humble servant,

From his majesty's fort of Galway,
the 26th of August, 1642.

FORBES.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 28th of August.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

I HAVE written to the mayor of Galway, to have an account of those particulars in your letter charged against the town, whereof I expect a speedy return to me, or satisfaction to be given to you there. I believe they will pretend danger by the opening of their gates, or granting free commerce amongst them, so long as an army lyeth so near their gates, and so many centries abroad; but when the causes of their fears and jealousies are removed according to the pacification, and the resolution taken on the last treaty, I shall have a just ground to require and command the opening of the gates and markets, and what else was agreed upon in either, or fit to be done for relief of the fort, without any precedent agreement. And as you never yet found me wanting to my power to any reasonable demand of yours, so you may rest assured of my constant endeavours towards your supply, or any other service of his majesty's, if some interruption of your own, or of some greater power than mine, shall not divert me.

It is given out, that soon after the lord president's departure, there was a resolution taken to fall upon the town, notwithstanding any advice given for declining that course; and therein I shall desire to know the certainty from you, in regard it will be impossible for me to have your provisions taxed or gathered so long as any such opinion is on foot, and until the country observe the navy to frame their course another way. For my part, I shall be tender of the violation of the pacification upon slight occasions, until his majesty shall declare his pleasure concerning it, or that the lords justices and council shall send special directions for my proceedings therein, which I expect not until the arrival of the lord lieutenant, who is daily expected, as my intelligence informs me.

It is somewhat strange unto me, that my house of Terrellan, being the only place of receipt I have near the town and fort, whither I am so often called upon small occasions, should be so often desired out of my hands, as though I were not able or willing to serve his majesty therein; when there is just cause for it, I assure you I shall be as forward as any to fall upon that town, if his majesty shall so command: his pleasure, or the commands of the state, I shall patiently expect, lest I proceed to any acts of hostility against them, notwithstanding any thing yet known unto me; yet I will not take upon me to hinder others from their own resolutions. By reason of my present indisposition of health I can say no more now, but that I am

Your assured true friend

Loughgreagh, the 28th of
August, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

My

Aug. 1642.

My letter to my lord Forbes, the 28th of August.

MY LORD,

AS I account it a great honour unto me to come into your acquaintance, though lately, so I should have enlarged my happiness therein if your lordship had been sooner a witness of the many difficulties I have run through from the beginning, by endeavouring to contain many of those in this government within the limits of that obedience and subjection which they owe by all laws unto his majesty and the crown of England; and therein I may without ostentation say, that considering the small power put into my hands, and the remoteness of this county from all supplies, God hath so blessed my endeavours, that no part of the whole kingdom, inhabited by so many natives, hath been, nor yet is, kept in that peace and obedience as this is; and although the rash and indiscreet actions of particular persons have sometimes given interruptions therein (whom I will one day hope to bring to justice, if I be not enabled to do justice upon them myself) yet I have conceived it a safer way (as affairs are composed now in the whole kingdom, and elsewhere) to connive at some faults, to prevent greater inconveniences, than to be ready to snatch at every occasion to set up a general discontent, that may endanger the whole frame of this government. The lord president and I, that have the charge of this whole province, that is counted the fourth part of this kingdom, are glad to run this moderate way, that know the dangers and endless distractions that a contrary course would draw upon the province, and the few English that are left therein.

My lord, it is not news unto me to have complaints from captain Willoughby against the town of Galway, to my no small charge and trouble, by my frequent repairing thither, which I must believe to proceed from his earnest zeal to his majesty's service, and the preservation of his majesty's fort. I have charged the town therewith, and expect their sudden satisfaction therein, though, by some come from thence, I hear of nothing but quiet and peaceable intentions amongst them. I look upon that town no otherwise than, as it is a principal part of this government that hath such strength and alliance abroad, that if it be attempted to be distressed at this time, I fear it will involve all those parts in confusion, and draw most of the troubles of other parts to a settled war here, that hath, through God's blessing, been preserved from the common calamity more than these nine months; the sad effects whereof the lord president and I, that are better versed abroad, do visibly foresee. Yet if your lordship, in your wisdom and experience in other parts, shall conceive that his majesty's service will be better advanced, and the fort secured by a more severe and exemplary proceeding, and can hope with your present power, in such time as you can stay here from your other great engagements, to compass your desires, I shall no farther dissuade your lordship from it, by declining or retarding the prosecution of what your lordship conceiveth expedient therein, notwithstanding any danger or hazard it may expose me and mine, and this whole province unto; only for my own particular, I shall quietly attend the signification of his majesty's pleasure, or farther direction from the lords justices, to whom I have fully represented the state and condition of these parts; and when I am guided and warranted by these commands, I shall be found as forward as any to punish and prosecute with severity such as shall not keep themselves within the limits of their duty and obedience. And if, in present, I do not give your lordship the satisfaction you might expect, I must crave your pardon, this exercise being very painful to me, by reason of a great cold and distemper now upon me, which inforceth me to hasten the conclusion, that hath a charge really and truly to express me

Your lordship's most faithful and assured servant,

Loughbreagh,, the 28th of
August, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord Forbes' letter to me, the 29th of August.

MY LORD,

I Received your letter of yesterday's date, and have seen your lordship's letter to captain Willoughby; and as this town and county of Galway may account themselves happy in the enjoying of such a governor, whose prudent care hath hitherto still preserved them, and whose constant endeavours are bent to seek their good; so that if they be sensible of and thankful for so great a mercy, I do not doubt but your lordship's wisdom and moderation will not only quickly remove the bugbear fears on either hand, but may (to the glory of God, who is the God of peace, as well as the God of war, and the honour of his majesty, and your own deserved praise) not only settle your own government, both town and county, in their due obedience, but be a special instrument of the like good to be done in the whole province, yea, and the whole kingdom; and I should account myself very unfortunate, if I, or any under my command, should for any hope of honour or gain be the hinderers of so good a work. Although the small time I had the honour to confer with your lordship, and your great haste, did not suffer us to lay such a ground-work as may be sufficient to build an assurance of full content in the prosecuting of so good a work, yet our mutual correspondence, and the directing of all our counsels and commands to those ends may advance his majesty's service, and I desire to hasten elsewhere, and should be glad to see your pacification in that forwardness, that neither myself, nor any other should need to return, for attempting that by power which your lordship's wisdom and moderation may do. To witness my approbation of a moderate course, and your lordship's wisdom in it, I will wait upon your lordship, either here at his majesty's fort, or at Castle Gare, accompanied with ten or twenty horse, and will go from thence with your lordship to Terrellan, that we may conveniently speak with some of the town, and do not doubt, with God's blessing on our endeavours, the town may be preserved from ruin, to enjoy the fruits of your wise government, and I may return contented, more than if I had the sacking and spoiling of it. People are so jealous and ticklish on all hands, that your lordship's speedy repair hither will be most necessary; and the sooner I be acquainted with it, you shall the more oblige him, who is, and desires to be esteemed

Your lordship's most faithful and humble servant,

FORBES.

P. S. I am bold to intreat your lordship to come before Thursday at farthest, and if it be possible, let the first week's provision or rather more be sent along. From his majesty's fort of Galway, the 29th of August, 1642.

The mayor of Galway's letter to me, the 29th of August.

Right Honourable,

I HAVE received your letter of the 28th of this month, wherein your lordship mentioned some complaints made by the lord Forbes and captain Willoughby against this town, which as they shall appear to be very wrongful, so we shall not fail in obedience to your lordship to offer full satisfaction to them; though we still mistrust their good intentions towards us, and that by their landing of ordnance, going on with their new work and fort upon the hill, and in the West building of new houses with the timber of our Lady Church, and other preparations, the lord Forbes his going is to us very doubtful; and in a manner little expected, yet we would be very sorry that any act proceeding from us should be made a pre-

P p p

tence

Aug. 1642. tence for his stay; and therefore we shall desire your lordship to understand, that the next day after your lordship's departure, we received a letter from captain Willoughby, whereof we send your lordship a copy here inclosed, whereby your lordship shall observe his first complaint to be wrongful, himself not desiring our gates to be opened, nor the benefit of the market, till the lord Forbes were gone; unto that letter we returned an answer, declaring our desire of peace, and that a good correspondency should be kept between the fort and us; and withal, that we would observe your lordship's directions, which we had not then received, but expected to hear from your lordship, and then we would write further unto them, and that we would not shoot at, nor molest their people, they using us in like manner, which we observed. And truly, my lord, though we would not seem to discredit good news coming from captain Willoughby, yet his manifold injuries done to us, give us no cause to believe all that comes from him; especially we finding by some that were in the fort, and by some letters from thence, that they meant evil to this town.

The next matter of complaint is our fortifying and mounting a piece of ordnance in a tower against the fort. The truth of this is, that we have done nothing of any consequence since your lordship departed, only to lay some turfs by the wall next our Lady Church, which is not to offend, but defend that part from battery, which was threatened from the West, and the piece of ordnance was set up in the tower before your lordship departed, and is so laid that it cannot be used without breaking a thick stone wall, which we did forbear to do when we heard there was some agreement made.

The rest concerns the relieving and encouraging them of Irconaght, which is in all points a mere aspersions, wherein there is no manner of truth.

My lord, this being the naked truth of our proceeding, we beseech your lordship to let us know what we may trust unto, and what was the certain conclusion of the treaty, for hitherto we know of nothing thereof but by a flying report of captain Willoughby's letter; and we likewise humbly intreat your lordship to retain a good opinion, and your wonted care of us, which we will endeavour by our fair carriage and dutiful observance of your lordship to deserve. So I humbly take leave to remain

Your lordship's assured friend and most humble servant,

Galway, the 29th of
August, 1642.

WALTER LYNCH, Mayor.

Captain Willoughby's letter to the mayor of Galway the 23d, and now sent me by the mayor this 29th of August.

Mr. Mayor,

I HAVE had this day some conference with the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde, his majesty's lieutenant governor of the town and county of Galway, and his lordship told me that he would come to a fair correspondency, which I, out of my desire of peace, and your good (whose harm I never wished if you continued loyal to his majesty) am very willing to embrace and accept of; I do therefore desire that you would admit free commerce with us by opening your gates to all his majesty's subjects, and suffer me quietly to have the refusal of such commodities as come to your market, for provision of the place, and of such wood as comes to the key, I paying therefor as the market goes. And upon assurance of this dealing from you, which my lord promised you would perform, and I desire testified under your hands, I will be sure to keep all good correspondency with you, and will intreat my lord Forbes, whom I invited hither, to leave this place, and offer no acts of hostility to your town; and that
you

you may see my forward inclination to peace and quiet, I shall not expect the opening of your gates, and the freedom of your market, till his lordship be gone, only I desire your present answer of the resolution herein ; and so I rest

Your very loving friend,

From his majesty's fort, the 23d of
August, 1642.

ANTHONY WILLOUGHBY.

P. S. Mr. mayor, my lord Forbes at my intreaty, was pleased to take the abbey in the West, with this intent only to keep ill-affected persons from the town, and now upon the earl's promise of your fair carriage, hath given orders to his soldiers not to shoot at the town; I do desire that the like carriage may be observed by you during their stay here.

Captain Willoughby having tried several ways to make a breach, and to ingage my lord Forbes' stay here, whom he acknowledges to have invited hither, he writes unto me that there was a strong report amongst them, and probable reasons to believe it, that the town were busied in undermining the fort; though I knew this to be a ridiculous surmise, or intention, it being impossible to undermine the fort from the town, being all rock and full of springs, yet for their satisfaction, I sent my ensign Robert Scott, to be joined with one of his officers, to make search in the town for that they could not find.

My letter to my lord president of Conaght, the last of August.

MY LORD,

SOON after my return home, I received letters from the lord Forbes and Captain Willoughby, answerable to my expectation, and the discourse between your lordship and myself, they requiring my house of Terrellan and Castle Gare to put in garrisons, and picking new quarrels to the town; whereupon I wrote answers to them, and therein did use your lordship's name, I hope without offence; the copies of my letters I send your lordship herewith, and they have produced another letter from my lord Forbes, which I likewise send you, being so far on the other side that I know not what construction to make of so sudden an alteration, but do hope and conceive the extreams of his professions on both sides will be a very good justification in my behalf, and that my absence having drawn this intercourse of letters, the advantage will remain on my part; and whatsoever his secret resolutions may be, I am sure my intentions are just and loyal, which must be my continual comfort in all the troubles and extremities I am like to undergo.

A great distemper and cold that is now upon me, and some other occasions and considerations, I fear will not permit me to wait upon his lordship to-morrow according to his expectation; but I have taken present order to send the provisions to the fort that is desired, though the collections are not yet made upon the country; and if I go not myself, I will send two gentlemen of quality fully instructed and qualified, and likewise interested in the town, that shall attend upon his lordship and captain Willoughby, and settle all, I hope, to their full content; and will send the former pacification, and all the new propositions of the town and country, that his lordship may give the better account of his employment, and the condition of these parts.

I send your lordship a copy of intelligence sent me from my friend, from whom I expected to hear when your lordship was with me; for fear of interception I forbear his name, in regard of his expressions in the conclusion wherein I am concerned, whereby your lordship may perceive what malice is contracted

against

Aug. 1642. against me. This is too narrow a room, a too mean way of expression to return my thanks for the great obligations your lordship hath put upon me; my heart shall still keep a perfect record of them, to be produced when they may be best employed for your lordship's honour and service, and by the best endeavours of

Your lordship's affectionate and faithful friend to serve you,

Loughreagh, the last of
August, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

This month I received several considerable intelligences from Mr. ----. Upon the 8th a confirmation of the arrival of Owen Roe O Neile in the North, with some other commanders, and some store of arms and ammunition; that three thousand horse and foot of the English army, having in vain attempted Sir Luke Fitz-Garret's castle of Teirohan, marched to O Faly, took the castle of Bally-Britt, from thence marched to Gefhill, and convoyed from thence to Dublin the old lady O Faly and her grand children.

Upon the 21st, that Owen O Neile was advanced to the borders of Meath, and daily received letters congratulatory from most of the counties of the kingdom, and that colonel Byrne with the running army was gone unto him.

The 24th, that Owen O Neile was expected in Westmeath, near Athlone, to lay siege to that town, and from thence to march through the counties of Galway and Clare to Limerick; but the report he gave most credit unto was, his going to Kilkenny, having seen summons from thence dated the last of July, to all counties to meet there by their agents the 29th of this month, for great and important affairs; that most counties were preparing to send two persons thither, who are out of each province to chuse eight counsellors, and to be joined to those, a general, a lord, and a bishop, who are to fit and manage the affairs of the kingdom.

Upon the 27th, that my lord lieutenant was speedily expected, Dublin castle being prepared for his reception, and the lords justices retired to their houses; that Sir John Hotham still kept Hull against the king, and had lately taken a great ship loaden with arms and ammunition; that the earl of Essex was declared general for the parliament; the lord mayor of London committed to the tower for publishing his majesty's declaration without consent of the parliament; that the lord Lambert was established governor of Dublin by the king's direction, the earl of Antrim sent for and gone into England by the king's direction, and Sir John Dongan, an Irish baronet, gone also thither unknown to the lords justices. Owen Roe came to the borders of Westmeath, strong in ammunition and some pieces of battery, but no quantity of arms; that there were great threats and menaces used against me by the Irish, and most of all by the pale men, and that in a barbarous and uncivil way; that he trusted in God their power would never be answerable to their will and words; and that as he observed that in arrogancy and self-conceit the pale men exceed, so he found that in malice and intemperate language they went far beyond the rest of the nation.

My letter to my lord Forbes, the 1st of September.

MY LORD,

MY indisposition and want of health, having not stirred out of my chamber and the next adjoining rooms since my return from my lord president, and some other difficulties that are now upon me, not concurring with my own earnest desire and your lordship's invitation to wait upon you this day, I have used all other possible diligence and industry that may testify my constant care to
advance

advance his majesty's service, supply the fort, preserve and settle the loyalty and obedience of this government, and give your lordship assurance of my particular respects and affection to your own person; and for your lordship's satisfaction, or the information you may give to the king and state, in what condition your lordship leaves these parts, besides what my lord president hath represented to your lordship concerning the whole province, for so much as belongs to my own charge, I shall to-morrow send your lordship all the papers of the former pacification long since transmitted to the king and parliament, and state of Dublin; wherein, though the proceedings were not answerable to my ambition and desire of service, yet in regard of my small power, and the then dangerous condition of all the province of Conaght, and the disorder and disobedience of all other parts still continuing much greater then here, will, I hope, with these circumstances render it no inconsiderable service. I likewise send your lordship the late petition, propositions, and grant of supply consented unto, and signed by the prime gentlemen of the county; wherein as your lordship may perceive some heat and passion by former and late spoils made upon the country, so there may be discerned good inclinations to a future quiet, and peaceable government; and captain Willoughby, by a fair correspondence hereafter, seconded by your lordship's prudent and moderate carriage since your arrival here, and your patient attendance from your other great engagements, to see all bad humours appeased and settled, will, I hope, work so upon the inclinations and affections of the town and county, that the defects and want of force may be supplied by my interest and power of persuasion, and so render my proceedings acceptable both to the king and state. I have likewise appointed two gentlemen well affected to his majesty's service, to attend upon your lordship and receive your commands, and apply their best endeavours with the town, that, together with the tie I have upon them, by sufficient pledges, they may give your lordship, and the captain of the fort, assurance under their hands of their future loyalty and observance of the former pacification, until his majesty's pleasure be farther declared. And for the former errors and misdemeanors of particular persons, either of the town or county, I shall not be unmindful, as fit opportunity shall be given, to have them examined and punished; and as your lordship observes, and I shall ever acknowledge a natural affection to my native country, so your lordship may rest confidently assured, that the same reason obliges me to a more sensible resentment of ill carriages or injuries done that may put a blemish upon me, from those that besides their publick duty owe me a particular respect, and that no private ends or interests whatsoever shall draw me to any partiality wherein his majesty's service is concerned; and I will presume to hope that my endeavours will meet with good success, having received the approbation of your lordship's more able judgment; and to your lordship's presence and noble carriage here I shall attribute much to the honour and safety that a present moderation may happily produce.

I have appointed the supplies for the fort to be immediately sent thither, and to-morrow night I doubt not they will certainly be there; and I have issued out my warrants for the speedy bringing hither of all the rest of the provisions consented unto, and there needs no scruple to be made of the performance thereof, which I shall make my own particular care, and as a work very necessary to give publick satisfaction. I shall leave it to your lordship's judgment and care, to deliver your own opinion and advices to captain Willoughby for his future carriage and deportment, wherein I am confident your lordship will have a special regard of the respect that is due unto me as his majesty's governor here, and that he may give assurance under his hand for the performance of the pacification, or what in reason or justice may be farther required of him.

There now remains to make a plain discovery and acknowledgment of my own disability to perform those respects due from me to your lordship's quality and employment; the impairing of my revenue, and high increase of charge upon

Sept. 1642. me ever since the beginning of these commotions, without any means or supplies from the state, have put me into a very scarce condition; but presuming upon your lordship's favour, and consideration of the present distractions, I shall adventure to present your lordship with some small proportions of fresh meat for your lordship's own use, being unable to furnish others that have relation to your lordship; and when it shall please God to send me better means and fit occasions to express myself answerable to my desires as I have professed, your lordship shall be sure to find me

Your lordship's affectionate and assured servant,

Loughreagh, the 1st of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord Forbes' letter to me, the 1st of September.

MY LORD,

AS I am fully satisfied for my own part of your lordship's real and noble intentions, so I am willing to remit the thoughts of staying here any longer, not doubting but your lordship's prudent care for his majesty's fort, will answer, if not go beyond my expectation. I have spoke with captain Willoughby, who hath promised carefully to keep all that he sets his hand unto, and to observe that respect to your lordship's honour and greatness that is due, and how soon these your lordship sends come hither, I shall see all performed on his part; and as he did write to your lordship yesternight, two of my soldiers (who are now in restraint) took some cattle against the orders given them, whereof he intended restitution, but whether through the carelessness or knavery of the watch which he set over them, some few of the sheep were killed, and the greater part of the cattle ran home, as is thought, but such as are here shall be restored; and what punishment your lordship, or those you send, shall think fit to be inflicted upon those that did the wrong, shall be duly executed, for I should be very sorry to let such faults go unpunished, wherein either my integrity might be questioned, or your lordship have more difficulty to appease the people grieved, who possibly are not well able to bear their loss; but as your lordship's wisdom hath overpast many greater difficulties than this, so I know it will be no hindrance to your noble designs, for preserving the begun favour to his majesty's fort. And although I should account myself very happy to have the honour to kiss your lordship's hands before I go, yet no distance of place shall separate my affections, or deny me the title of being

Your lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,

From his majesty's fort of Galway,
the 1st of September, 1642.

FORBES.

P.S. I do render your lordship humble thanks for that testimony of your favour sent me. The winds are now like to be fair, and I shall be glad to have your lordship's letters for England, or Dublin, before I go. And since the writing hereof, I am certainly informed by one come from Clare, that the greater part of the cattle are returned; the rest shall be restored, or satisfied for.

My letter to my lord Forbes, the 1st of September.

MY LORD,

I AM overcome with much importunity of the bearer Marcus Lynch, to represent his case by the transmission of his petition, and the former passages concerning him, to your lordship, wherein he desires your lordship's advice unto captain

captain Ashley for such reparation as is justly due unto him. I must deal plainly with your lordship, that I am clear of opinion that he is apparently wronged without colour, and myself in some degree abased by captain Ashley, both by his act, and by a rough letter by him returned unto me, when in a fair way I desired himself to right the party. Sept. 1642.

The bearer had sent his son Philip Lynch for some commodities into France, long before the commotion stirred in this kingdom, and upon his return he was met and seized upon by some of his majesty's ships on the coast of Munster; upon my pass, and letter to the lord president, Sir Henry Stradling, and others in Munster, himself was set at liberty, and so much of his goods, as he vehemently avers to be worth a thousand pounds, were restored unto him; the particulars whereof appears by the cocket subscribed by the king's officer there, for safe conduct thereof he had the vice president's direction, and a pass from captain Kittleby, then vice admiral, and being confident of captain Ashley, who had promised him favour, he put the said goods into a barge coming to captain Willoughby and captain Ashley from Dublin, which struck in at Kinsale, where these goods lay; so soon as these goods arrived in the harbour of Galway, captain Ashley seized upon them, and refused, notwithstanding any intreaty of mine, to restore the said goods unto the said Lynch, it being all his chief estate, and he being clogged with many children. This I am able to say with truth, that the said Lynch, and that family to which he is linked in marriage, have suffered much for their good affections to the English and his majesty's fort. And now that I have truly stated the case, I recommend it to your lordship's great wisdom to direct such course for his relief, as to your lordship shall be thought just and equitable; and I will always be

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Loughreagh, the 1st of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord Forbes, the 4th of September.

MY LORD,

YOUR letter of the 1st of this present I have received, but hearing nothing since my dispatch of the two gentlemen I sent to attend upon your lordship, neither from them, the town, nor any other, I am in hopes there is no impediment to that honour, respect, and satisfaction, I earnestly desire your lordship should receive from all that have relation to me or my command, and that the provisions are safely arrived. I shall humbly propose it to your lordship as a business very necessary, that you will be pleased to leave a pinnace for some time behind you, that I may give your lordship intelligence of what I shall observe after your departure; for though I know no cause but to hope very well, yet in ticklish times there cannot be too much wariness and circumspection. I have not yet sent the ammunition to Fort Falkland, having not that proportion at my house of Portumna, which I conceived to be there; and if my health serve me, I am to go thither upon Tuesday or Wednesday at farthest to settle those borders, from whence I have been long absent; and from thence by my own presence, I can with safety and privacy convoy it either by land or water, and shall send your lordship their acknowledgment and receipt thereof, by any pinnace that shall be here to follow your lordship, that place (though out of my government) having been my particular care, and by me only relieved and supplied ever since the beginning of this rebellion, and shall never want what may be provided for it; and if your lordship please to confer with captain Willoughby, and my ensign Robert Scott, I conceive the ammunition had best be sent to Oran More, where I can with most conveniency send a convoy for it.

I shall

Sept. 1642.

I shall endeavour by to-morrow to send some dispatches both into England, and to Dublin, though I assure your lordship business is yet somewhat painful to me. I shall now add nothing more, but to wish your lordship all happiness and prosperity, and myself means and ability to give testimony how highly I value and honour your person, and desire to be preserved in your lordship's memory, under the title of

Your lordship's most affectionate and assured servant,

Loughreagh, the 4th of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The lord Forbes, the 3d, received the 4th of September.

MY LORD,

I DO render your lordship many thanks for the papers sent, and for all other favours; but as I intend not to meddle further with this pacification, than by a silent giving way to your lordship and captain Willoughby, to propose, or accept of such conditions as may be most suitable to your lordship's honour, and both your safeties, so there needs no mediation of mine with him to be reasonable and moderate, for both he and captain Ashley, upon notice I gave them of these complaints made to your lordship against them by the town and county, in testimony of their willingness to abide any lawful trial, did present me this morning with the draft of this inclosed paper, which seeing neither of them are under my command, is as much as they could offer, and much more than I could demand, unless it were by way of courtesy; but seeing captain Ashley is now going for England, there is another to attend the fort, and guard the harbour from the attempts of the rebels, who may possibly comply better with the town than captain Ashley did, who had some reason to walk warily by his predecessor captain Clark's example, with whom I resolve to leave a small vessel to bring me intelligence how they behave themselves; for as they owe their safety to your lordship being their governor, and your noble disposition hath tyed mine hands at this time, so if your lordship send me the least intimation, you shall have power to command me to return, to teach them their duty to your lordship, and to use all his majesty's subjects with greater respect than they have used me, who did really intend their good more than many of themselves; but since I have neither time, nor hopes to reclaim them, and your lordship's wisdom may in convenient time make them sensible of their oversights, I leave them to your lordship's prudent government, and the fort to your lordship's care and protection, and those ministers in and about it, intreating your lordship to take their poor distressed condition into your serious consideration, seeing the favour shewn to them will be an ample testimony of this county's loyalty, which will much conduce to the advancement of your lordship's honour. I am sorry I have nothing here at hand that I account worthy to send for a present to your lordship in requital of all your noble favours. I have made bold to present your lordship, with a hoghead of white wine; but seeing there is a prize taken in the river of Limerick by my rear admiral, which hath in her such commodities as are contained in this inclosed note, if there be any thing that is at my disposal in her that may be for your lordship's use, you shall have the power to command it. I have left the proportion of ammunition with the captain of the fort, that is sent, or to be sent by your lordship to Fort Falkland, remitting all further to the relation of these discreet gentlemen sent by your lordship to deal betwixt the fort and the town. I kiss your lordship's hands, and desire to be esteemed

Your lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,

From his majesty's fort of Galway,
the 3d of September, 1642.

FORBES.

The lord Forbes, the 4th of September.

My LORD,

I DELIVERED to ensign Scott this day a letter, which answers your lordship's desire in this, concerning the leaving a pinnace for mutual intelligence betwixt us, and for conveying, from time to time, your lordship's letters safely either into England, or to the state at Dublin, of which I, and all that are under my command, shall be very careful, as your lordship's occasions shall offer; and although I be very sensible of the affronts and disrespectts done me by the town of Galway this very day, and heretofore, yet your lordship's noble favours, and the consideration of the case you are in, hath made me continue my resolution to go from this place, till your lordship understand his majesty's and the parliament's further pleasure, before which time it would be their wisdom to give your lordship greater respect and obedience, and some further testimony of their loyalty than any I have yet seen. If they shall continue their detention of a soldier of mine, who being drunk went into the town this morning, though he be a base fellow, yet in respect of his wife and children in London, who may exclaim on me if he be not returned, I will make some of the townsmen suffer, catch them where I can, by sea or by land, out of your lordship's government, which is, and hath been, a sanctuary for them; but if their stubborn disposition will not yield him at the desire of your lordship's kinsman and steward, if your lordship obtain him a day or two hence, I intreat your lordship to send him to captain Willoughby, who will be careful of sending him safely to me, and will not fail to send the ammunition to Oran More as your lordship desires, and will be very tender of observing peace with all loyal subjects, that will give that due respect to his majesty's fort, which your lordship their governor hath appointed. Other particulars I will remit to captain Willoughby's letters, and your kinsman's relation, assuring your lordship, that as I do truly honour your worth, so I shall endeavour to improve all occasions that may express how much I am

Your lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,

From his majesty's fort of Galway, the
4th of September, 1642.

FORBES.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 5th of September.

My LORDS,

WITHIN few hours after my dispatch of the 10th of the last month, I received letters from the lord Forbes, giving me notice of his lordship's arrival in the bay of Galway, with his fleet of additional forces, containing about 1000 or 1200 men, that might conveniently be spared for land service, and in a very noble and respective way offering me his best assistance, and desiring my speedy repair unto him. To relate the passages particularly would take up more time than is now allowed for this dispatch, besides that I am at this present in no good state of health; I held it therefore fit to send your lordships my lord Forbes' first letter, and my answer thereunto, which states aright the first grounds I went upon; and according to my resolution therein expressed, I repaired to the borders of Roscommon, had conference with my lord president of Conaght, and some of the English commanders there, where after many meetings and debates it was agreed and concluded, that in regard the town and county stood under a pacification, and that though particular persons might run into errors and disorders, yet, in the general, peace and quietness being desired, it was fit that the king's word engaged should be made good unto them, without too curious a search to be made into the breaches pretended on either side, lest

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Sept. 1642. the suspicion of breaking publick faith might turn all into desperation, and the rebels gain most of this county to their assistance, that hath hitherto been the bulwark to preserve and defend my lord president, and to keep divided and broken the forces of Conaght, Thomond, Ormond, and the King's county; which united, and your lordship's forces and advertisements moving slowly hither, might draw ruin upon all in these parts, and bring danger and prejudice upon his majesty's fort. Besides, the regiments your lordships sent to the assistance of my lord president, without either pay, cloaths, or provision, hath put his lordship into great extremities, the soldiers breaking often from him and their commanders with a resolution to be gone; and being in this condition, if he should have advanced with his forces hither, and neglected the guarding and carrying in of this present harvest, himself and his forces must starve this winter, and likewise put us here in the like ill state.

These motives and considerations being powerful, just, and prevalent, there remained since only to take some secure course for supply of the fort, which being put in charge upon me, was not without difficulty to be performed, myself, town and county, being already far engaged without any course taken by your lordships for payment, besides the frequent and fresh complaints of the spoils and booties taken from the town and country, and the disrespectes shewed to myself, which I will not repeat with too much resentment, in regard that by the prudent and moderate advices of my lord Forbes, to whom I am obliged to attribute much worth and honour, and my own constant and diligent endeavours to furnish him in the midst of discontents, I do hope he will not fail to keep a fair correspondence for the future. I have prevailed with the country for three months provision of cattle; the copy of the agreement I send your lordships herewith, and part is already sent in, wherein the town contributes their share as landed men in the county. For the provisions to be had in the town they desire in present to be eased, pretending (and it may be not without cause) much scarcity by the long disturbance given to their markets, the stopping of traffick and trade, and the loss of their estates in the counties of Sligoe, Mayo, and Roscommon, and that he may be contented with the priority of markets there, out of which he may be plentifully provided, having two hundred pounds I procured for him of Mr. John Bermingham, not yet disposed of. What other conditions are agreed upon between the fort and town, for making good and strengthening the former pacification, is not yet come to my knowledge; my present want of health not permitting me to pay those respects due to my lord Forbes, now upon his departure, but have sent two gentlemen to receive his lordship's commands, and treat with the town, wherein (as I conceive) there are no great difficulties remaining. Some part of my lord Forbes' forces made inroads into Irrconaght, that is out of protection, and did spoil and do service there, as much as that untoward place would permit. And this, my lords, is the present state of these parts; and if I can keep them from falling into a worse condition, as the general disturbance is now in the kingdom, until I receive new directions, will, I hope prove no ill service. And for the more security in these dangerous times, I have made it my request to my lord Forbes to leave a pinnace behind him, that I may give his lordship intelligence as occasion shall be offered. Some of my former dispatches I am informed are come safely to your lordships hands, and I hope it will not be long before we receive some comfortable tydings of your prosperous proceedings in those parts, and the advancement of the army this way. There remains to crave your lordships pardon for this hasty and confused dispatch, and offering myself to your lordships noble care and consideration, under the title of

Your lordships most humble and faithful servant,

Loughreagh, the 5th of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my brother the earl of Essex, the 5th of September.

MY LORD,

I MUST intreat that my present indisposition, and want of health, may obtain my pardon for not giving a particular account of my proceedings, since my last dispatch of the 28th of June: and that in my behalf you will be pleased to present my excuse to his majesty and the parliament, together with the inclosed copy of my dispatch unto the lords justices, which will give the best information I am now able to make of the present condition of these parts. And for your lordship's farther satisfaction, you may be pleased to examine the bearer ensign Beale, in whose honesty and ability your lordship may repose confidence, having not only been a witness, but an actor in most of the passages of these parts, having lost his blood, and being shot in his majesty's service. He was long my father's servant here, and invited by him over from his friends in England, and by his industry gained a good fortune, and most of it in the county of Mayo, which is now all lost by this unhappy rebellion. I have so good knowledge of him, as that I may with confidence recommend him to your lordship's care and favour for employment in such succours as shall come hither.

My lord, it doth much perplex me, that I am all this time left forlorn in a remote corner of the world, amongst an unruly and turbulent people, without any assistance of my friends in England, either by force, fair means, or instructions, and left alone to find out the way in a time of much darkness and distraction. When I may be thought of with conveniency, I shall rely upon your favour to procure the sending of an English regiment hither to me, and a troop of horse, under such officers and commanders as have relation to yourself, and not altogether unknown to me; with another condition, or else I shall not desire them, that there may be a certain course taken for their due payment, otherwise they will draw danger upon us instead of assistance, and never be kept in any order or command. I will add nothing more in present, but to wish and pray for a happy and speedy conclusion to these distempers, that I may once more enjoy the happiness to see you, and ease my mind of the disturbances now upon it; and I beseech God to preserve you in honour and content, to the comfort of

Your lordship's most affectionate brother to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 5th of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Sir Ulick Burke, the 2d, received the 5th of September,

MY LORD,

SINCE last I waited on your lordship, I received such hard measure from my lord president and his men, by continual taking of my tenants cattle, corn, and whatever comes in their way, of which having complained unto his lordship, he was not pleased to give me any manner of redress, but frivolous excuses and pretences no ways satisfactory unto me. Whereupon I entered unto serious consideration of the state of things as now they stand, and of the distempers of this broken age, and found by pursuing the general motives, inviting the authors of this commotion afoot to an association for serving God, vindicating his sacred majesty's prerogatives, and maintaining the rights, liberties, and immunities of this oppressed realm, by the remonstrances of some of the most eminent and nicest sort in the several provinces of the kingdom, the ordinances and consultations of the national assemblies of the clergy and laity, the acts of the parliament of England, tending to our absolute destruction, their disobedience to his majesty, affronts offered to the queen, and their royal issue, the directions given to the volunteers

Sept. 1642. volunteers coming from England, to give us no better quarters here than sword and fire, grounds laid by the puritans to extinguish the roman Religion, and to obliterate from the face of the earth the name of Irish, rendered to them most detestable, their cruelties sparing no man, woman, or child, of their adversaries, and utterly destroying those who side with themselves, that our religion, lives, estates, and the honour of our country, are in the ballance, and like to be utterly ruined, unless we join hands together in making the cause good, or at least considerable.

My lord, this is the opinion of most part of our whole nation, and the table-talk of the puritan faction, which is thought through their strength, wealth, and alliance in other kingdoms, to be of a resolution to bring in anarchy, whereof his sacred majesty hath a resentment, and all his dominions cannot but have a timely feeling, as they tender the safety of his sacred person, and the conservation of his crown.

My lord, it is noted (notwithstanding your lordship's great alliance, and that you have the king's care) that you are traduced by the said puritan faction, who gave no way to send you men or arms, mistrusting of your sincerity and fidelity for being a catholick and a true servitor to the king; and although the state of Ireland, and their adherents, do seem to keep a good correspondency with your lordship, yet in effect it is seen that the respects due to your place, extraction, and the remarkable services of your predecessors and your own, are little regarded, if not wholly forgotten, whereof testimonies are given by them of the fort of Galway, resident in your government; whose lives and fortunes you saved, not without toils, dangers, charges, and weakening of your near alliance and servants who should be ready to sacrifice themselves for you, and after whose blood they thirst, being but a handful of silly people easily resisted, if not countenanced by your lordship, who may be pleased to consider, if their strength be encouraged with those new supplies, what they would not leave attempted; whereas, not esteeming your lordship's word, passed for a time, and confirmed by the state, they prey, burn, and spoil your own proper territories.

My lord, considering their tyrannical cruelty towards the Irish and the English Irish without distinction, their most inhuman and barbarous proceedings with the good old earl of Westmeath, not regarding his protection from the state, and withal the place wherein I live being hourly terrified by the English and Irish, all which occasions such an apprehension in me as I expect no better quarter.

The premisses, conceived by many prelates, other churchmen, private gentlemen and lawyers, doubtless to be true, the threatenings of the English to run over our parts, and the commands of our holy mother the church, declaring this insurrection to be a lawful war, and requiring, under pain of excommunication, all Roman catholicks to join in confederation for the catholick cause, to leave off neutrality, and to side no farther with the puritans, wrought so far upon my conscience, that in the name of God, I do resolve, as a member of the mystical body of the commonwealth, to expose my life and fortune for the conservation of the whole, being certain if the body should perish none of the members could subsist long; whereof I thought myself bound to give notice to your lordship, craving pardon for my boldness, grounded upon your accustomed favours extended towards me far beyond my deserts, assuring your lordship I shall, during my life, strive to my uttermost what ways my endeavours might prove serviceable to your lordship, and with that constant resolution I will ever remain

Your lordship's most humble servant.

Glinisk, the 2d of
September, 1642.

ULICK BURKE.

My letter to Sir Ulick Burke, the 6th of September, 1642.

Noble Cousin,

YOUR letters of the 2d and 3d of this present I have received, and shall endeavour to return you satisfaction to those many particulars you sent me, as far as my present leisure will permit. And first I shall declare for what concerns myself, that I do not, nor shall ever guide my actions, or frame my advices upon the factions and distempers either of England or Ireland; I require nothing that can be subject to error or mistake, but only expect obedience and conformity to that government that hath been long established by his majesty's known authority, and intrusted and recommended to me by his majesty when I kissed his hand at my departure out of England: for the not receiving aid or clear commands from the king, nor no supplies from my friends and alliance here, diverted by their own divisions, they are arguments to work only upon either rash or dejected spirits; to me they ought to be incitements, answerable to the honour of my name and family, to act those things in the king's service by my own power and interest, that others cannot compass, countenanced and assisted by the state.

For the spoils and affronts put upon us by the captain of the fort and his assistants, either out of his own ill-nature, or the instigations of others that have been ruined and destroyed, it may be by some that are most forward to complain; God forbid that my honour and fortune, and the safety of this county, should be hazarded in one ballance with his misdemeanors, by seeking a reparation out of a right course, though I shall not be failing to find fit ways of preservation; and if indiscretion in others do not divert me, I do not conceive any great difficulty to have him disgraced and punished. In present I look upon the place, and not the person; and if those petty spoils be duly weighed, with the present power and means I have used to divert the additional forces, and to procure their departure, it will I believe appear an act of that safety and importance, as without ostentation I may say you will hardly find another in the kingdom that could have effected the same, and shews that I am not so much disrespected by the English as report gives out: and if there be any in this county that will not acknowledge this favour, nor be guided by my advices, and observe my directions, I doubt they will be found disloyal to his majesty, destructive to themselves, and ungrateful to me.

For the infringing the prerogative, and the affronts put upon the persons of the king and queen, it cannot but be a great grief to any well-affected subject, that princes of their virtue and greatness should be any ways disturbed; and God grant they be not as much disquieted, and the prerogative incroached upon as far by those that seem most to have it in their care and vows! I cannot find by any relation or circumstances, that the king doth complain to us, or demand our assistance, but that it is rather feared that the proceedings here hath withdrawn the affections of many of his subjects of England, and rendered him liable to suspicions, by the pretences and rumours spread in this kingdom. When our actions here shall prove to be of advantage to him, or that I shall receive the least command, it shall be found that I have not a drop of blood that shall not be plentifully poured forth in his service; and that, I presume, is well known to his majesty.

That there are puritans, and a faction of ill-affected persons to his majesty's government, that have likewise had in their thoughts and designs some kind of subversion of this nation, and persecution of this religion, may be granted; but God's infinite goodness, and the king's power and justice, will no doubt deliver us from all such practices, if we do not, in seeking our preservation, run those courses that may draw upon us the weight of his majesty's just indignation, who cannot but abhor that under the name of puritan, ways were sought to

Sept. 1642. destroy the whole English nation here, no dislike to the authors of it, nor publick declaration to the contrary yet appearing from any of the late general assembly.

For the mystical body of the commonwealth, and the unity expected in all the parts thereof; if they were the politick body according to the title they have always assumed, I believe their actions would be better guided: and I have heard physicians say, that if the noble parts of the body, the brain and heart, be preserved sound, the other parts of the body by accident decaying may soon recover strength; so it may be affirmed, that if the body of the commonwealth be casually diseased, if a considerable part be kept from infection to struggle with distempers, it may in good time procure and infuse health to the whole, which, if totally infected, would be neglected as past recovery.

For the declarations of the clergy, and the excommunications sent forth upon those that shall not join in the common cause; though I do not find them approved from any other part of the world, yet out of respect and reverence to their calling, I shall forbear to declare my opinion, or express what might be well alledged; and shall only pray to God that those intentions of preservation by a too forward zeal do not prove destructive to us in our lives, honours and fortunes, and perhaps our consciences, being by the laws of God bound to pay duty and obedience to sovereign authority; and how the proceedings hitherto do concur with the king's honour, or prerogative, I cannot understand; and I could never find but that religion in all times hath been best preserved by a confidence in God's mercy and goodness, and the edge and fervour of the spiritual sword. What I have here expressed are the meditations and considerations, by which I govern and guide my conscience and actions; and if they prove as prevalent with you, and others of my friends, it will much rejoice me, for your and their good, together with my own.

Having proceeded thus far in the general business, it is now time to discourse of your particular, and to declare how much I am troubled that any unkindness or discontent should arise between my lord president and you; and by this inclosed you may perceive how fully I resent any injury that reflects upon you; and I doubt not but his lordship will endeavour to give you all the satisfaction he can, considering the condition he is in amongst a multitude of unruly starving people; and it is impossible but that every man must bear some share of loss in this distracted time. For my part, I should be glad to lose this year's revenue to preserve my future estate. I am confident that his lordship is very free from malice, and doth particularly very much respect you, however these unlucky accidents have fallen out; and let us all endeavour to bear our present crosses the best we may; and no doubt it cannot now be long before we have some certain knowledge what to guide our actions by. And therefore, noble cousin, let us yet arm ourselves with some longer patience, and not be over-ruled by any in other parts that have reason to envy our happiness here, but let us attend to reap our present harvest the best we may. I will now add nothing more, but still to express myself

Your most affectionate cousin,

Loughreagh, the 6th of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord president of Conaght, the 6th of September.

MY LORD,

I AM informed by Sir Ulick Burke, and by the perusal of some letters that have passed between your lordship and him, and likewise by the relation of his servant, Mr. Bryan Kelly, that some of your lordship's troops in your own presence have fallen very heavy upon his tenants, spoiling them even to destruction and starving; and that he with confidence seeking reparation from your lordship, hath

hath received no manner of satisfaction, notwithstanding some good offers made ^{Sept. 1642.} by Mr. Kelly.

My lord, I cannot but much wonder that your lordship hath taken no better notice of his worth and merit, his own respects to your lordship, and his near relation to me, than to deal in this manner with him, and to seek by pretences to put him off; and I must presume to deal freely with your lordship, I do resent any injury that reflects upon him, as personally done to myself, and have, and could with better temper bear with the oppressions done upon my own tenants, than what hath been now acted upon him; and I dare confidently affirm, it would be of much more advantage to your lordship, not to require more of him than his own good inclinations would offer by way of loan for your lordship's present supply, than treble the value that can be taken from him; and therefore I beseech your lordship let him be valued, and receive satisfaction answerable to his quality, and the regard you will be pleased to put upon the correspondency between your lordship and me, that deserving servitors may not be so slighted and neglected as to rejoice those that are in action, who watch for these opportunities to lay a charge upon the English and their proceedings. For my part, I must freely and truly attribute most of my endeavours and ability in this county to his faithful and constant assistance and attendance upon me on all occasions, and therefore I shall not doubt of your lordship's care that he shall be accordingly preserved and esteemed, as become those mutual ties of affection and respect that have passed between your lordship and

Your lordship's most faithful and assured friend to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 6th of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Between this and the 11th, I received many tedious and cross complaints from captain Willoughby and the mayor of Galway; and the truth is, I found him much more pliable and observant to me than the town; for though they made many colourable excuses, yet by the sequel it was apparent, that now I had removed these imminent dangers that were upon them, they did grow more careless of their duty and respects to me, and had ill intentions towards the fort, which did very much disturb me; and to gain them to a better disposition, I wrote unto the mayor as followeth.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 11th of September.

Mr. Mayor,

I HAVE received several complaints of the insolent carriage and misdemeanors of several ill-affected persons of your town, and your delaying of those things which both your duty and promise doth oblige you to perform for his majesty's fort. I am informed that your gates continue shut, no traffick admitted with you, nor no conclusion made for the observation of the pacification, nor my lord Forbes' man found out and returned; to whom since you did not afford any courtesy answerable to his quality, you might at least have forborn to have done such an apparent injury from the country. I receive many complaints that your young men sally forth and commit divers great spoils and robberies, and this town doth highly complain, and it is a particular affront and injury done to myself, that one of the townsmen hath been set upon and shot, and either dead or dangerously wounded. Mr. mayor, these are very strange and unexpected requitals of my care and diligence for your preservation, and removing the imminent dangers that were upon you, out of my confidence of your future good carriage and natural respects to me; and I must now expect sudden satisfaction, and due and severe punishment upon those offenders that have transgressed his majesty's laws and

Sept. 1642. and disturbed the publick peace of the county. And if there be not a speedy amendment, this shall be the last friendly admonition I shall give you, which is now to represent to your serious consideration, that the former and present violences and indiscretions of some turbulent ill-disposed people amongst you, having contracted much displeasure and ill-will against you both here and in England, if you shall enforce me by persisting in your ill carriages, or not punishing offenders, to make a severe representation of your misdemeanors to his majesty, what can follow but future ruin and destruction to fall upon you? whereas by a fair complying with me in these just and moderate ways I have prescribed for his majesty's service, and your own good, you might be sure of my best endeavours, and constant care, to cherish and preserve you. I have expressed myself freely to you, and shall expect that conformity, obedience, and reparation, that may give me cause to express myself

Your loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 11th of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

I received letters from the mayor of Galway, in answer to one of mine of the 9th, in which he gave me no good satisfaction, but only excuses and delays; whereupon I wrote again unto him, to try if I could bring the town to better conformity.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 14th of September.

Mr. Mayor,

AFTER the detaining of my messenger so long, I expected far greater satisfaction in the particulars whereof I wrote unto you than I received by your last letter. If you had perused with true understanding the articles of pacification, which you make so sacred when they serve for your advantage, you would upon my letter dismiss the fifty men you drew out of Thomond, and maintain in the town and new castle; the entertaining of any such being directly against the pacification, and not to be suffered in any part of this government. I desire expressly to know from you, whether you will discharge them, and the fifty disorderly men you keep in the abbey (whom I hear you cannot command) or no. It hath been laid to my charge that I permit you to make use of all treaties to your advantage, and the disadvantage of the king's service, and my own observation might often have taught me so much; yet I believe that art you so much build upon will fail you in the end. I see by your neglecting the propositions sent you, your new great supplies you so much boast of hath altered your resolutions, and it may be what was offered you then will not be often pressed upon you. You will wish you had sent the lord Forbes' man whom you keep in the town or new castle, he and you boasting of workmanship which is not in him; it is not impossible to return him to his master, and I will still expect him from you.

I desire you may plainly answer me, whether your works that stand not with the pacification shall be demolished, seeing you will hear of no new articles in pursuance and explanation thereof.

For the contagion you mention in the fort, it is either a dream, or a desire of some to have it so; for men of quality lately come thence find no such thing there, and are still about my own person, which might well satisfy your pretended curiosity. I assure you I have it by letters from the county of Limerick, that the lord Forbes is in that river, and like to stick there, so that your intelligence concerning him doth fail you.

That expression of yours, that the town have agreed that one pinnacle should wait in that harbour, and expecting the departure of all the rest of the ships, seems

seems to me to imply some commission you have to command all the king's ^{Sept. 1642.} ships that come into that harbour; and if your carriage and expressions be not more moderate, there may come so many as you may not command; and what I formerly wrote ought to have satisfied you in that particular. I forgot to call for an account of you, as I now do, how it can be justified by you, that two of the fort soldiers, being but gathering of herbs in some of the gardens near the town, should be set upon by six of the town and wounded in several places, and their swords taken from them, which are yet detained; that the same night forty hides were taken out of the tan-pits under the fort; and I have yet no answer nor satisfaction concerning Mr. Brereton, or his goods taken by the townsmen in the king's highway; and I yet patiently expect justice to be done for that dweller of this town that was there killed by them. I was wont often to blame captain Willoughby for his forwardness to offend, and now I find him pliable to reason and my commands, and you keep off. And it might become you to remember the great pains and trouble you have put upon me in the representing your grievances and complaints unto the state, and the hazard and danger you draw upon yourselves, and upon me, instead of reparation, by running these contrary courses. It is an ill season, if you weigh it rightly, to set town and country in combustion, which is the chief work of some there to accomplish. I expect with expedition that your great gate be set open, and free traffick admitted to all, and your answer to the particulars aforesaid. And believe it, Mr. mayor, let the young spirits amongst you entertain what fancies they please, the king's governor will find strength to have obedience paid him, and the earl of Clanricarde will be able to make his party good against any opposition in this county. These timely admonitions come from him that hath constantly laboured your good desires, for your preservation, and I would willingly have occasion given still to express myself

Your assured loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 14th of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

About this time I received letters out of the fort from captain Hall, sent thither in May last by my lord lieutenant with one hundred men to assist captain Willoughby; in which he doth very heavily complain of him, for taking all the benefit of the preys and booties to himself, without giving him or his company any relief or satisfaction; and that he having solicited the lord Forbes for a proportion of tobacco that came in there, there was so much granted amongst them as the profit would come to four hundred pounds; but captain Willoughby let him have none of it, nor to meddle or have any share in trading with the ships, having made away great store of hides, tallow, and sheep skins, without acquainting him therewith; that he was not bound to serve the state for meat and drink; that he was loth there should be mutiny, but this was the next way to set it forward. He did therefore beseech me to consider the state he stood in, and that if I did not assist him, there would be no living there this winter.

My letter to captain Hall, the 14th of September.

SIR,

I AM heartily sorry to hear there should be the least occasion of jealousy or coldness between captain Willoughby and you, or any that are for his assistance in his majesty's fort. I could wish that the common danger might unite and fasten our affections together, notwithstanding any small occasion of difference that may offer itself; and it is not to be doubted but the least mutiny there may produce great danger and prejudice upon his majesty's service, and much rejoice and encourage such as are ill-affected to that place. I write now

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Sept. 1642. in general terms to the captain, to let him know that I understand of some distaste like to arise there, and to desire him to remove the cause thereof, and to prevent the sad effects and apparent danger that a little rupture may draw upon him and that important place, which would embolden his enemies to insult and seek all advantages against all there. Sir, I have observed your carriage and deportment to be so fair and gentle since I first knew you, that I fear you have received some provocation to be displeased; and if this way of mine shall not prevail for your satisfaction, I shall lay home the particulars by you complained of, and seek that reparation that is due unto you by all fair intreaties and persuasions, which is all the power I make use of against any in that fort; and besides that respect that I profess to your worth, your employment in his majesty's service, by the directions of my much honoured lord the lieutenant, doth lay a strong obligation of love and respect upon me towards you, which I shall not forget, but be always ready to approve myself

Your very loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 14th of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 14th of September.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

I Received not your letters of the 10th until yesterday, being the 13th of this month, which made me omit some particulars therein express'd in my letters to the town of Galway, which I will now supply.

I must confess I receive fair promises hourly from the town, but their performance in their actions seems to me to come slowly from them, and experience should teach me to conceive of men by the rule of their actions, rather than of their oaths and promises in this age; and, Sir, in regard you are still nearer, and can best judge of their proceedings, I wish you may give them no advantage by any compliance with me, which may lay prejudice on yourself, or your charge, or any residing there; and it shall be my constant work to add what strength and assistance I can unto you, and not in any degree upon any pretence to weaken you. It is true many have entered into such oaths of association, that one by offending of one man draweth many unknown enemies upon himself; and I should much fear if any open breach appear there, it will make your supply hence impossible, which otherwise I shall not despair shall be sent shortly unto you.

They complain from the town that you are making of new works to annoy them, and they pretend great fears and dangers from you, and the ship now in that harbour, and make great protestations that the lord Forbes' man is not in the town, wherein, I must deal truly, they give me no satisfaction. I shall now press them with particulars, wherein, I conceive, they infringe the pacification; if they cannot acquit themselves fairly of them, and their speedy answer I will expect, and give you notice of. In the mean time, I hope they will not put any necessity upon you to fall into any acts of hostility, whereby all hopes of attornment will be cut off; if there were nothing to be considered but to offend them till they were made sensible of their folly and insolency, I should not struggle much for their ease, but other considerations there are that move me not to be forward, which I may not with safety trust to paper.

Sir, I am much perplexed to understand, that some distaste doth often arise between you, and some of the officers and soldiers which are for your assistance in that important place. A man may easily foresee what danger and prejudice a mutiny may draw in that fort, and I conceive it much concerns you to preserve the love of all there, which I presume you will not willingly or easily lose. I pray be careful to remove all occasions which may put disgust between you and any there, lest your enemies taking notice may rejoice thereat, and it may pull
danger

danger and prejudice upon his majesty's service and yourself; and, in my opinion, ^{Sept. 1642.} the common danger should make a fast union of hearts and hands in that place, which I earnestly wish for the common good and your safety.

I understand that one Mr. Parr hath lately brought into that harbour a ship laden with tobacco of a great burden, the customs whereof will be worth to his majesty, according to the allowance made by the last parliament, at least fifteen hundred pounds. That one Mr. Tucker, and others, export great store of the native commodities of this country, whereof some are prohibited without paying his majesty's due customs and imposts for the same, which, as I conceive, is not fit for me or you to suffer, his majesty receiving so great prejudice thereby. As I shall be glad to give encouragement to the English to traffick hither, and endeavour to keep the ways open, whereby the country may have commerce with them, that we may not be so much beholden to the town of Galway; so I must, according to the duty of my place, endeavour to preserve his majesty's right, and due perquisites, by his customs, imposts, and other dues, out of all exported and imported commodities; and therefore I entreat you to call upon and blame Mr. Radcliffe, Mr. Turnor, and the rest, for not being active herein, and to give them your assistance; and if any warrant or help of mine be requisite, I shall both cheerfully and speedily send it; and these perquisites being preserved thereout, out of them you may make your own supply with advantage to his majesty's service, and the residue may be accounted for to his majesty. I desire your special care herein, and I will always be

Your very loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 14th of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

Now every day I was frequently disturbed by continual cross complaints from captain Willoughby and the mayor, both striving to make use of all things that might most increase dissention; though the truth is, he was much more pliable and observant to me than the town, who now, freed from the dangers that hung over them, grew insolent, and most ungrateful to me. The particulars are too tedious to relate severally; I shall mention no more than what I find in some letters of mine directed unto them both, striving, if possible, to keep both quiet.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 20th of September.

Mr. Mayor,

YOU must give me leave to tell you, that your late actions do not seem to me to be agreeable to the many good words you complementally bestow upon me; the same visibly exposing me, yourselves, and the country, to danger, and imminent destruction, and when that judgment cometh, you will too late blame yourselves, and wish you had followed my advice.

It is strange unto me you can pretend a charter for drawing in of fifty men of foreign forces in these times against the will of the king's governor, and at his command you will not dismiss them, notwithstanding that, by his means, the forces are removed that did threaten you; and that it is so absolutely contrary to the pacification, as that it cannot at all be pretended unto if those forces be retained; and I believe you will wish you had not invited captain Bryan, and his company thither, and that you had sooner discharged them by my directions, notwithstanding his kindred there, and your kindred is largely spread in Thomond, if all the fifty men be of your blood.

I am informed, that the lord Forbes' man was lately discovered on your walls, and that it is believed he is employed with others in working of a mine towards the fort, which appeareth by the great quantity of earth that is cast up in your church and church-yard; and as long as you detain him there, keep your gates shut,

Sept. 1642. shut, and deny open commerce, such opinions will run abroad concerning you. I will shortly send some of mine own to make a narrow search, and to satisfy me concerning that particular, and this occasions captain Willoughby to raise a trench to discover it upon the ground, and for defence of the fort, without any offence to you, and yet your young men insolently shoot at his men for working there, within the liberties of the fort, notwithstanding that, in his respects to me, he hath forbore of late to offer any violence to that town, or any inhabitant thereof, and that he hath given consent to the propositions made by yourselves to secure the pacification between you, which you pocket up, and send not to be perfected, lest it might exact any conditions from you, and yet you call upon me to hasten it, when it hath long remained in your own hands.

I do expect the same measure of justice from you concerning the wounding and killing of the king's soldiers, and the killing of the honest inhabitant of this town, as I found in the execution of my warrant against Oliver Oge, and his accomplices, who abused both yourselves and the country, which warrant was fought for by you.

I am very sorry and sensible for the spoils and outrages committed in our Lady's Church; and the daily experience we have of the insolencies of common soldiers, even such as pretend to be assistants, hath been strong inducements to me (besides the obligation of my duty, and the trust reposed in me) to labour and employ my best endeavours for quiet and moderate proceedings, to divert and keep off from us the calamities that war hath drawn upon other parts; and these breaches (by whom at first occasioned I leave to you to consider) may be a warning to us to prevent the future growth of such inconveniencies, which I leave to your best care and consideration, being desirous to continue

Your loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 20th of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 21st of September.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

I SEND you here inclosed a petition preferred unto me on the behalf of three merchants of Galway, after I had perclosed my former letter unto you. I find by your letters, and partly by my own observation, the late carriages of the town of Galway to be such towards the fort and me, that I hold myself no way engaged to intercede for any member thereof, tho' in a more just cause than I conceive this to be of these merchants, until I shall find better conformity from them to my directions and commands; and yet considering that there is great use, and there may be greater, for the arms and ammunition, iron, or other commodities in that ship now taken, both in the fort, and amongst such here, to whom part of the said commodities shall be thought fit to be disposed for money, and other provisions fit for the fort (if we may not hope to have free commerce with Galway) I hold it necessary, that all the goods be kept in this harbour, and safely laid up in the fort for supply of those parts, the value of the goods to be disposed of, as hereafter shall be thought fit; and therefore do desire you, that you cause a perfect inventory to be kept of all the wares in that ship, that truth, and your care and mine may appear, within whose command the said ship did fall; which course, I hope, will be pleasing to my lord Forbes, and those that commanded the pinnace that pursued her. And I must insist upon an interest, that I am informed is justly due unto me the governor, in her, she being chased into my government, and seized upon after she was on ground between the low water and high water mark, whereof I shall make no other use than to advantage his majesty's service, and not my own profit thereby. This secure course being for the present taken, we may hereafter debate the merchant's, and every man's right

right thereunto; and I wish the merchants may not be put out of all hopes to have share of their goods upon examination, if it may draw that conformity and obedience from the town that may contain these parts in some kind of security, till we had better times, and better correspondency of intelligence out of England and Dublin.

I have hastened Mr. Martin yesterday to Galway, who I am confident will instantly labour to bring the town to better correspondency with you, and will labour that you may receive satisfaction concerning your jealousies of the town; if that way prevail not very soon, I shall despair of any other, and then I shall not blame you in taking any course your own judgment shall lead you into for supplying of yourself, and distressing of them. I can add nothing to that which you have written to the mayor concerning your work, I know no reason you should stop, or receive interruption therein.

I hope you will find some salt in this ship. I assure you when my servant Danocke was at Galway to buy some provisions for my house, they would not let me have the quantity of salt I desired for my ready money, alledging that I would not use such a quantity myself; which passage of theirs, with others towards me, I cannot forget. If you want that salt you may have it out of the prize taken at Limerick, from whence the pinnace will soon fetch it, if the gates of Galway be not speedily opened. I am doing my endeavour to hasten your provision, which is now levying in most baronies; the times be ticklish, yet, I hope, the taking of this ship will be no disturbance to it. Malt is now at the scarcest in the year till new comes in, I will do my best to supply you.

If the town kill your men, you know best how to right yourself for such a wrong; for any power I have over them is not able to procure you satisfaction for so great an insolence. When I hear from Mr. Martin, I shall guess what hopes there are of any concurrence from them with you; and if the times were not such as I know them to be (which you are not apt to believe from me) I should hold any punishment too gentle for them.

Sir, this Stephen Lynch that came in this ship, hath one request which I hold to be reasonable, and desire you to incline unto, if you conceive it not to be prejudicial to the service; there is a paper book of accounts in the ship, by which he can charge such in Galway as employed him to bring over commodities, of whom he expects reparation for part of what shall be his losses, which, I conceive, can stand you in no stead after you have once perused it, and therefore I desire you will please to let him have that book for his right and satisfaction; so I commit you to God's direction and protection, and am

Your very loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 21st of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A letter from the assembly at Ballinrobe in the county of Mayo, the 15th of September, received the 21st.

May it please your Lordship,

THE calamities and insupportable misery under which this poor afflicted nation suffers, now upon the point of total ruin, if not by God's providence prevented, we doubt not appears so visible to your lordship, as it requires no expression of ours to set forth the doleful condition thereof; the sense of which, and our desires to preserve what is left undestroyed, occasioned our assembly to this place, to join in consultation of the best ways and means of preservation, which we conceive can be none other than to raise the greatest strength of forces we are able, to resist the cruelties of our enemies, or compel them to afford us better conditions of peace than it appears they are of themselves inclinable we should

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enjoy;

Sept. 1642. enjoy ; wherein we think it requisite to become humble suitors, that we may have the concurrence of your lordship's best assistance, as being a person of highest eminence amongst us, and our ambition being none other than to serve God, the king, and country in a right way, and therein we hope shall not want your lordship's best helps in joining with us, and that to be speedily applied, our extremities admitting no delays. And thus expecting the favour of your lordship's answer, we kiss your hand, and remain

Your lordship's most humble servants,

Malachias, archpus Tuamen.	Miles, Mayo.	Clanmorris.
Boetius, Elphin.	Lucas Dillon.	Theo. Burke.
Dan. Burke.	Ulicke Burke.	John Bermingham.
Hubert Burke.	Bartho. Dillon.	Ulicke Burke.
Tho. Burke.	Th. Burke.	Owen O Rourke.
Charles Dowde.	John Burke.	Mor. Flaherty.
John Garvy.	An. Garvy.	Br. O Rourke.
Burke.	Walter Burke.	Feoghera Flyn.
Wm. Burke.	Thall. O Rody.	Walter Burke.
Geo. Reinolds.	The. Burke.	R. Burke.
Thalleus Hyggan.	Chr. Dillon.	

My letter to my lord of Mayo, the 22d of September.

MY LORD,

I HAVE received a letter bearing date the 15th of this present, signed by your lordship and divers other persons of quality, both of the clergy and laity, declaring the dangers of the kingdom, the resolution of raising considerable forces, and the desire of my concurrence therein, to serve God, the king, and country in a right way. I assure your lordship those three particulars I have made the constant object of my thoughts, for to guide my actions to those ends, with most certainty in this time of distraction, and general distemper ; and as a most secure and undoubted way, I have proceeded to the best of my power to preserve this county in a due obedience, and fit conformity to those known and long settled rules of government, established by his majesty's own authority, as the only means to preserve me from error. Until I receive some farther signification of his majesty's royal pleasure, it can neither be safe or honourable for me to make trial of any new ways of service, without special warrant ; being the only catholick intrusted with such a command, any falling off, or breach of trust, would be a great blemish both upon religion and the honour of the nation, and lay a guilt and disturbance upon my conscience. Yet, my lord, I have had such a feeling and apprehension of the common calamity of this kingdom, as that I have endeavoured (and not without hazard) such remedies as will hereafter manifest my affection to my native country, and will, I hope, appear to their advantage and mine, and I am sure be ever free from any unworthy or ignorant act. But as I was, and am still ignorant of the first designs and resolutions taken in other parts, and the proceedings thereupon ; so I cannot yet take upon me to judge of the intentions, motives, and inducements that direct the present state of affairs. It is my desire to labour to give the best account I may of this government unto his majesty, without adhering to any passion or distemper in either kingdom ; and as I doubt not to be still able to preserve myself, and uphold his majesty's authority, so if there be no opposition given to distrust my fair and moderate proceedings, I shall readily employ my best endeavours for the good and preservation of the kingdom, so as will be of much more advantage than any addition of force I can bring, and with a right and clear conscience to God, my king, and country.

This,

This, my lord, is in present as much as I shall offer in answer to the letter I ^{Sept. 1642.} received; and your lordship imparting it to those that are interested therein, I presume it will give them good satisfaction, and invite your lordship still to believe me

Your lordship's humble servant,

Loughreagh, the 22d of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 21st of August, received the 24th of September.

MY LORD,

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, we have lately received several advertisements that the town of Galway have in sundry particulars broken on their parts the articles of pacification, and committed acts of hostility against his majesty's fort; and that the arms of the soldiers of the fort which were taken from them when the English of Galway were disarmed, are not yet returned. And we find by several advertisements from several parts of the kingdom, that from Galway the rebels in very many places have been supplied with powder in great quantities since the pacification; we are advertised also, that the new fortifications or bulwarks in the town towards the fort, stand as yet undemolished.

It seems also that the ordnance taken out of Clarke's ship were not put into the fort, nor yet the powder which was in the town at the pacification, nor the arms or ammunition brought in by Francis Darcy, some two or three days before the pacification, which your lordship may remember we did by our letters of the 13th of June recommend to your lordship to be given into the fort, if you could. We are informed that the town do change every fortnight the hostages they gave in, and still the latter persons are less considerable than the former: that course of changing the hostages we find not to have been so agreed at the pacification; and therefore we pray and require your lordship to endeavour to get into your hands the first hostages given in, and to cause them to be kept safely in your lordship's custody, if you think not fit to put them into the fort, where, by our former letters of the 13th of June, we signified to your lordship that they would have been more safe, and your lordship less answerable for their forthcoming than otherwise.

And now that matters so stand between the town and fort, we expect the continuance of your lordship's good endeavours for assisting the fort, to your power, in all things conducing to their preservation against the town, and particularly to command that the fort may have fresh victuals; and that your lordship would also command that captain Ashley with the ship under his command, now lying at Galway, may be victualled, so as to enable his stay there with that ship, until another ship be sent to lye there; we have already written to captain Kettleby, to hasten another ship thither.

We are advertised that Francis Darcy, who dwells in France, and brought in arms and ammunition into the town of Galway but three days before the pacification, was lately apprehended by captain Willoughby, and that he craves the benefit of a protection granted to him by your lordship but three days before he was apprehended; and we conceive his case to be different from the townsmen, he being, though a native there, yet a resident in France, and came it seems purposely from thence into this kingdom to furnish rebels with arms and ammunition; yet in our tenderness of your lordship's honour, we are pleased to leave it to your lordship to release him if you think fit, yet so as your lordship do otherwise secure him, in such sort as your lordship shall adjudge most convenient.

We

Sept. 1642.

We remember that your lordship had lately sent letters to us, but we have not yet received them; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 21st of August, 1642.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.

JO. BORLACE.

ORMOND OSSORY.

MOORE.

AD. LOFTUS.

JOHN TEMPLE.

THO. ROTHERAM.

A letter from the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 25th of August, received the 24th of September.

MY LORD,

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, your letters of the 10th of this month, advertising us of the arrival of the lord Forbes with twelve sail of ships, and two thousand landmen, within the bay of Galway, came not unto our hands until the 22d of this month. Upon consideration whereof at this board, we have thought fit to signify to your lordship, that the lord Forbes hath no commission or instructions from us for his proceedings, nor do we know what his commission or intentions are, only we have heard that he is employed by his majesty and the parliament of England, with additional forces for the prosecution of the rebels, their relievers and abettors; and therefore in this case, wherein we are altogether strangers, having not received any directions therein out of England, we judge not fit to interpose, lest we might do any thing that might thwart the resolutions and purposes on the other side.

However, we conceive the lord Forbes will impart his authority to your lordship, wherein we are assured your lordship will comply with him, and further him with your best assistance and concurrence in those things which conduce to the honour and service of his majesty, and the safety of the kingdom, as we usually do in all cases where we find any directions issued from his majesty hither, tho' therein we be not consulted with, wherein our furtherance and assistance is necessary; and we no way doubt but a person so eminently trusted, as it seems the lord Forbes is, will so order his proceedings in the services intrusted with him, as not only to preserve from prejudice your lordship's person and family, and those who shewed themselves faithful subjects to his majesty in joining with you towards suppressing the rebels, and have not had any hand in the counsels or actions of the rebels, but also to further and strengthen you to his power in all things concerning the publick service, wherein he may be able to render you any assistance. The former dispatches from your lordship mentioned in your letter, we have not yet received.

By our letters of the 21st of this month we signified to your lordship, that we had received several advertisements that the town of Galway have, in sundry particulars, broken on their parts the articles of pacification, and committed acts of hostility against his majesty's fort, which we think fit by these our letters to make known to your lordship, lest our said former letters should not come to your hands before this. And therefore it is most necessary that your lordship do in all things labour for the preservation of the fort, and correction of the insolency of any that have attempted, or shall attempt any act of hostility against it. And here we may not omit to take notice of one passage in your lordship's letters to captain Willoughby, wherein you mention, that the pacification with the town received the allowance of this state, and our direction that it should be observed until his majesty's pleasure were declared; whereas by our letters to your lordship upon that subject, dated the 13th of June, we signified to your lordship, that there were

were fundry particulars therein much to be disliked in some respects, yet seeing ^{Sept. 1642.} your lordship wrote you were necessitated thereunto, we were so tender of his majesty's honour, and your lordship's reputation in performance of the publick faith you gave, as we then declared we would forbear to do any thing in violation of the protection you gave, until his majesty's pleasure should be signified therein, and other allowance than that your lordship knows we gave not of that pacification; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 25th of August, 1642.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

WM. PARSONS.

JO. BORLACE.

ORMOND OSSORY.

MOORE.

AD. LOFTUS.

JO. TEMPLE.

THO. ROTHERAM.

JA. WARE.

FR. WILLOUGHBY.

My letter to my lord Forbes, the 26th of September

MY LORD,

I Presume before now your lordship hath received an account of the surprisal of a bark in the harbour of Galway, by the pinnace left by your lordship there for a safeguard and assistance of his majesty's fort; I hear of some disputes between captain Willoughby, and those intrusted by your lordship, how to dispose of the commodities she carried, most whereof, of any considerable quantity and value that I can hear of, being muskets, powder, iron, and some cloth; if the navy under your lordship's command may not have occasion to make use of some of those things, I should offer it unto your lordship as my opinion and advice, that I hold it fit that the same be laid up in his majesty's fort; and that thence so much thereof as your lordship shall direct, be sold unto such of the country, as captain Willoughby and myself (who best know those well-affected) shall think fit to be furnished with ware of that nature. I shall desire some store of arms and ammunition for my own use, there being many English, and others well-disposed in this town, that are destitute of arms, and so likewise in my town of Portumna, and it will be necessary to have them speedily furnished for their defence, I hearing of many threats from several parts of this kingdom; and I do particularly desire to have some of the largest sort of muskets, or carriers, for the safety of my two houses, especially they will be most useful to one of them that lies upon the river of the Shannon. If the town of Galway will not admit free commerce with the fort, and others (as I hear yet through fears and jealousies between captain Willoughby and them they do not) such of those commodities as shall be thought fit to be sold will yield good rates here, and the fort that way may be plentifully supplied with provision for money, or ware. I shall leave it to your lordship's able judgment, best versed in maritime affairs, whether myself may not pretend to a share in that prize, being chased into my government, and boarded, she being on ground upon my land, between the low-water and high-water mark; and I assure your lordship I should make no other use of my interest therein, any further than truly to enable me faithfully to serve his majesty, and to defend this country intrusted to my charge. I have some hopes that the town of Galway will be drawn to better correspondence with the fort, through the discreet government of their new mayor, who takes his place on Thursday next, than hitherto they have held. I shall not now trouble your lordship with a repetition of the many particular passages between town and fort, since your lordship's departure out of the harbour of Galway, not doubting but captain Willoughby hath at large given your lordship an account thereof. I have used my uttermost endeavours to get your man out of the town, but cannot prevail

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therein

Sept. 1642. therein as yet; they alledge he had left that town soon after his coming thither, and went among the Flaherties in the West of the town; and make many promises and protestations, that if ever he be found in the town, they will send him unto me, or the fort. My lord, I know the high and sad distempers of England come fresher, and with more certainty to your lordship, than I can receive or relate them; God of his mercy send means to appease them; in present they threaten much danger and misfortune. The haste of the messenger, and my other distractions, will give me leave to say no more unto you, but to assure you that I am

Your lordship's most humble and assured servant,

The 26th of September,
ber, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Arthur Blundell, the 26th of September.

S I R,

I AM sorry to understand by your last letter that your harvest is either destroyed, or carried away by your enemies, which must of necessity put you to distress, if God be not pleased to supply you some other way. I know not what comfort the lord president hath given you by his letter, which I hear is lately come unto your hands; but, on the receipt of yours, I again acquainted his lordship with your distress, and desired his lordship's speedy care and supply of you: I have done the like to captain Willoughby, in regard to the lord Forbes' men, who lately surprized a bark in the harbour of Galway of good value, whereby, if they please, money may be raised to supply and relieve the English that are in want. I should be sorry you should be necessitated to desert his majesty's fort, and doubt not but for his majesty's service, and your own reputation, you will maintain it so long as there is hope or possibility of relief left unto you. If you please rightly to observe my condition, you will find it little better than your own. I have received no manner of supply, either in men, money, arms, or ammunition, from the state since these distempers, nor out of England, though I often and earnestly solicited for it to both, only direction to make my company one hundred; since which time I received not a penny to maintain them, nor any maintenance for my old company for these two years. I came hither clogged with great debts in the beginning of this commotion, and ever since have been at distance with the town of Galway, whence all the money is to be procured for sale or mortgages of land; the tenants are so impoverished with taxes and contributions, and all commerce is so interrupted, that I can get no rents, insomuch, to deal truly with you, that I know not well how to support my own weighty charge this winter. I say nothing of the daily menaces and threats sent unto me from all the Irish forces in all parts, foretelling and projecting the destruction of my family, and those of the country that stick unto me, as the only enemies and oppressors of his majesty's service, and the common good of the country.

I assure you (though my endeavours shall not be wanting to you) yet I know not for the present how to promise any convoy for your safe journey to Athlone, the nature of men, and their conditions, are so much altered; and, if you were, I fear you would meet but with little comfort, and find the lord president in great and hourly distraction, he being troubled with an unruly army, that want both money, meat, and cloaths, and all necessaries, and that indeed have nothing but what they fight for; they being sent to him in this condition, many of them are dead, and some have been killed, and the rest make that place to be needy, and thereby they become cumbersome to him, and all that reside there. I hope God in his good time will provide better for us, which, in all probability, had been before now, but for the great troubles in England, which God of his great mercy soon appease. The few English that are about me here, and at Portumna,
are

are so maligned and frightened with messages and reports, that, if I could tell ^{Sept. 1642.} whither, I would fain advise them somewhere for their safety, whatsoever became of myself. If I receive any advices that may minister hope or comfort to you, I shall, with all expedition, impart them.

I have given order to my officer Hugh Madden, to deliver the lord Forbes' message unto you, which, I doubt not, he will do with what conveniency he may; and for the abuse committed by some intrusted to convoy the little provision of corn unto you, I caused it to be searched into, and it is discovered already, and I shall endeavour to have that proportion made up; but for me to undertake any more is become almost impossible. Sir, I wish you all consolation, and shall, to my uttermost power, endeavour to express me

Your very loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 26th of
September, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord Castle-Stewart and Sir Arthur Blundell's receipt of powder, match, and bullets, sent by my lord Forbes, the last of September.

WE the lord of Castle-Stewart and Sir Arthur Blundell, do acknowledge to have received from the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, one hoghead of match, four barrels of powder, and one small rundlet of bullets, this last day of September, 1642. Witness our hands,

AND. STEWART. AR. BLUNDELL.

I received this month several letters, not here set down, from my lord president of Conaght, Sir Charles Coote, Sir Arthur Blundell, Mr. William Parsons, and captain Chidley Coote, full of thanks, and acknowledgments of my care of them, and supplying of them with all things in my power, and privately persuading others to relieve them; and I did grant unto Sir Charles Coote, that all my lordship of Athleage should pay contribution to him, for which he promised to give ticket, by his letter of the 9th of this month. Mr. Parsons was served with salt and cattle from others, Sir Arthur Blundell with several sorts of provision and ammunition from my lord Forbes. But the turbulent dispositions of many, both in the town and country, now appearing more than formerly, some English of the fort, and in other places, began to speak hardly of the removal of the lord Forbes, which gave me occasion to put together, and publish those motives that invited me to take that course.

Motives for not entertaining the lord Forbes, and his additional forces.

THE town and county of Galway (Irrconaght excepted) then standing under a pacification, and no direction sent out of England, or from the state of Dublin, for the dissolving of it.

The breaches made thereupon by the fort and ship assisting it, by many violences offered to the town and townsmen upon slight occasions, as was conceived, and by them alledged, and their complaints sent up to the state at Dublin; and as to the country, most certainly broken by many spoils, burnings, and depredations, and many affronts and prejudices put upon myself, and infringements upon my government, and no ground given for it, nor offence given by the country.

The lord Forbes called in by the captains of the fort and ship, to make good their violent interruptions, without any advice taken, or notice given to me, the governor of the town and county.

Irrconaght a mountainous stony country, containing three baronies on the sea, west of Galway. Capt. Ashley, a rude turbulent person, having the command of that ship by particular commission, obeying none of the commands of the fleet or fort.

The

Sept. 1642. The form of the submission sent to the town by the lord Forbes at his first arrival, taking them out of my government into his protection, and his majesty to intercede to the parliament.

His letter to the lord president, the 10th of Aug. mentioning his strength. The lord Forbes' fleet, consisting of twenty ships and about twelve hundred landmen, neither his lordship, nor any other person, officer, or other known to myself, notwithstanding my attendance upon his majesty and his army in the two northern expeditions, and my long residence in and about London, and knowledge of most of the commanders of his majesty's fleet.

Confirmed by the Lords Justices' letter to me of the 25th of August. The lord Forbes and his fleet, having no relation, or dependence upon the state at Dublin, nor no particular commission out of England for this government, nor no recommendation or direction from his majesty, nor from the parliament, to guide his proceedings or carriage towards me, or mine to him.

Related unto me by Sir Roger Shaghnessy at his departure out of this county. My answer thereto, the 13th of Aug. The reports of spoils made by those forces in Munster without distinction, and the besieging there of Sir Roger Shaghnessy, his lady, and children, and family, whilst he then and formerly was assisting me here with much forwardness and diligence in his majesty's service; his lordship's expressions in his second letter to me of the 11th of August, that he was tied to no pacification I had made in his majesty's behalf.

Twelve hundred the most he could make. His lordship's forces not considerable to lay a siege to that town, many of his own commanders being against it, I conceive it of dangerous consequence both to fort and country, by drawing in of forces from other parts, and making this county the seat of the war, and no power or interest of mine, or command of the state at Dublin, over the lord Forbes to stay longer than pleased himself, but might depart if set hard upon by number, and leave us engaged.

Captain Willoughby at one time with his great ordnance made one hundred and twenty-two shot, at another seventy-two, and several great shot at other times against the town, and so did captain Ashley, all which hit some houses or other, and did no considerable hurt, and there were far greater pieces of ordnance in the fort, likelier for battery than any the lord Forbes landed near the fort, for battering of the town, and the ways of undermining their walls were full of difficulty, if not impossible.

The town and county so sensible of the particulars, especially the manner of submission required, that I should have been totally forsaken, my person and family endangered, and the English in all probability destroyed, both in Galway, Loughreagh, and Portumna, and other places, if any rigour or extremity had been put upon the town so unjustly as was conceived.

The inconvenience that might fall thereby upon the service in the rest of the province, my lord president's forces being required to assist them, who were much discontented and hard to be governed, being delivered to his lordship without either pay, cloaths, or provision; and his lordship must have neglected the guarding and bringing in of the harvest in the county of Roscommon, the enemy thereby furnished, and his army endangered to starve this winter, and myself put into the same condition here.

The business being of importance, I would not rely upon my own judgment therein, but repaired to the borders of Roscommon, to confer with my lord president and to convoy his lordship to * Terrellan; and then after many conferences between his lordship and the lord Forbes, it was held most convenient, and so concluded upon, to hold to the pacification, and not to search too curiously into the breaches thereof on either side, lest the opinion of breaking publick faith might turn all into desperation, and cause an open rebellion in this county, that hitherto had been the bulwark to break and keep divided the forces of Conaght, Ormond, Thomond, and the King's county.

By his lordship's letter to me of the 26th of Aug. My letter to his lordship of the 28th. Upon my return out of the county of Roscommon, where I attended back upon my lord president, after all was concluded here, the lord Forbes, by the incitement of the captain of the fort, renewed his desires of attempting the town, and I returned and repeated my former reasons of my not approving of that design;

* A castle of mine, opposite both to the fort and town of Galway, a large river between.

design; but withal did declare, that if his lordship did conceive it convenient ^{Sept. 1642} and necessary for his majesty's service, notwithstanding what I had formerly alledged, I would give no impediment or interruption thereunto, but would attend farther direction from the state.

His lordship thereupon gives approbation to my reasons and resolutions, and withdraws his fleet and forces, declaring his opinion, that my way of proceeding ^{His lordship's letter of the 29th.} would be of most advantage for his majesty's service in this county, the province of Conaght, and probably the whole kingdom.

I then procured from the town and county their consents for three months provision of beeves and muttons for the fort, and the priority of the markets, ^{Twelve beeves and thirty muttons every week for 3 months.} which I apprehended to be a better present service than to make such a dangerous disturbance, and no probability of being seconded by any strong supplies.

I desired his lordship upon his departure to leave a pinnace for intelligence as there should be occasion, which was done accordingly, and it hath since taken ^{Store of arms and ammunition.} a rich prize coming to Galway, valued at near six thousand pounds.

In the last place, I do plainly and clearly acknowledge, that after so long an expectation of assistance and supply, I shall never willingly entertain any forces ^{Capt. Ashley, and some of the lord Forbes' forces, guided and assisted by soldiers of the fort.} into this government, except in case of great necessity, if they be not properly assigned to my command, either out of England, or from the state at Dublin, having already suffered much, both in honour and fortune, by those ships and forces that have come accidentally hither, and would give no obedience to my command or authority.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

The miscarriages of the town of Galway are most of them expressed in my letters to the mayor and captain Willoughby; and though they charged him with many things, yet I cannot accuse him of any thing, but the not making restitutions which he undertook; the burning, spoiling, and preying of Richard Lynch, who had been a constant friend to the fort, and his works towards the town upon their liberties, as they alledged, which, I conceive, was done more upon design to vex and disturb them, to keep them from agreement, than any other advantage he could gain by it.

The chief occasions of the disorders of the town, I conceive proceed, first, from the liberties they had given to the young men and inferior sort, who would not be governed by the magistrates; and, I believe, some of themselves were glad of that excuse: then, the importunity of the clergy, both of their own, and strangers that resorted to them, with many false stories of great victories obtained by the Irish in several places, persuading them it was for the king's service to resist the fort, who was for the parliament, the manner of submission required by the lord Forbes being a ground for that belief; the failing of their trade and traffick abroad, and my want of power to procure them redress for the goods taken by captain Ashley, which came with passes and recommendations out of Munster, from the vice president, and vice admiral, and seized upon within my government, without any colourable pretence; and the taking of the late prize did very much disturb both them and the country, who had some of them, and by my encouragement, laid out money for some arms, and expected to be supplied by his majesty's ship; but, in this particular, the town is as wholly to blame, who stood upon niceties, and would not open their gates, nor settle the confirming of the former pacification, which had saved the pretence of forfeiture of this ship, more than to have secured the arms and ammunition, not to be disposed of but by my warrants and direction. But that which most did vex them was the reports of the great wealth, store of arms, shipping, and all kinds of commodities that came to Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, and other sea towns that had revolted; and they were not a little sensible of the great benefit that captain Willoughby made by trading between the ships and my town of Loughreagh, and other parts of the country, of which they were deprived, and wherein, if he had been as pro-

Sept. 1642. vident for the furnishing and victualling of the fort, as he was careful both of his own profit and pleasure, the fort might have been still secure.

By letter
from Mr.
Terence
Coghlan,
dated the 1st
of Septem-
ber.

The most considerable intelligences, and with most probability that I received this month was, that Owen Roe's intention of falling down into Meath was diverted; the Scotch growing strong in the North by the addition of fresh forces; a report of a conflict between them, wherein the Irish did attribute the day to themselves, but confessed to have lost numbers; the running army, under the command of colonel Berne, consisting of two thousand two hundred foot, and two hundred horse, met at Terrill's-pass, but whither they would march was unknown; that the town of Rathmines, near Dublin, was taken by the Irish; and that they had burnt some of the suburbs of Dublin, where the sickness did violently rage, and was the occasion that many did daily steal into England; that the lord lieutenant was with the king, but not likely to come, though he had once an army of eight thousand men ready for this kingdom.

Mr. Terence
Coghlan, the
3d of Sept.

I received certain intelligence, that all my former dispatches to the state were safely delivered, and they often importuned for answers, but none could be obtained. From Kilkenny I was informed, that the assembly there was very great, and that they intended to sit a fortnight longer; that the Munster forces had taken the strong fort of Tralee, which should have been relieved by the lord Forbes when he was invited to Galway by captain Willoughby; that they had cleared both the counties of Limerick and Kerry, by taking all the castles from the English, and were then with their forces in the county of Corke, where the English were strong; that the Scots had quitted two or three counties in the North; and that the Irish did confidently report, that hereafter they need fear no hostility from the Scots; that Owen Roe O Neile had good warrants for his coming hither, and that above a million of ducats was in bank beyond sea to be disposed by him; that two ships belonging to him were arrived at Wexford, with some prizes taken upon the coast of Dublin.

Capt. Dermot Shaghnully, the 7th of Sept.

Out of Munster I was certainly informed, that the earl of Barrymore, with my lord of Inchiquin, fell suddenly upon the Irish forces, possessed themselves of their ordnance, and had the killing of a number of them; that the English before were very weak, and ready to retire to Kinsale, Cork, and Youghall, and now the Irish much daunted with this misfortune.

Mr. Terence
Coghlan, the
15th of Sept.

I received notice of the death of the earl of Roscommon at Dublin, not without suspicion of poison; that the army at Dublin was so diminished by sickness, that there were not above five thousand able men there, and the Irish did daily steal from them; that there were landed at Wexford the colonels Preston, Plunket, Cullen, and Synnott, with five hundred men, some ammunition, and arms for five hundred men.

Mr. Terence
Coghlan, the
18th of Sept.

I received information, that my lord of Ormond was created marquiss; that the king was strong in the field in England; that Litchfield, and many other towns, had yielded to him; that my lords of Westmeath, Dillon, Taaff, and many Irish, were in the king's army; Essex, Warwick, Bedford, and others, proclaimed traitors to his majesty; Northampton, and many others, by the parliament; colonel Goring besieged in Portsmouth by Essex; the king intending to march that way.

I was farther informed, that the assembly at Kilkenny was broken up, without concluding much more than to lay a ground-work for their future intentions, having appointed to meet again the 18th of the next month; that they were all very much incensed against me, and that the new arrived commanders, by the informations they received of me in France, did speak very big and high threats against me. And upon the 24th I received from Mr. Terence Coghlan the two dispatches from the state at Dublin, dated the 21st and 25th of August; by the first, I perceived they would take no notice of the receipt of any of my dispatches, but gave credit to the false and malicious relations of Willoughby; by the other, that being much endangered and perplexed how to carry

carry myself to my lord Forbes, they left me, after long expectation, exposed ^{Sept. 1642.} to ruin, without any clear advice, or direction for my proceedings, in a case of so much difficulty; which did fully instruct me what assistance I was to expect from them in any time of danger or extremity.

By these intelligences, and all circumstances considered, my dangerous, or rather most desperate condition was apparent; the distractions in England being grown to so great a height, and all my friends there so engaged in opposition against each other, as no assistance could be expected from thence; the state at Dublin continuing their neglects, or rather suspicious of me; and however their strength was so impaired, and the passages so stopped to these parts, that power as much as will, was now wanting to my relief; those of the nation that had taken up arms now growing strong and powerful by the arrival of all their commanders bred abroad, and plenty of arms and ammunition came unto them, their malice grown high against me by the violent instigations of the clergy, for not joining in this general cause; the zeal of many of them now growing highly inflamed by receiving the benefit of the church livings, and which was most dangerous, many of my nearest friends and kindred forsaking me through their practices; and the observation of my being so much neglected by the state, and the disobedience both of the fort and town to my orders and commands: these difficulties, though they could nothing shake my resolutions and loyalty to his majesty's service, yet it did instruct me to be more cautious and wary until better times, and not to exasperate too much, but to satisfy myself with getting relief for preservation of the fort, though not deserved by the commander; and to be more private in my courtesy to others, where there lay no obligation upon me.

Upon the of this month, died my unfortunate kinsman the lord Clanmorris, at Galway, much disquieted for his separation from me, and some violent acts committed by him.

My letter to the earl of Ormond, the 5th of October.

MY LORD,

I HAVE sent several dispatches to the state at Dublin, and one letter to your lordship, all which I am certainly informed were safely delivered, and yet I can receive no clear direction or information how to guide my proceedings, being in many dangers and difficulties, and threatened from all parts of the kingdom. My last dispatch I sent by a pinnace of the lord Forbes, giving an account of his deportment and departure from hence with such favourable expressions as became the means of conveyance; and being still doubtful that the turbulent humours both of fort and town of Galway, and the distracted inclinations of many of this county may be a means to invite his lordship back again, being still, as I am informed, in the river of Limerick. I must confess, I am much perplexed how to demean myself towards his lordship, not well understanding his additional power, the manner of submission he required from Galway, nor the nature of the war; to all which particulars mentioned in my dispatch of the 25th of the same, I received very dark and doubtful directions, without any settled rule or instructions.

Letters and reports out of France, and several other informations divulged about the kingdom, speak sadly of the high distempers of England, wherein some near friends of mine are deeply concerned. My lord, I beseech you, as you are a person of honour, and my most noble friend, take my perplexed condition into your speedy and serious consideration, and be pleased to impart something to me, that I may take some timely course for the safety of my family. I assure your lordship if it were but the loss of a poor life, I would not care how soon I paid nature that debt, which must be at last discharged; but my honour, friends, and kindred, and the poor pledges I lately brought into this kingdom, being

Oct. 1642. being engaged, I cannot but be sensible of such calamities. My lord, I must now ask leave to move your lordship in the behalf of Mr. William Wolverston of Stilorgan, who hath been long detained in the castle of Dublin, that you will be pleased to interpose your power and favour for his ease and enlargement, it it may be done with safety and convenience; being a person generally well reputed, and, as I am informed, well esteemed of by your lordship. I am very much beholden to his son Mr. Richard Wolverston, and such an obligation put upon him would be of very great advantage to my affairs, and enable me the better to do your lordship service; and I do move it to your lordship with much earnestness, and desire to have it so effected, and such a return as your lordship shall think fit to make unto me, I doubt not will meet with a safe conveyance. I shall forbear to trouble your lordship with any further discourse, but referring all to your noble nature and disposition, will ever be found

Your lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,

Loughreagh, the 5th of
October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord justice Parsons, the 5th of October.

MY LORD,

THE publick dispatch from your lordship of the 25th of August I have received, being in answer to mine of the 10th of the same, wherein you are pleased to afford me very little either of intelligence, instruction, or assistance, in a time, as I conceived, of much difficulty and danger. The lord Forbes' proceedings here, and departure from hence, I have already informed by my dispatches of the 5th of September, sent in a pinnace of the lord Forbes at his earnest request, by which your lordship may well imagine my expressions were favourable as they had relation to him. I am confidently informed that my public dispatches of the 27th of June, 12th and 27th of July, together with my private letters to your lordship, were safely delivered, and I cannot but much wonder to receive no manner of return, they importing some things of consequence; and the several expressions of your lordship's former favours and respects to me, made me rely with confidence, that your lordship would not slightly pass by that which so much concerned my own particular, of which I will not now trouble your lordship with repetitions, since I can say nothing more effectually than I have already delivered. There are no considerable alterations here since my last dispatch, but the taking a rich prize in the harbour of Galway, by a pinnace of the lord Forbes, valued at five thousand pounds.

My lord, I am informed of the long restraint of one Mr. William Wolverston in the castle of Dublin, who hath always carried a good and fair repute, and so esteemed of by your lordship; if, without much danger or inconveniency, he might receive the benefit of your favour for his ease and enlargement, it would be of very great use and advantage to me, his son being a gentleman to whom I have been, and may still have cause to be beholden for many necessary courtesies, that will not prove altogether unservicable to your lordship. I will now submit all former and present requests of mine to your lordship's noble and just consideration, and still remain,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Loughreagh, the 5th of
October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord of Falkland, principal secretary to his majesty, the 23d of August, ^{Oct. 1642}
received the 5th of October, 1642.

MY LORD,

HIS majesty having received a letter from your lordship of the 28th of June, and with it a copy of a letter to the lords justices concerning the submission of Galway, and another to my lord justice Parsons, hath commanded me to return this answer to your lordship, that concerning the submission itself, the houses of parliament having the whole matter before them, he will say nothing concerning it; but for your lordship's intentions, he is fully satisfied that they were very good in all that you did therein, and had no other aim than the public weal of that kingdom, and his majesty's service, he being right-well persuaded of your lordship's loyalty and fidelity to his crown of England, and no less than he was of your father's before you, from whose good example he is confident you will never degenerate in that particular: his majesty likewise assuring you, that your having received no answer to your former letters, proceeded from no other cause but the miserable distractions of this kingdom. His majesty hath likewise sent you a licence to come into England upon your desire, which your lordship may make use of when it shall be necessary for your own occasions, and no way prejudicial to his service; this I am commanded to say, and from myself shall only add, that I am

Brought unto me by my servant Thomas Webb, who came first to Dublin, and then about by sea, to the fort of Galway.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

York, the 23d of
August, 1642.

FALKLAND.

His majesty's licence for my repair into England.

CHARLES R.

Right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, we greet you well.

WHEREAS our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin Ulicke Burke earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde, hath desired our leave and permission to come over out of Ireland into this kingdom of England, to take care of his estate and affairs here, which require his own presence more immediately, both in regard of his long absence from hence, and the present troubles. We therefore, tendering the good of him and his estate, do by these presents grant unto the said earl full leave and licence to come over into this our kingdom with his retinue and necessities, at such time and place as to him shall seem most convenient; willing and commanding, that, during his abode here, he suffer not any detriment or prejudice in any thing to him belonging in that our kingdom of Ireland. And of this our royal pleasure we require you to take especial notice. Given at our court at Stonely Abby, the 21st of August, 1642.

To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Robert earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant of our kingdom of Ireland; and, in his absence, to other the chief governor or governors of the same, for the time being.

My brother the earl of Essex, the 19th of July, received the 5th of October.

Dear Brother,

THE last letter I received from you but one, was in such a style, as that it requires not a brother's pen to answer; therefore I will choose rather forgetfulness, only thus much, if I have no greater sins to burthen me than the neglect of

Z z z

you

Oct. 1642. you and yours, I shall need no ghostly father; but it was my good fortune not long after to receive a letter from you in your wonted stile; but from Sir Robert King I understand of your gallant and loyal demeanor in your country, which I acquainted the Irish commissioners with, and so to the parliament; for truly, Sir Robert did shew a great affection to you, and if we were not overwhelmed with business, I should hope to give you an account of it shortly; but the miseries that threaten this kingdom give a great delay to that speedy dispatch we owe you in Ireland. I have sent you here a paper inclosed, by which you may see we are not very happy in our own family, though truly I cannot learn but that our niece doth carry herself modestly, and that neither her brother nor I have been wanting in his purse to her or him. If I do you not that service I am tyed to by blood and affection, impute it rather to want of power than affection, for I am really

Your most faithful brother and servant,

Essex-House, the 19th of
July, 1642.

Essex.

My lord justice Parsons the 30th of August, received the 5th of October.

Most noble lord,

I Received yours of the 28th of June, and since that none is come to hands from your lordship, save one to the lords justices dated the 4th of June, touching Thomas Webb; one directed to the lords justices dated the 10th of this month concerning the lord Forbes, and one directed to myself concerning the bishop of Killalla, no other letters mentioned in that letter dated the 10th of this month being come to our hands. Touching that lord's coming to Galway, I cannot marvel that it somewhat disquiets your lordship, because it seems to threaten something that may work contrary to the course that your lordship intended and pursued for settling matters there; it is as new to us as it was to your lordship, we having not had the least mention of him out of England, nor other than a rumour out of Munster, that he was on that coast; therefore, from hence your lordship can expect no positive direction; but you that have judiciously carried yourself in all these scrupulous times, will, I doubt not, by the divine providence, be guided to carry yourself wisely, specially to avoid opposition to what you see good commission for, and without such, I presume the gentleman (so trusted) to be so well advised, as he will not attempt any thing to your displeasure and to the disturbance of the provisional way you were in, till his majesty's pleasure be further understood, specially if the town of Galway have stood fast to the pacification made, whereof reports go very doubtfully.

However, I hope your lordship will have the happiness to preserve yourself innocent, as well towards his majesty's commands, as towards that people. Touching the safety of your own person and family, I assure myself your friends in England, whose cognizance no part of this employment could escape, have been so mindful of you as not to suffer him to come without sufficient caution concerning you, and the authority you have under the king, specially considering what we have written of your integrity and clear deportment in all things tending to the king's service.

In your letter to me of the 28th of June, which came lately to my hands, your modest and grave discovery of your inward thoughts touching matters of accommodation, declares you a confederate and benevolent man; I would to God your kinsmen and friends bred in Ireland, were as real lovers of their country as you are, and as they seem to pretend, then would they not have plunged you into a care of their pretended grievances by such an injudicious incision as they have done, but certainly they have been long led by a spirit of blindness. As to the government of England, which doubtless is the best that any people in the christian

christian world have, and under which they lately begun to be so happy as ^{Oct. 1642.} most visibly they were. Your lordship saith right that the rage of war many times fastens as well upon standers by, as upon malicious actors, and a fit time of distinguishing might perhaps have offered itself by a course of mitigation in these incensed times. Yet one thing in your letter a little amazeth me, where you say that some servitors, and some protected persons, have fallen under punishments, as well as others truly criminous. I will not take upon me to purge all the hands we are driven to set on work in this unhappy business; I could perhaps guess at your particulars, and I doubt the information come to you is better coloured than their case will bear in all circumstances; one thing I will confidently say, that no such thing hath been done by our direction, nor any direction for punishment passed from us without meet caution towards such men. And (which I ascribe to God's blessing) very little of such errors in any of our ministers hath yet come to my knowledge; yet shall your item make me more wary in all commands so long as I hold hand in the government, having ever yet esteemed it less perilous both before God and man to favour two nocents, where favour may with any safety be applied, than to punish one innocent.

Touching your motion for your remove into England, I must confess it a hard question as you propounded it in all the parts thereof. On the one side you are entered into an obligation to the king to serve him in good part of his government here, especially in a time when it hath need of the best seasoned persons to act in it; on the other side you peril your health in the sudden change of action far different from your breeding; you exhaust your estate without competency of means to get allowance to support you, or eminence in command to advance your honour; and lastly, you adventure the hatred, or at least jealousy of such as pretend to confide in you. Thus it is true, you stand invironed with difficulties, and with all my heart I wish you a happy evasion. I cannot say it is safe for you without privity of our great master to abandon your station, except great necessity urge it; and I am sorry to say that some slackness from beyond, occasioned by the dissentions there, hath rendered us unable to accomplish your employments with such eminences and means to execute, as I have often heartily wished to you, and as may suit with the steady affections to his majesty's service, which have well appeared in you. It is true, that your religion stands a little in your way, for matter of publick charge as the times go (I would with all my heart it did not) yet I doubt not our letters written in that behalf, and your friends there, will give you a troop of horse, and as soon as God sends us supplies, which we verily expect every day, we intend to send you a good force of men which shall free you from the humours and passions of men, and make you able to controul unruly spirits.

Your abode in England (as things stand) may be as uncomfortable as in this kingdom, considering you are not hated by your countrymen, nor misbelieved by the state; and therefore, if the state of your body may permit it, I shall advise you to pause upon it; yet if necessity press you, I wish you as much speed as you may to procure licence from the king, and then I shall wish you good speed and God's blessing, and especially a good choice of one to govern in your absence.

If you do go you must lay for shipping there, or out of Munster, we shall not be able to furnish you from hence; we have such continual use of the two pinnaces we have here in these busy times, as well for defence as conveying our provisions. I have now tired you with a tedious letter, and therefore I will for the present ease you, giving you unfeigned protestation that I am

Your lordship's affectionate friend and servant,

The 30th of August,
1642.

WILLIAM PARSONS.

P. S. The lords justices and council have, by your last conveyance by land, answered your letter concerning the lord Forbes.

My

Oa. 1642.

My letter to captain Teige Kelly of Gallagher, the of October.

Worthy Cousin,

I Received your letter in the midst of many troubles, some dispatches that required expedition, have occasioned the delay of my answer longer than I intended, which I hope you will excuse, and rest assured that it gave me much comfort in this strange time of disorder and confusion, to find your constant affection and respects to me, which I am confident, by God's favour, I shall be able to make up much more to your future advantage, than any present threats can do you prejudice. And I must intreat you to let that churchman know from me, it being, as I conceive, a publick business, and cannot reflect upon your particular information, that to alienate and withdraw the hearts or duties of the king's subjects from that obedience they owe to me that am their governor, established by the king's authority, is what I must not suffer, and if further provoked shall shew a severity I am very unwilling to take upon me. And to captivate and perplex men's consciences by a compulsory oath not understood, I dare boldly say by any that propounds or takes it, it is contrary to the laws of God and man, and never offered or practised in any part of Christendom. I profess myself as faithful and constant a Roman catholick, as any covenanter whatsoever, and perhaps do understand the means how to preserve it better in this kingdom, than many of them do that appear with an inconsiderate zeal. If you can gain time for your own particular to preserve you from present prejudice, I shall inform you from Loughreagh, whither I am going to-morrow, of much more intelligence than I can now relate, and if you can be there on Friday, there will be better opportunity for a more right understanding than can be expressed by letters, &c.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 7th of October.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

I HAVE received your letter of the 1st of this present, and the examinations concerning Richard Lynch, which is but a poor satisfaction for his loss and mine; but I must pass it by with the rest, if there be no other remedy, and should the less regard it if it did not draw a prejudice upon yourself by the use you might have made of the corn, and the exasperating of the country, who cannot but think themselves in an ill state, when such things are done unto me. I have appointed my collectors of the barony of Dunkellin, to speak to the tenants for the bringing in of turf about Oran, but I doubt their store is but small. I hear none refuse the supply agreed for; the money is most collected, and yet nothing brought in; this is the last day, and if they fail I will immediately set soldiers upon them, and must speedily have my word made good either by fair or foul means, and I doubt ere long provisions will not be had in any plenty without blows. Those that are like to fall away from me raise private contributions for arms and ammunition from Wexford and Kilkenny, where there is store; those that are firm to me are like to be all disarmed, otherwise they would bring in provisions for arms, but they affirm that they dare not if they have not means of defence, being threatened.

If you approve of such a bargain, I will send none unto you but such as you may confide in, and your speedy answer therein will be necessary, and likewise for arms for myself; and what I further propounded to the lord Forbes, being informed that there are some ships come from him, many of the country are much discontented with the taking this prize, having private shares therein, but I am very glad you met with it, for now we may know whom to trust with such commodities. Captain Francis Bermingham complaineth much, and if it may be with
conveniency,

conveniency, I could wish that an armour of proof, pistols, and carbines, that came purposely for himself, were in present sent him, as an act of courtesy from yourself. He hath been very faithful unto me, and is of an active stirring spirit, and powerful in the country, and though at this time discontented, might easily be contained: I should be sorry to have him much exasperated, as the state of affairs now stand. Oct. 1642.

If there be sack in any of my lord Forbes' prizes, I would willingly deal for some. We are like to have a hard winter of it, and little supply from England. Galway deserves no favour, nor those particulars of that town you mentioned unto me, but as it hath relation to the country. In these ticklish times, where there is no danger in the forbearance, some present moderation may be necessary, until some provisions may be got in, which I leave to your own discretion and knowledge of your strength. The mayor writes of opening of the gates the beginning of the week; but why so long delayed I know no reason, but pretences that he cannot so suddenly overcome bad humours. I believe you have heard from Dublin my apprehensions of some of your proceedings, but for the general good all private discontents must be past over. I shall never fail you in any thing within the power of

Your assured loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 7th of
October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord Forbes the 3d of October, received the 7th.

MY LORD,

I Received your lordship's letters this morning from lieutenant Rousy, and have sent my vice admiral to bring hither the prize, and given him order not to break bulk till she come hither. For your lordship's interest in her, or captain Willoughby's, I will not take it upon me, but remit it to the state to determine; neither can I consent that my provisions be kept in any other place but in the ships, with which I shall be ready to supply his majesty's fort, and all his other good subjects, as my abilities and their necessities do require; but I do not take it well at captain Willoughby's hands, that he should presume to arrest my prize, or suffer his soldiers to steal or embezzle any part of the booty; if he had taken that discreet way which your lordship's better judgment could have advised him, by this time he could have had a return, and a contented answer of his desires; but I have given order to my vice admiral, who will endeavour out of my old store to give your lordship content in any thing that can be spared till his return to me. Your lordship's letters were sent for England and Dublin; and wherein I can do your lordship service, there shall be none more ready than

Your lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,

Castle-Glyn, the 3d of
October, 1642.

FORBES.

My letter to my lord Forbes, the 8th of October.

MY LORD,

THE last night I received your lordship's letter of the 3d of this present, by which I find your lordship displeased with the proceedings here concerning the prize. For my own particular, if any direction or expression of mine have given cause of distaste, I will not defend the errors of my judgment, but justify the clearness of my intentions; for I assure your lordship, neither my breeding or disposition hath ever inclined me to be disrespectful to any, much less to one of your lordship's honour and merit. And it being your lordship's resolution

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Oct. 1642. solution to have the prize conveyed unto you, I know none that ought to give opposition thereto. I did conceive there had been that right understanding between your lordship and captain Willoughby, that those commodities she contains, being by your lordship's officers put into the fort, they might be disposed of with most safety and greatest ease for the furtherance of his majesty's service, and your lordship's profit and advantage, and not to make good any interest or claim of mine, for certainly both in point of honour and right, there can be no competition in my choice between your lordship's judgment and his; and I am sure your lordship hath observed, that though we are united for the publick service, yet I have not that interest in him as to believe any thing of mine safer in his custody than your lordship's; and I have already informed your lordship of all the motives of my claim, and for my part, I will not make challenge in any other court, than in your lordship's own noble breast, where I am confident to meet both with justice and present conveniency, of more advantage to me than any future expectation; and being commodities brought from Spain, I may somewhat insist upon a custom there, and expect such a barratto as your lordship shall think fit. I humbly thank your lordship for your noble offer to supply me in present out of your former store in your vice admiral, which I assure your lordship will be most necessary; for those that have bad inclinations or any taints upon them, do make private collections, as I am informed, for to buy arms and ammunition at Kilkenny and Wexford, and those will only be unarmed that continue firm in their loyalty to his majesty, and affections to me in the midst of danger. I shall therefore presume to send to your lordship's vice admiral concerning that particular, according to the intimation your lordship hath given me.

The ammunition your lordship intrusted to my conveyance was safely delivered at Fort Falkland, but with some delay and difficulty, being discovered, and strong watches laid for it; I did send my lord Castle-Stewart's and Sir Arthur Blundell's acknowledgment of the receipt thereof to captain Willoughby to be conveyed to your lordship, which I hope he hath performed; and I shall still be ready upon all occasions of service and respect to approve myself

Your lordship's most humble and assured servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

To captain Ransborow, vice admiral to my lord Forbes, the 8th of October.

SIR,

I Received a letter the last night from the lord Forbes, by which his lordship did inform me, that he had sent for the prize that was lately taken to be convoyed unto him, but was nobly pleased to offer me to be furnished with some arms and ammunition out of his lordship's former store, and had given you some direction to that effect. Sir, it doth very much concern me to be speedily furnished, the times growing bad and dangerous. I desire to receive the favour from you as to know the proportion, kinds, and price of such arms, or other commodities, as may in present be spared, and I will send money and convoys for them; or if the fleet want any provision, or other the native commodities of these parts, it will be a very great ease to me to trade that way rather than in money, which is very scarce here with me; I will be sure you shall have the choice and best of all things: but if your departure be sudden, if you please to leave some arms in the fort, with such directions as you think fit, I will be very punctual in performance of what shall be desired; and if I may be in any thing useful to your particular occasions, I shall readily be found

Your assured loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 8th of
October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to captain Teige Kelly of Gallagher, the 10th of October.

Oct. 1642.

Worthy Cousin,

WHatsoever the lying and uncertain humour of the time may divulge, or bring to your ears, yet I pray believe from me, that it is hard to remove me from that good opinion, which upon deserved and certain just grounds I have entertained of you, and that I am confident your affection to me and my family, and your tenderness of my safety and honour, are grounded upon so strong and firm principles that cannot admit of any change, though the swaying power now reigning may incline your judgment to other ways of preservation than mine, which I much fear will prove more doubtful and dangerous, and I am sure will draw a greater consumption, if not destruction, upon the country. I must confess it is a hard strain put upon some, to be thrust upon a hazard of forfeiting of life, honour, estate and reputation, or to be threatened to be excluded out of the communion of saints, without which there is no hope of salvation; and I could wish that those that tie these knots, would themselves for whom it is proper upon mature debate untie them.

I have a chief comfort to me in this world, though all forsake me, that my gracious sovereign and royal master doth approve of my rules of government here in these boisterous times, and that he commands my perseverance therein, and that he hath sent me a licence to come unto him when I find cause, and that he requires me to send back my servant unto him with a true representation of the state of things here, that accordingly he may (notwithstanding his many important distractions) provide for me, which I intend to do by the end of this week; and I shall be glad I may with truth return this county in such a posture of loyalty and obedience, that may be pleasing to his majesty. I am sorry that your want of power in that barony, and of some of my friends in other baronies, appears only in not sending these small provisions for which my honour and your own credits are deeply engaged. Let me assure you once for all, I will have it levied, though I venture my own person and a disturbance in the country in doing thereof, which I desire by your care I may not be exposed to act in that barony, where other great levies are made (it maybe less preservative) without muttering or reluctance; the baronies of Killtartan and Dunkellin, where my friends are now careful of my honour and engagement, have already sent hither their provision, and the neighbouring parts have promised them this day; I thought some in these lower parts would not be outgone by any in their expressions of respect to me. I shall with patience expect your time on Wednesday, and not forget the backwardness of the collectors in that and other parts in doing their duty; for the pretences invented to colour the stay of these provisions, they are grounded upon untruths, and I could wish other proceedings were not built on that weak foundation. To my knowledge since the lord Forbes' being there, Captain Willoughby hath endured much wrong and many affronts, two of his men at least have been killed by the town forces, his prey hath been taken, the gates of the town kept shut, and free commerce denied unto him; notwithstanding he hath not shot one small or great shot, and he hath offered to sign to such propositions for the safety of the town, and accommodation of all matters, as the ablest among them could draw. You will find that notwithstanding what he and I can do, the lord Forbes will carry away that prize as being taken by his ship and men, and I know no power in this kingdom doth acknowledge to controul the lord Forbes his actions. I thought I had wrought some ease to the country upon persuasion of his departure on so easy terms as to give, upon certain hopes of payment, a few beeves and sheep for relief of the king's fort, which, God enabling me, I will perform, though it draw prejudice on my person and estate, and rather than a person of his employment shall be able to upbraid me, or the county, with breach of publick faith on so slight a cause, to the doing whereof all our duties would tie us without any such undertaking.

Oct. 1642. taking. I wish you all wholesome counsel and happy success in your affairs, and I shall always continue

Your very loving cousin.

Loughreagh, the 10th of
October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Propositions from the mayor of Galway, the 8th of October, received the 10th, sent by Sir Richard Blake, and Mr. P. Darcy, and the causes why the East gate was not opened.

FIRST, that the fort observes not the articles of the pacification since the making of it, no not since my lord's last being at Terrellan, for since that time some prisoners taken contrary to the pacification have been executed, and some threatened to be executed aboard of the ships kept by captain Willoughby in the harbour for his assistance, namely, William Lynch executed, and Geoffry Lynch threatened to be executed.

For that since my lord's last being at Terrellan, some of the said ships entertained by captain Willoughby, and manned at least in part by his men, have burned and spoiled the isles of Aron belonging to a freeman of this town, by name Sir Robuck Lynch, who never offended them; the said islands being under the jurisdiction of the admiralty of this town, whereby Sir Robuck Lynch lost the mean profit of the said islands for this year, which would amount to four hundred pounds sterling; they likewise burned within this bay, the houses, goods, and corn of Sir Richard Lynch, freeman of this town, who also deserved well of them.

One of the ships kept by the captain in the said harbour, seized upon a bark belonging to the merchants of this town of very great value, laden with armour and ammunition for the necessary defence of this town, and with other commodities of very great value; that the said man of war was manned with forty of captain Willoughby's soldiers, and the goods in the whole, or in part, received into the fort. That by the laws of the land and nature, arms and ammunition are allowed to men for their own necessary defence. That by the ancient laws of this town, every freeman is tied to have arms and ammunition in his house for himself and his servants; that by his lordship's instructions left here at his last being in this town, arms and ammunition were landed at the key of this town; that by the articles of the pacification, our trade and traffick should be free. That if the lords justices and council's directions to interdict the landing of arms and ammunition be stood upon, the same by law cannot forfeit a free-born subject's goods, nor extend to any other commodity, whereof there was a plentiful store in that vessel taken. That reparation was sought for and denied; for it is all one whether captain Willoughby observes the pacification or no, when he publicly entertains and countenances all actors in these depredations, and receives the goods unlawfully, and contrary to the pacification, taken from us, and refuses to make any reparation for the same.

That some market-men coming to this town were lately robbed by the soldiers of the fort, and no reparation made, though desired.

That by our charter, no goods, wares, or merchandize can be exposed to sale within the franchises and liberties of this town, but by freemen of the same; that nevertheless the fort is made a market for foreign commodities, as well those violently and unlawfully taken from us, as others, whereby our privileges are invaded upon, contrary to law and the pacification; that by law goods foreign bought and foreign sold are forfeited to this corporation; that therefore his lordship being moved that he may not take it ill, if we shall seize upon any such commodities so bought as we can meet withal, and his lordship may be pleased to do us right upon the petitions which we shall exhibit unto him against those
that

that shall buy the said commodities at the fort or ships, and to signify to his lord-^{Oct. 1642.}ship that if there be no buyers these spoils will be the less committed.

That the lord Forbes, and his squadron of ships, are known to be employed by the parliament, and not by the king; that it is certainly known that the parliament and their adherents are at some distance from the king; that he proclaims their actions not to be for the good of his service; that therefore it is to be considered how far the entertaining of good correspondency with him may draw his majesty's indignation upon us; and how far the opening of our gates, that are kept for the king, shall expose this town to the surprisal of those that oppress his majesty, and that stand in arms at our gates; which we do the more fear and suspect, because we have received certain intelligence that the parliament hath disallowed and condemned the pacification made with-us.

That the country threatens to interrupt our market, and to seize upon all our goods and lands abroad, if we shall continue friendship with the fort, that hath so often infested them and us.

That to express our obedience to his lordship, postponing all former injuries and considerations aforesaid, the East gate shall be opened, and free traffick allowed into it upon the conditions following: First, that the captain of the fort and all others resident therein, shall take an oath to be true and faithful to our sovereign lord the king, and that they shall admit none to the said fort, nor under the protection of it within the reach of their cannon, that adhere unto the parliament of England, in opposition to the king; and that they shall not infest this town, or any member thereof, by sea or land: Secondly, that they shall restore all our prisoners taken since the pacification: Thirdly, that they shall restore all the chattles or other goods taken by them from the last pacification, and the said ship, and all the goods taken in it in specie, or the value of them, forthwith in money or other commodities.

You shall likewise offer unto his lordship's consideration, that until these differences be accommodated, it is not fit for us to dismiss the foot company which we have for the defence of that one burial place left us unprofaned; the other, for want of such a guard, surprized contrary to the pacification, polluted, thrown down, and therein the graves of our ancestors barbarously digged up, and their bones burned; that nevertheless receiving the security and satisfaction aforesaid, not to stand in the dangers which we shall expect from those that shall take offence at the cementing of the breaches between town and fort, the company here in pay shall be dismissed, though the magistrate shall want their help in keeping the town in order.

You shall humbly intreat his lordship to take the present condition of this town into his serious consideration, and beseech him not to forget his ancestors love to it, and their hereditary and never interrupted zeal and propension to love, honour, and serve him and his family; and after a sad contemplation of our representations unto him, that he may please to take that resolution thereupon that may be suitable to his favour, piety, honour and justice, and that he may be sure this town, in all fortunes, will continue the affection, obedience, and respect it owes him.

RICHARD MARTIN, Mayor.

My letter to the mayor of Galway; the 11th of October.

Mr. Mayor,

YOUR letters of the 8th I received yesterday, and towards the evening a paper of propositions from you, delivered me by Sir Richard Blake and Mr. Patrick Darcy, which did no ways answer my expectation after such a delay on your parts, and long patience on mine; and, in many respects, I hold it not
B b b b convenient

Oct. 1642. convenient to give a particular answer thereto, which, by what I can perceive, would but raise endless disputes, and draw to no conclusion. By the passages I have observed between you and the fort, I believe captain Willoughby would rely, that for what passed before my last being at Terrellan; the complaints on both sides are sent up to the state at Dublin, to be there determined; to which I may add, that, if it be not diverted by later accidents, I have reason to expect good satisfaction on your behalfs, having not been sparing to express my sense, and distate to those proceedings. For what hath passed since, it will be objected to proceed from your own neglect and obstinacy that your ship hath been made a prize, trade and commerce kept in the fort, and the executions of some of your townsmen, if any have been; and that what else may be complained of since the lord Forbes' departure, was occasioned by your want of civility to his lordship at his departure, your constant detaining of his man, notwithstanding his importunity and mine; your not settling of the pacification, by not sending those articles of confirmation, drawn by yourselves, to captain Willoughby to perfect, which, under his hand, he is engaged to perform; by your not opening of your gates, and not allowing trade and commerce; and by your frequent acts of hostility against him, and the passengers between the fort and country, which hath cost some lives; and some other proceedings, not well to be justified, and, I conceive, he will farther declare and undertake; and hath so offered, that neither himself, nor ships assisting him, shall give either town or country any disturbance. To which I will likewise add, that though some votes of parliament have expressed a dislike to the pacification, yet I cannot find by any intelligence of mine, that those votes have passed both houses, or received the king's consent; but, on the contrary, do rather believe, that now they are more particularly informed of the necessary circumstances belonging to that service, they are well satisfied with the proceedings therein; and your observance of the pacification would certainly be your best security.

Having thus far expressed what I conceive may be objected against you, or like to be offered to you, I shall now freely and clearly declare my own thoughts, in discharge of my duty to his majesty, my natural affection to my country, and the preservation of myself, honour and family. By the publick proceedings both of town and country, and the private informations I receive of resolutions taken, I find it apparent, that all my care and industry, excessive charge, wasting of my estate, and hazarding of it for the future; my constant attendance upon his majesty, and applications to him in many parts of England for many years together; my opposition to the most powerful adversaries; my removing of all rubs and impediments that diverted the wonted streams of his majesty's bounty and goodness; and my coming over into this kingdom, accompanied with powers for settling of the estates of this province, and for the distribution of his majesty's favour to the whole kingdom in many other particulars, to be perfected and confirmed here by act of parliament, is now nothing valued, but rather quite forgotten; and my perpetual toil, hazard, and high expence since my arrival here, to preserve obedience, peace, and plenty, to the envy of all other parts, so disesteemed, that instead of love and thanks, malice and ill-will is daily contracted against me, and my experience and intelligence so undervalued, that the unsettled courses and advices of others, that have destroyed the happiness I had procured for you, is rather chosen to be followed and pursued, than any thing I do deliver to you with truth and knowledge. Upon due consideration whereof, if there be not a speedy reformation, and a confidence reposed in me, I may no longer venture to incur his majesty's displeasure, but shall, with the first opportunity, give him a true and just account of the state and disposition of these parts, and soon after second it by my own personal informations; as by disobedience, disrespect, and misbelief of his majesty's own royal pleasure, I am driven from his service, and the government intrusted

trusted to my charge. Mr. mayor, I send you these expressions with a much ^{Oct. 1642.}grieved and perplexed mind, which, I believe, cannot take such deep impressions in others, as it is most sadly related by

Loughreagh, the 11th of
October, 1642.

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P. S. Your letter informs of some late courtesy done to the fort, I wish it may continue and increase, with mutual friendship on both sides.

My letter to the king's majesty, the 26th of October.

May it please your majesty,

THE 5th of this present was a day of great comfort and consolation to me, receiving assurance (by your majesty's direction) from my lord Falkland, that your majesty was pleased to hold a gracious opinion of my endeavours and proceedings for your service; and that the distraction of the times, and not displeasure, diverted the course of your majesty's favours towards me, which, in my own thoughts, gave me very high satisfaction, and requires my humble acknowledgments; and if your majesty had reserved the reducing of this kingdom to your own power and management, I do confidently presume, that as you have honoured me with this government, so your majesty would have long since intrusted me with means and ability to discharge the duty of my place, and to appear considerable in your service; but, as it is now governed, though many there are most near unto me in blood, and, as I conceive, sure to me in friendship and affection, yet I apparently find (such is the disposition of the times) let my endeavours be never so industrious and faithful, I shall never attain to any trust or employment that may gain me honour by my service, nor any support to ease my infinite charge, which hath already consumed both my fortune and credit.

I have written to my lord of Falkland, and sent him several papers that will give some account of my proceedings since my last dispatch, and the motives that guided me to the courses I have taken, being left to myself, without either strength or intelligence; and there I hope faith and duty will appear, though accompanied with error and disability. Those of most importance, wherein I most desire to justify myself, concern the arrival of the lord Forbes to the bay of Galway, with the title of lieutenant general of the additional forces. And unto your majesty. I presume to send herewith a copy of the submission his lordship required from Galway. The motives of my proceedings with his lordship, and a note of the particulars I have sent unto my lord of Falkland, that your majesty may be informed at your best leisure of what you shall please to make choice of. I understand that those forces were sent at the request, and upon the charge of the city of London; and whether they were so fair in your majesty's favour as to have such an important place put into their hands, and taken out of my government, intrusted to me by your majesty, appeared very doubtful unto me, and inclined me rather to a respective refusal of such assistance, until I received some further intimation of your pleasure, whether it be a necessary part of my duty to receive all accidental forces, or to attend those supplies that may be properly assigned for this place, and that I may have some interest or command over them; otherwise I have cause to fear much danger and prejudice by the violence offered by some here, and more frequently in other places.

After a long expectation, the natives of these parts finding no power or assistance coming, or appointed for me, nor no instruction or declaration directed to me under your royal signature, neither intreaties, threats, nor protestations can persuade or draw most men from the belief, that they do really serve your majesty that

Oct 1642 that are in this present commotion, and that I do adhere to those that stand in opposition to your majesty, in regard that my brother hath so far cast himself into your majesty's displeasure (which I cannot mention but with a deep impression of grief and amazement) and that your majesty's fort at Galway is no more at your own disposal, but in the hands of your enemies, by the correspondency between the lord Forbes and the captain of the fort; and most are so carried with these opinions, that I have gotten the hatred of the whole kingdom, and though most faithful, yet least able to serve your majesty, or defend myself. And such is the distracted apprehension of these people, that though many are inclining to fall off, in whom I reposed much confidence; and that few will pay any exact obedience; and that, oppressed by multitudes, I may this winter be in danger to be shut up or besieged; yet if vows or protestations may gain belief, I should be followed by thousands to serve your majesty in any other place. But as the state of this kingdom stands, such is their sense of the opposition given to your majesty by some faction in your parliament, of the injustice done them by those that govern here, and the general destruction conceived to be designed against the natives; that almost the whole kingdom are united into one resolute body to gain their preservation, or sell their lives at the dearest rates.

I give your majesty most humble thanks for the licence I have received for my repair into England; but the land passages to Dublin being stopt, and the time of the year far spent, which makes the long voyage by sea most dangerous and troublesome for women and children, I have resolved between two extremes to keep my family here till summer; but if your majesty find no inconvenience there, by my attendance upon you in England, which I know not how to judge of at this distance, being debarred free intelligence, I should myself be glad to wait upon your majesty, to represent some things unto you, that I conceive might be of advantage to your service, which I humbly submit to your majesty's consideration. And for my own particular, God is my witness, I have no other aim nor end but merely to approve myself serviceable, and most constantly loyal to your majesty; and but for these respects, I should not care how soon I paid nature that debt which must be at last discharged; and if it please God to hasten me from these miseries, and that I may not repair unto your majesty, I shall confidently trust in your grace and goodness, that your majesty will vouchsafe to take my wife and children into your royal care and protection; and likewise the heir male of a never tainted family, whose carriage and disposition will, I hope, deserve your majesty's favour. And pardoning my present presumption, whilst I have life, I will constantly offer up my prayers and vows for your majesty's preservation from all dangers, and that you may appear in full power and glory, answerable to the birth and virtues of so great a monarch; and your majesty may be graciously pleased to conceive it want of ability and means of expression, and no failing of duty or affection, if I do not clearly approve myself

Your majesty's most humble and faithful subject and servant,

Loughreagh, the 26th of
October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord of Falkland, the 26th of October.

MY LORD,

I Received your lordship's of the 23d of August, the 5th of this present, and do herewith return my humble acknowledgments to his majesty for his gracious favours conferred upon me by your lordship's conveyance, and am most thankful to your lordship for your noble care therein.

I cannot

I cannot produce stronger arguments to set forth my unfortunate condition this whole year past, than to assure your lordship, that besides my being totally neglected for all manner of assistance or defence from either state of England or Ireland, and that the worst construction may be made of all my actions and proceedings, I have been kept in so strong an ignorance, as I had no intimation of your lordship's being with the king, or employed in so great and near a trust, until a few days before the receipt of your lordship's letter, nor of any other person to whom I might apply myself for assistance in my dispatches to his majesty; and therefore if my proceedings have had error and disability in them, I hope they will receive pardon, being left alone to find my way in so great a darkness. I do now, though late, congratulate your lordship's employment, with as much true affection as any kinsman or servant you have; though such is the calamity of the time, that it is hard to judge in what vocation to wish ones friend, for the enjoyment of any happiness or security.

This kingdom, in general, grows strong in arms and ammunition, and like to be expert in discipline of war, by the arrival into the North, and to Wexford, of most of the colonels, officers, and engineers that have served beyond seas these many years past, with several ships, laden with arms, and all accoutrements of war, which furnish all parts of the kingdom, but those few that adhere to me for his majesty's service, whom the neglect or suspicion of the state delivers up to danger or destruction, their proceedings towards me being so laid, as if the design were to force me and mine into rebellion; first, debarring me of all power and means to act; and then, as I am very credibly informed, making the worst representations of me over into England, countenancing here, or not finding fault with, those that have been disrespectful to me, and destructive indeed to themselves, and his majesty's service, by their impertinent exasperating, and making spoils upon the people that have served, and been useful to them there, by withdrawing their affections from me, and inclining them to desperation; and, in cases of doubt or difficulty, the directions or instructions sent me either delayed, or so doubtfully delivered, that they are rather diversions than any assistance to me; formality of words contributing little to my preservation, which hath been my only supply since the beginning of the unhappy troubles.

I can give your lordship little information what is done about Dublin, in the North, Leinster, or the further parts of Munster, seldom knowing the success of that side of the kingdom, but by an unusual way of intelligence, which is the silence of our adversaries hereabouts; then we presume something is acted that doth not sort well with their affairs, and that is our present expectation.

For what concerns us here I cannot say much, but there is great disorder and irregularity, but not yet guilty of much action, though I perceive the inclinations of many much altered by the opinion held of Serjeant Mayor, John Burke of the Birth of the county of Mayo, he having lived long abroad, and being now daily expected to come into this province, with the title of their general, and bringing with him stores of arms and ammunition from Wexford.

My lord president of Conaght hath been in treaty, and, as I am informed, a cessation of arms is agreed upon for three months between his lordship and the hither parts of Westmeath, and the county of Longford; and if the same may be compassed in the county of Roscommon, I hope it will be of some advantage to me in this county; and, if soon undertaken, might probably have settled this whole province; but the state at Dublin, though little assisting us, breathed nothing but fire and sword unto us, which is now likelier to be our parts to suffer than perform.

My lord of Thomond hath seldom been permitted to stir out of his castle of Borrahy since the beginning of these troubles. Some castles there, possessed by the English, hold out still, though, I fear, they will be lost this winter, and

Oa. 1642 most of the inland forts in the King's county, if forces and supplies be not nearer than we can yet discover.

The lord Forbes, after his departure from Galway, went to the river of Limerick, and there hath taken the castle of Glyn, the ancient seat of Mr. Thomas Fitz Gerald, commonly known by the title of knight of the valley. I could not learn, and I am confident he never did appear in this rebellion, but was always assisting the English; yet it seems the place was convenient for his lordship to make his winter seat, where he is now fortifying. His lordship hath had the good success to take several prizes, whereof two are of great value, esteemed worth nine or ten thousand pounds, one in the river of Limerick, the other in the bay of Galway, to which I have made some claim, in hopes to get a good barratto from his lordship, being Spanish goods; if he will be pleased to understand so much of the custom, or language of that kingdom. His lordship's forces left but an ill memory behind them at Galway, and have taken possession of our Lady's Church in the West, without the walls, the ancient burial place of the town; upon their departure, they not only defaced the church, but digged up the graves, and burnt the coffins and bones of those that were buried there; these kind of proceedings make the assistance of such forces more dangerous than useful to us.

I expect here this night Sir Arthur Blundell, and his lady, and his daughter the lady Castle-Stewart, having sent my coach and a convoy for them to the Shannon side, and from thence I am to guard them to the fort by Galway, where they intend to take shipping for Dublin. The young lord Castle-Stewart remains in Fort Falkland with some forty soldiers, a fort of the king's totally neglected all the year, and only relieved by such assistance as I could give them with much difficulty, being out of my government.

I send your lordship several letters and papers concerning most affairs here, since my dispatch in June last; not that your lordship's present leisure will permit you to look them over, but when your lordship shall hear me mentioned in any particulars from hence, your lordship may be pleased to make use of them in my behalf; as likewise to inform me freely of my faults therein, for my better direction in future, wherein this inclosed note will direct your lordship with most ease and conveniency. I will add nothing more in present, but live in hopes to receive some comfortable tidings out of England, of a happy reconciliation there, and of speedy succours to relieve us here, wherein I shall confidently presume your lordship will not be unmindful of

Your lordship's affectionate cousin to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 26th of
October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the earl of Bristol, the 26th of October.

MY LORD,

UN T I L the return of my servant hither the 5th of this present, I had not any notice of your lordship's attendance upon his majesty, but was abused by reports which rendered your lordship a prisoner in the tower, otherwise I had not neglected those respects due to your lordship's merit, and the great obligation put upon me. I shall now presume on your favour to inform you of the sad condition I am in, and that which with a longing expectation I did believe would bring me much comfort and relief, is now the occasion of impairing his majesty's service here, and the drawing of imminent danger, if not certain ruin, upon me and mine; the return of the messenger out of England bringing me no hopes of assistance, power, or command, nothing of instruction, or declaration from his majesty, nor advice, or intelligence from any friend, which hath cast such a
cloud

cloud upon all my proceedings, put such a suspicion, scorn and disgrace on all my actions and advices, that it now grows the free discourse of all men, that I have assisted and adhered to his majesty's enemies, and drawn his majesty's just indignation upon me; and I have not one line signed by his majesty to justify myself, or confute their malicious error. My lord, though the unfortunate distractions of the time might occasion a neglect upon my own particular, yet where the king's service is so much concerned, I do much wonder there was not some more care taken to enable me by words, if not by power, to give satisfaction here; and it may become your lordship, and other noble persons that attend upon his majesty, when messengers come a long and dangerous journey, and cannot be often sent, to bestow one hour, and not think it time ill spent, in settling some course for those that are in distress here, and to set forth truly the miserable condition I am in, having exhausted all my revenue and credit for supplying his majesty's forts that are almost forty miles asunder, and must be relieved by strong convoys. By the helps and charity to some poor distressed English, and the maintaining of garrisons in several places upon my own charge, I am now myself in that extremity as being not free from the danger of a siege. I have not money to make my winter provisions, or send to the market; and I blush to deliver the truth, I do not well know how to bear his charges, that is to present this dispatch unto you; and yet the expectation of the state, and the cries of the English near these parts, are all upon me for succour and assistance. I have presumed to write again unto his majesty, and have sent several papers unto my lord of Falkland, that expresth much of my proceedings, which I presume will come to your lordship's knowledge; and if you there observe much error, I hope my inclinations and affections to his majesty's service is so well known to your lordship, as that you will be pleased to justify my intentions, though my judgment may be failing, and not deserve your defence.

The general silence here of late puts me in some hopes that the unfortunate distractions in England are reconciled, or growing to it by treaties of pacification, and that it will not be long before we shall receive assistance here; in the meantime something of instruction I shall expect from your lordship's mediation, encouraged to that belief by your lordship's many former favours conferred upon

Your lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,

Loughreagh, the 26th of
October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the lords justices, the 28th of October.

MY LORDS,

BOTH your lordships letters of the 21st and 25th of August I have received, wherein your being pleased to afford me little of assistance, instruction, or intelligence, and my former dispatches giving your lordships an account of most things contained therein, I shall only give a brief touch to some particulars for your lordships further satisfaction.

The arms were restored to the soldiers of the fort, the bulwark was abated forthwith, two or three yards being but a heap of dung, and upon a view found to be a very ridiculous and unuseful piece of work. My former letters gave your lordships an account of the arms and ammunition of the town, and that the proceedings of the fort and ship were such, as never gave me leave to use all the power that is allowed me, which is persuasion, for gaining the remains left in the town undisposed of. It is probable that some powder hidden there hath been stolen from thence since the last pacification, but I believe the rebels in all parts are better able to furnish the town, than the town able to supply them. For the ordnance in Clarke's ship, I did propound it to captain Willoughby, to have it

Oct. 1642. it part of the articles of the pacification, wherein I did not observe him forward, and why it was omitted, himself can best answer. Concerning the changing of the hostages, it is according to the first agreement, and it was an omission in me if I did not give your lordships that information; and truly my care in the acceptance of them hath not deserved complaint, and if I could tell how to avoid it, I had much rather they were in any other man's choice and custody than mine.

For Francis Darcy, he had a protection from me at the time of the pacification, and no other since; and upon this occasion, having private notice of his coming, I acquainted captain Willoughby and captain Ashley therewith, and they neglected two days the going in search after him; and afterwards captain Ashley went and returned hopeless to find him; and then upon my further enquiry, I was offered, that if I would grant him a protection, he should come in and render his ship, ten pieces of ordnance, and a great quantity of corn, to come under the command of the fort, and the powder already conveyed into the town to be put in responsible men's hands by my direction; all which was done accordingly. And if this were an error or disservice, I humbly beg your pardon, and shall for the future be willing to leave them to manage their own affairs with better judgment, than being performed according to the best of my ability; and for his being taken prisoner since, I know nothing of it, nor no ground for it, only there were many disputes between him and captain Ashley, but many expressions of kindness on captain Willoughby's part towards him, to whom he frequently resorted; and I have formerly written to your lordships of these passages.

I perceive by what your lordships object to have been neglected here, that some that are, or have been in these parts, do not care how they fill their papers, or messengers mouths, with untruths or impertinences, so that they work their own ends, and make some shew of care and diligence; for my part, I have used all my power and industry. If errors and abuses have, or shall creep into this government, I suppose it cannot be expected from me to rectify, or suppress all such disorders that shall be acted here, since I perceive that princes and states cannot readily get obedience paid to their commands.

I did give your lordships a right character of the lord Clanmorris, no man being more forward and zealous in his majesty's service, nor more careful of the fort than his lordship was, until the execution of his serjeant, which he took for so great an affront done unto him, besides his good opinion of the man for his abilities, as put him into such passion and spleen against such as had been advisers or actors in that work, as that catching some of the fort soldiers he hanged them before I could possibly find means to prevent it; but for any preparation to besiege the fort, I do not find any probability to invite me to that belief, he joining since with others for applotting relief for the same; but however, it hath pleased God to take him to his mercy about a month since, and I shall desire his later faults may now be likewise buried.

In supplying of the fort, I have and shall still use my best endeavours, and I presume none can charge me with any neglect therein. Captain Ashley is gone for England upon some agreement between the lord Forbes and him, and his lordship's ships do now guard that harbour, who following capt. Ashley's example (an officer and many soldiers of the fort being on board with them who could not pretend ignorance) they not long since landed and burnt the houses, goods, and corn upon the ground of my tenant Richard Lynch, who was a true friend to the fort, and would willingly have parted with all his corn for their use, and lay near and convenient for them; but the worst of the bargain falls always to my share, losing my rent thereby. Some of the lord Forbes' forces likewise, whilst he was here, having taken possession of our Lady's Church on the West of Galway, at their departure it was found not only defaced, but the coffins and bones of the dead digged up and burned, which hath so exasperated those of Galway, together with the prize taken, that they use delays, and still make pretences to keep their gates shut; but the discretion and abilities, and, I hope, good affections of

of their new mayor Mr. Richard Martin, may perhaps reconcile all differences, ^{Oct. 1642} or keep things in reasonable moderation, until I am assisted with some forces, properly assigned for this government; for the accidental forces coming hither not obeying any persuasion or command of mine, but withstanding the affections of the people from me by their violence, makes such assistance much more dangerous than advantageous to me, or the service here.

Your lordships of the 25th of August. For as much as concerns the lord Forbes, my letter of the 5th of last month will give your lordships information of what past between us; I shall now only add some motives for those proceedings with his lordship. For the other part, which mentions your lordships allowance of the pacification, I did never intend it in any fuller sense than your lordships doth admit of in your last dispatch, nor shall ever desire to press it farther upon your lordships; being confidently assured, that when my story is rightly told, and all circumstances fully related, that work shall clearly justify itself, and carry better esteem than is yet allowed it. And now, my lords, as all in rebellion are plentifully armed from beyond sea, and only myself left naked and defenceless, I must confess I cannot but have a very feeling sense of my sufferings, and the injuries done unto me; and freely declare, that I apparently perceive your lordships put great suspicions, or neglects upon me, which debases me to other commanders that arrive in these parts; for a prize being taken in this harbour with above six hundred muskets and one hundred and thirty-four barrels of powder, it is sent away to the river of Limerick, and I cannot yet procure for my money above forty muskets, and one barrel of powder; and my request being but for one hundred muskets more, though I am not denied, yet the consultations are so long, that I had rather want than receive such unwilling courtesies.

To conclude, I cannot represent myself to your lordships in any other condition, than as a person totally neglected, and delivered up to ruin; no arms, nor command intrusted to me; my revenue and credit all spent; hated and threatened by almost the whole nation; no good acceptance, but rather wrong constructions made of all my actions; and a high expectation put upon me, without power to act, the more to undervalue my proceedings, and render me liable to suspicion. What might be further expressed of these parts, I shall leave to the relation of Sir Arthur Blundell, who hath an intention to repair unto your lordships, I sending my coach and convoys for himself, his lady, and his daughter the lady Castle-Stewart, and her children, who brought them safely hither; and yesterday I sent the like convoys with them to Oran More, where captain Willoughby's boats and guards were to receive them. The lord Castle-Stewart remains in Fort Falkland, which I have relieved to the best of my power; but am doubtful how far I shall be able to relieve it in future.

I have received a letter from Mr. William Parsons, dated the 23d of this present, desiring me to represent his hard condition unto your lordships, being a good while so besieged, that he can get no relief to come unto him, and begins to feel some wants besides; and that he is threatened to have some ordnance brought against him. I do use my best endeavours to supply him by some private working upon gentlemen of these parts, whom I find moderately inclined, having no means to compass it by power; and though they do sometimes furnish him with much danger, one gentleman, Mr. James Coghlan, being lately taken conveying some barrels of salt I had sent unto him; yet he will run much hazard this winter, if your lordships do not take him into your speedy care and consideration. And I will still live in hopes of better times, and that your lordships will be persuaded to believe me worthy of some better regard, since I do in all things really strive to approve myself

Loughreagh, the 28th of
October, 1642.

Your lordships most humble and assured servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

D d d d

Oct. 1642.

P. S. I have received a licence from his majesty for my repair into England, which I will send your lordships when I shall have occasion to make use thereof.

My letter to Sir Robert King, the 28th of October.

Noble SIR,

BY your letter of the 29th of August, and one inclosed from my brother of Essex, I have received very great assurance of your affection and respects to me, both by the intelligence you gave me, and the relations you were nobly pleased to make me in England; and I have so many large testimonies by me, under your father's hand and seal, that I may truly and freely say it becometh your father's son to do so, and mine to receive them thankfully, and requite them faithfully to my best power, which shall be constantly performed on my part, and not doubted on yours.

It doth very much afflict me to receive so many confirmations of the great distractions in England, wherein so many of my nearest friends are engaged so deeply both in danger and opposition; but the silence of late in these parts puts me in hopes, that there is either a reconciliation, or at least some treaties of pacification drawing towards it, which God of his mercy grant speedily, or else all his majesty's dominions will be in a miserable condition.

The lord Forbes' departure from hence, I presume, is already known unto you by a dispatch I sent to the lords justices the 5th of the last month, by a pinnacle of his lordship's, and I send you here inclosed the motives of my declining his lordship's assistance at that time; to which I will add, that there was no possibility for me to persuade either town or country to entertain any treaty with him, much less to receive a garrison; neither was his strength such as report gave out, or any way considerable to act what was expected; neither had I power nor much occasion of forwardness given unto me to be assisting therein; for whilst I was at Terrellan in treaty with his lordship, and that my lord president was then with him in the fort, I could see the country on fire, my tenants houses and goods burnt, and four or five poor innocent creatures, women and children, inhumanly killed by some of his forces, and his lordship at his landing having taken possession of our Lady's Church on the West of Galway, their ancient burying place, they did not only deface the church, but digged up the graves, and burnt the coffins and bones of the dead. These kind of proceedings makes such kind of assistance more destructive than beneficial to us.

Sir, I shall now give you a perfect character of my hard condition, having exhausted all my revenue and credit in supplying of the fort, and Fort Falkland, and divers English at home, and in other places, and in keeping of garrisons, and sending strong convoys abroad, all upon my own charge. I am now driven to that necessity, that I had not money to make my own winter provisions, or send to the market; and it is a certain truth, I have met with much difficulty to bear the charges of this messenger into England; and yet the expectation of the state, and the cries of the poor English from several places, are all upon me for relief and assistance; and which is worst of all, my actions are misjudged and dishonoured by some I supply here, I am scorned and hated by the whole nation for my opposition to their ways, and left to myself without arms or defence in the midst of a turbulent people. I beseech you, Sir, what reason can there be that I should be thus neglected and unarmed, nor no English forces assigned unto me, and the whole kingdom plentifully furnished with arms from beyond sea that are in rebellion, and that myself and my followers might have arms for thousands if I would adhere to them; and that the neglect they find held of me doth daily withdraw them from me? And yet in this condition the state breathes unto me prosecutions of fire and sword, which is now likely to be my part to suffer, rather than perform. My confidence in your worth and nobleness makes my discourse thus

thus free and large, in expressions of the wrongs and injury done me. Before I ^{Oct. 1642} came into this unfortunate kingdom, I had a better value and estimation put upon me, and I shall not despair through God's mercy to be again in the same condition.

I send you herewith a letter from my lord president, which hath lain long by me for want of a safe conveyance; and I am newly informed that he hath concluded a cessation of arms with Sir James Dillon for three months, for Westmeath and the county of Longford, and is in treaty with some of the other counties of this province.

I send two servants now into England, one to the court, the other to London; if in their journies they may be useful to any occasion of yours, it will give me much content, being desirous constantly and faithfully to approve myself

Your assured true friend,

Loughreagh, the 28th of
October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Roger Shaghnuffy, the 30th of October.

Noble Cousin,

UNTIL the receipt of your letter of the 21st of this present, I was in continual expectation of your return, and that those intentions had been the occasion of your long silence. I must confess the disorders of these parts, and the unusual thunder of the church, now grown frequent here, are strong diversions to detain you from hence; but your natural affection and respects to your friends here, will, I hope, overcome those difficulties, and invite you to our assistance, as soon as you may with any conveniency, being that your presence would divert much of our present troubles; but until we may be so happy, I must intreat you to afford us that comfort as to hear often from you. Your nearness to Kinsale, and acquaintance with the English thereabouts, may better furnish us with intelligence out of England, than from any other place. Your letter mentions the killing of seven thousand of the parliament's forces, and that it was printed news; you should do me a special favour to procure me the book, or a right copy of it, which would give me great satisfaction, by reason of my general knowledge of the names both of persons and places throughout England. If it were not done since the middle of the last month, I do much doubt the truth thereof, his majesty (to whom God grant victory and preservation from all dangers) being then hardly in that posture to give so great an overthrow.

I am very glad I have so right a character of Sir Charles Vanaour, and that my interest in him hath been any ways useful to your occasions; and if the iniquity of the times have not made a very great and sudden alteration, there can hardly come any of quality into this kingdom, of whom I cannot give a good account of their deportment and disposition. I am informed that captain Kettleby and Sir Henry Stradling have been in England, and are but newly returned; if it be so, I shall desire the delivery of this inclosed to Sir Henry Stradling, together with my former, if you have thus long preserved it, the latter being to invite some intelligence from him, and both to let him know I am not unmindful of his respects to me, nor forgetful of you. I likewise send you a letter to Sir Charles Vanaour, importing my thanks for his friendly and courteous carriage towards you, which I doubt not he will constantly continue. All our thoughts being now filled with expectation of news from England, and the proceedings of the great parliament of Kilkenny, it were too great a trouble and loss of time to mention the impertinencies of these parts. I am likewise tired with writing dispatches to the king, and some friends in England, and to the neglectful
state

Oct. 1642. state at Dublin, which calls upon me to draw to a conclusion, and thereby truly and constantly express myself

Your faithful and affectionate cousin,

Loughreagh, the 30th of

October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Sir Charles Vanafour, the 14th of October, received the 28th.

My good LORD,

I HAVE received a letter from you, in which you commanded me to wait upon Sir Roger Shaghnuffy, and to employ my best endeavours to assist and serve him; I humbly thank you for the employment, in that you thought me worthy to serve you. Besides the honour I have in being known to that worthy and well-deserving gentleman, Sir Roger, you sent me a large character of his noble and loyal behaviour in your parts near Galway. Indeed, my lord, I should do a great deal of wrong to his worth and deserts, if I should not return your lordship the same account of his civil, courteous, and mild behaviour, and loyal demeanour towards his majesty's subjects and servants in these parts, nay so much as that he may command me, and my power to serve him. And now I have assured your lordship how much I honour your kinsman, give me leave to assure your lordship, I am, my lord,

Your most humble servant,

CHARLES VANASOUR.

My letter to Sir Charles Vanafour, the 30th of October.

Noble SIR,

I T was no small comfort to me in this time of general calamity and distraction, to receive such ample assurance of your friendship and respects to me, as I received by your letters of the 14th of this present, and that by the relation of my cousin, Sir Roger Shaghnuffy, he hath found the good effects of your favour and noble disposition, which I shall ever acknowledge as a very great obligation put upon me; and as I am confident he will strive to merit and preserve your good opinion and assistance towards him, so I am no less assured that you can no ways vary from that worth and virtue that hath had so long and constant a seat in your noble breast. I know not whether to attribute it to the misfortune of the times, or the neglect of friends, that your residence was not appointed nearer to this place. All intelligence out of England moves so slowly hither, the passages to Dublin being stopt, as that it will be a great addition of favour to me if you please to acquaint me with such relations as shall come to you by the conveyance of Sir Roger. For besides my duty to our great master, most interested in these distempers, there are so many of my nearest friends engaged there both in danger and opposition, that I cannot but earnestly desire to hear often from thence; and I have received no advertisements from thence since the 1st of September, at which time a servant of mine left his majesty at Nottingham, and great preparations for war on all sides, which I hope in God's mercy is by this time turned to a reconciliation. I can give no very good account of these parts, there being much of disorder and confusion amongst us which I cannot master, being totally neglected by the state, but I keep them hitherto from being much guilty of those violences and acts of blood that have stained other parts. I will add nothing more in present, but to confirm the former assurances of my constant being

Your assured true friend to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 30th of

October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Henry Stradling, the 31st of October.

Noble SIR,

ABOUT the end of July, I gave you an account of the passages of these parts, joined with a request that concerned my own particular; but since I understand that my letters did not overtake you at Kinsale, it being now reported that you have been in England, and but newly returned back, it will be a great addition of favour to me, if you please to make me partaker of some intelligence from thence, I having heard no certainty of any thing since the first of September, at which time a servant of mine left the king at Nottingham, and great preparations made for war, which I hope is by this time turned to a settled peace. I have received a licence from his majesty for my repair into England, but until I hear farther of the proceedings there, I am doubtful how to make use thereof; besides, my desire to give some better settlement to the service here, than I am yet able to do by reason of the neglect of the state, from whom I have never received any supply or assistance since the beginning of these unhappy troubles.

The town and fort of Galway are often at variance, but little disturbance or acts of hostility are now between them upon land; they keep their gates shut to the fort, but do not disturb my supplies or convoys that pass quietly by them. If you please to write unto me, it will be safely conveyed by my cousin Sir Roger Shaghnessy, whose worth and merit during his being here with me, and his carriage there, and his near relation to me, will, I presume, invite your favour and assistance to him and all occasions of his, which shall be ever thankfully acknowledged by

Your assured true friend to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 31st of
October, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord of Inchiquin, the 26th of October, received the 31st.

MY LORD.

I SHALL not dare to adventure much of what I have a desire to write, amongst these many crews of rebels that I know this bearer will meet with, but your lordship shall within a short time after the receipt of this hear from me, of all things that are come to my knowledge out of England, where the troubles are now at the highest, but I hope will not long continue; so whose side is strongest I cannot directly tell; for though the parliament have ten or twenty for one in number, yet if the king have a matter of thirty thousand in the field, I know he will think himself strong enough; but what of this number he now has, or how he is provided of money, I cannot tell; though I have received several letters that mention his indigency in both, but they come from those that are better affected to the parliament than his side.

I have received some commands from your lordship in Sir Roger Shaghnessy's behalf, and should be heartily glad that any opportunity might enable me to do him, or any that your lordship regards, any service, by which I should reap my own advantage, if it gives you assurance of my being

Your lordship's affectionate kinsman and humble servant,

Corke, the 26th of
October, 1642.

INCHQUIN.

E c c c

Oct. 1642.

The arrival of my servant, Thomas Webb, coming first to Dublin, and after round about by sea to the fort by Galway, upon the 5th of this month, bringing no letters nor declaration from his majesty, no hope nor promise of supply, or mark of favour, or increase of command, nor no manner of instruction, or direction to guide me in these doubtful and dangerous times, was no small affliction to me; a great distraction and discouragement to my friends, and those that adhered unto me, and observed my advices and commands, and did give a great advantage to those that had fallen from me to pursue their ill designs, and to disgrace and discountenance all my actions and proceedings: and that which did as much disturb me as any thing, was the expressions of my lord Falkland's letter, that tho' his majesty were fully satisfied that all my intentions were very good, for the advancement of his service, and the publick weal of the kingdom; yet for the submission of Galway, he would say nothing, the whole proceedings being before the houses of parliament; so that my applications and endeavouring to give his majesty information and satisfaction was to no effect, but my actions still left to be judged by those from whom I never had received assistance, nor could expect indifferent favour. And that which was most observable, tho' they had taken arms there in opposition to his majesty, and he had set up his royal standard against them, and proclaimed many of their principal members traitors, yet by what could be judged by those expressions, they were to be our directors, masters and judges here. And what could I expect when they had detained a * servant of mine now near eight months sent with letters to themselves, no reason appearing, but for being either an Irishman, or a papist? or what construction could they make of my declining of my lord Forbes' assistance, when they were unsatisfied with my proceedings at Galway? In this distraction I resolved to continue my care of relieving the fort, and preserving the poor English about me, as a good service without dispute; and still to decline in the civilest and safest way I could, all accidental assistances, and not too far to exasperate the natives, until I had forces properly assigned to myself, and intelligence of his majesty's growing so far master of his affairs, as to signify his royal pleasure and positive commands unto us; and to that end sent back the messenger, as likewise to understand what construction his majesty made of my proceedings with my lord Forbes, which might give me some light for my future undertakings. And to satisfy people here the best I could, I gave out his majesty's directions and acceptance of my service in such manner as is expressed in my letter to captain Tieve Kelly.

* Feagle-
ment Cooge.

I received a short letter from my lord Lisle, declaring his desire and readiness to serve me, and particularly in my request in the behalf of my kinsman Sir John Burke, but that upon conference with my lord Parsons, his lordship told him he was in rebellion, by which it seems his lordship was resolved that all the nation should be so, or so esteemed and declared. For at the same time I received letters from the lady Jephson, very highly applauding his carriage and loyalty, and for too sure a testimony thereof, his house was taken and burned by the Irish, his lady stript and in danger of life, and himself escaped in a ploughman's habit, were relieved for six weeks in my lady Jephson's castle.

M. Ormond.

I received a letter from the bishop of Killalla, dated at Dublin the 12th of September, declaring that he was never called upon by the state to give any account of passages here, nor for all his sufferings received any courtesy or countenance from them, or any other, but one nobleman; their lordships it seems being unwilling to receive any information of my proceedings, but from such as would carry false and disgraceful reports of me.

Sir Charles Coote wrote unto me, complaining of great wants of some of the garrisons, and of my lord president's neglect of them; modestly desiring to borrow money of me, which was not then in my power to perform; though some other courtesies were done, and concludes his request in these words; "Who if not supplied from your lordship must necessarily fall into the extremity of want,
if

if we hear not from Dublin suddenly. Several of the garrisons and myself have ^{Oct. 1642.} lived (I will justify) by your lordship's care of us, which I trust in God your lordship will find the fruits of, when we may be heard speak."

I received several letters from Sir Arthur Blundell, full of high expressions of thanks for the preservation of Fort Falkland, and the safe conveying him and his family to the fort by Galway, still recommending the other to my special care.

About the 20th, Mr. Pat. Darcy went privately out of the country, and after made apologies to me for it, intimating an intention to declare on the other side, but desired my good belief of him, that his intentions were clear and just, and ever should be for the preservation of his religion, the real service of his majesty, and the safety of the nation, which a malicious party here had endeavoured to destroy and extirpate, with deep protestations that he was innocent of the councils, advice, or actions which drew on, or begun the present troubles, and abhorred all national distinctions, and did honour the English nation as much or more than this.

Upon the 28th, I dispatched my servant Thomas Webb by sea from the fort, first to Dublin, and then into England; and by him I wrote a short letter to my lord of Ormond with a cut paper inclosed, reserving such another to myself, by which I could write safe from discovery at any time though intercepted.

My lord of Mayo, the 24th of October, received the 4th of November.

MY LORD,

YOURS of the 22d of September I received but very lately, which I imparted where your lordship commanded, but things do not fadge according to expectation on either side. No man desireth more to kiss your lordship's hands for some hours than I do, if with safety I might, as I set forth in my last letter, and had they not been intercepted, I presume your lordship would have vouchsafed me an answer thereupon; but now I find some aversion in others, lest reciprocal correspondency might be betwixt your lordship and me, which makes all occurrences on either side to be block'd up. Fain I would have access to your lordship, but I may not without much danger to us both; yet if your lordship will be pleased to prescribe what course may be taken for private conference, or publick, you shall ever find me most ready to serve you. When the lord Forbes was upon the coasts of Galway, I heard he intended no good to this province, whereupon I wrote him a letter, a copy whereof I here inclosed present to your lordship, but hitherto could receive no answer, which emboldens me to desire your lordship I may know upon what commission he came into this province, whereby I may the better defend, or offend. My lord, I understand that your servant you wrote of in your last letter is safely arrived with your lordship, and as then you intended upon his return I should receive some intimations of his progress, this is now most humbly begged by

Your lordship's faithful cousin and servant,

Castle-Bar, the 24th of
October, 1642.

MAYO.

My letter to my lord of Mayo, the 5th of November.

MY LORD,

I HAVE received your lordship's of the 24th of the last month, but not your other letter mentioned therein, which makes me apprehend it none of the least misfortunes of this unhappy age, that friends are not only kept asunder in their persons, but likewise debarred the free expression of their thoughts by writing. It would be a very great content and satisfaction to me that your lordship and I might have a meeting with fit conveniency and accommodation; but
according

Nov. 1642. according to the present state of affairs, I know not how it may be compassed without danger and prejudice to us both; but to comply with your lordship's desire the best I can in the condition we are in, I have intreated Sir Richard Blake to wait upon your lordship to receive your commands, whose respects to your lordship, and affection to me, is so well settled, as that you may surely and freely express to him what your lordship shall think fit to be imparted to me.

The great distempers and troubles in England have diverted much of that comfort and satisfaction I expected upon my servant's arrival here; but I hope his second return (having again sent him to his majesty) will disperse these mists and clouds, that yet hang upon our understandings through misinformations, not clearly, nor fully confuted. What may in present be said, I will refer to the relation of the bearer.

Concerning the lord Forbes, I conceive his commission is derived from the king's authority, and under the broad seal, but employed by the parliament, at the charge and request of the city of London, without design, or particular direction for any certain place, but left to a general way of service, where most occasion is, and with the title of lieutenant general of the additional forces. His good and bad successes, and intended place of residence this winter, Sir Richard can exactly relate unto you. The general silence at this time doth not afford me any more intelligence, worthy your lordship's trouble; and, I presume, I am so well known to your lordship, that I shall not need much ceremony, or large expressions, to gain a right belief in your lordship always to esteem me

Loughreagh, the 5th of
November, 1642.

Your lordship's affectionate cousin to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Richard Blake, the 6th of November.

SIR RICHARD BLAKE,

ACCORDING to my promise I send you here inclosed a letter to my lord of Mayo, with a flying seal for your perusal; your own judgment will direct you better than I can advise how to gain the best intelligence from him, both of his own inclinations, and the intentions of others in those parts, and that you be wary he get no advantage of you in any relations wherein I am concerned; but a general way of friendship and advertisement, with some show of secrecy, to take off mistrust; and that I am confident both of his abilities and integrity, that where he hath in any thing appeared hard to be justified, it was rather the necessity of complying with turbulent humours he could not master, than his own purpose or inclination, and that I shall be ready to give the best character of him therein, according as he shall express his own desires and inclination, &c.

Loughreagh, the 6th of
November, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Mr. Pat. Darcy, the 12th of November.

MR. PAT. DARCY,

BEING informed of your being at Kilkenny, and assured of the power and interest that your acquaintance and abilities will put upon you there, I recommend a work of charity to your care, being moved to much compassion by what is newly related unto me. There are a multitude of poor English, most women and children, in the town of Birr, that daily fall down dead, starved in the street, and if they stir abroad, they are forthwith killed. Mr. Parsons, out of care and regard for the safety of himself and family, had long since left them to themselves; and their stay there is nothing of disadvantage

tage to him ; if you can find means to have them safely conveyed to some place ^{Nov. 1642.} of shipping, or other relief, it will certainly be a very acceptable act both to God and man, and just and honourable for the nation, and well becoming you to deal effectually therein, the which I leave to your best and speedy consideration ; and shall be glad of the occasions that may still invite me to express me, &c.

Portumna, the 12th of
November, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 20th of November.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

I DOUBT not but ensign Scott hath informed you how the carriages were set upon on Friday last, and the particulars that were taken away, I having no notice of it until towards night, yet I presently went forth, and rescued some of my soldiers, and recovered some of their arms taken from them, most of the corn, and some other commodities ; but by the favour of the night, William Burke, and some of his accomplices, unluckily escaped me in two several places where I pursued them, but the persons are known ; I have laid wait for them, and doubt not to bring them to justice, and recover what is lost before the end of the week. I have appointed Saturday next for the conveying to you of all the provisions remaining, and such other things as you expect, desiring you will send a strong guard to meet them ; I will myself convoy them to Lynch's white castle ; and the course I intend, after that work is performed, will require that I be well armed. That which I desired of my lord Forbes for my own store, and which I should be glad you could furnish me with, is one hundred muskets, and five or six barrels of powder, and that they might be then ready at Oran More, to be brought back with me ; and if wine, hops, or iron, may be had in any of the ships, I would then bring carriage for it, and desire to know the prices of all things, that I may come prepared accordingly with money, with hides, provision, and such commodities as the country affords, which may, perhaps, be as willingly received as money.

The distempers are grown to a height ; the king hath a powerful army at Shrewsbury, and the parliament another at Worcester, and a battle suddenly expected. Prince Rupert, general of the horse to the king, gave a great defeat to a squadron of the parliament forces, and killed of persons of quality, colonel Sands, that commanded there in chief, a son of my lord viscount Sayes, and Douglass, a Scotch commander. Much more I would write, but this you may receive for certain ; and that all Wales are come unto the king, with arms, money, and plate. There are commissioners come to Dublin, some from the king, and others from the parliament, and some privy counsellors committed there. By the next convoy, when I may send safely, you shall know more. It is likely to be a strange troublesome time, God of his mercy send a good conclusion to it. I will now say no more, but still remain

The 20th of November, 1642.

Your assured friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

This assault made upon my carriages and convoy did put me at first into very much passion, being done by a rude multitude, conducted by some wicked young kinsman of my own ; and the executions thereupon, and taking of preys from some towns that had received part of the goods taken, had like to have drawn very great danger upon me ; reports very loudly proclaiming those, even moderate, and most necessary acts of punishment and justice I had done, to be a

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violent

Nov. 1642. violent and cruel destruction ; and great threats and reports were spread, that the forces of Thomond and Mayo, with some from the town of Galway, would stop my intended passage to the fort with the provisions ; but my neighbours were better advised, and did not stir ; and for those of Galway, I sent word unto them, and so gave directions, that if any forces from thence did meet me, their four hostages should be immediately hanged. Upon the day appointed, I went with three hundred foot, and about six score horse, along with the provisions I had undertaken, and great store of all other commodities from the town of Loughreagh, who weekly treated with the fort ; and though many false alarms were made, all was safely delivered without question.

From Mr. Terence Coghlan, besides several advertisements of the distempers of England, and distractions at Dublin, since the arrival of the two commissioners from the parliament, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Goodwin, and some passages at Kilkenny, more exactly related in Mr. Martin's letter, he gave me advertisements, that they reserved the place of general of Conaght for me, and had named colonel Burke lieutenant general ; and that if I did not accept of it, and run their way, they did threaten much, and swear more ; but he doubted not, God who had hitherto led me by the hand through many dangers, and thorny affairs (contrary to the expectation of my ill-willers) and crowned my good desires with happy success, would now protect my person, and direct my actions.

I received a letter from Sir Charles Coote, continuing his expressions of thankfulness for my preservation of him, and requesting some supply of salt ; and the like letter I received from my lord Castle-Stewart, who having made a request for some more supply, which was after provided for him, expresseth himself as followeth : " It was a great disheartening to us all, when we heard that the provision sent from your lordship to the fort was intercepted ; but, I hope, your lordship will recover it ; and all our daily prayers are, that you may prosperously go on, and prevail against all such as shall set up against your lordship, and so we have cause all of us to do ; for all the poor souls that have been preserved alive in this place to this day, have been, next under God, preserved by your lordship's noble care of us, which (if ever it please God to bring us where the knowledge of it may redound to your lordship's honour) we will be ready to make known, and, in the mean time, I know it will be really performed by those that are gone from us."

I had several copies of letters privately conveyed unto me, sent from some of Galway residing at Kilkenny, full of lies, and vain brags, to invite the people against my government, informing them of the arrival of many ships laden with arms and ammunition ; that three thousand of Owen Roe's army had beaten twelve thousand Scots, Monroe either killed, or dangerously wounded ; that the Irish in the North had preserved the whole harvest of five intire counties ; that general Preston was to have in pay 6000 foot and 600 horse for Leinster, and it was expected the other provinces would do the like ; that colonel Burke was to be their general, exhorting those of Galway to be of good courage, but withal cautious ; and they should soon have helps of money, and all things else wanting, so ourselves be united. The victory is had, the enemy is already amazed ; they expect no succour ; the Scots are divided ; the major part prepare for England. There is nothing more certain than that the greater part of those that sit at the helm at Dublin, as they have from the beginning, do even now contrive that no way be given to any other end of this war, than a total extirpation of religion and nation. Now therefore the business is, pro aris & focis, and much more of this kind, to exasperate people that were too much mad and violent before.

A letter from divers of the nobility and gentry, assembled at Kilkenny, to the earl of Ormond, with a petition to his majesty, sent in July or August last, and not come to my knowledge until November.

Right Honourable,

HOW little cause soever we have to expect any favours from your lordship, yet the eminent place you hold under our dread sovereign in the command of his army here, moves us to address unto you the inclosed petition, from the greater part of the nobility, gentry, and commons of this poor kingdom, to be transmitted to his sacred majesty, which, in a matter of so great consequence, you cannot in justice to us, or duty to him, refuse to do; and to retard the sending it over, will be, in effect, to suppress it, an unworthiness far below the honour of your birth and estimation, and such as would render you guilty of all the evils that may ensue therefrom. Thus, with tender of our service to your lordship, we rest.

To the King's most excellent majesty.

The humble petition of the catholicks of Ireland.

Most sacred and dread Sovereign,

WE your most loyal and obedient subjects, whom it nearest concerns to preserve the rights and prerogatives of your crown firm and intire, as yielding us a just and merciful protection against the severity of our penal laws, in maintenance of that power, the birth-right of kings, kept unblemished for you by your famous ancestors, have had recourse to arms, to that end only, that you, our gracious sovereign, with all the preeminences due and derived unto you by a long succession of monarchs, might alone reign over us; and we, in the just freedom of subjects, independent of any jurisdiction not derived from your majesty, live happily under the crown of England. Yet lest these our intendments, by the practice of our adversaries, might be misrepresented unto you, and we enforced undeservedly to suffer in your majesty's opinion, which would be a burthen more heavy unto us than the swords of our adversaries, although daily imbrued in the blood of our wives and children, we have often endeavoured to have access by our agents to your royal throne, which, with the hazard of our lives and fortunes, we labour to maintain glorious and unspotted; yet such is the unwearied watchfulness of our adversaries, that some employed to that end by us, are imprisoned there, as my lord Costello; some intercepted and put to the rack here, as lieutenant colonel Reade; so that now it is beyond our reach, and only within your majesty's power, to provide, that we may be heard by your majesty, since we are so unhappy as that your majesty's resolution of coming into this kingdom of Ireland met with greater diversions than the threats and menaces of the puritan party of England, who seek in all things to limit you our king, and govern us your people; that it would therefore please your majesty to appoint some such way, by which with safety we may approach your royal presence, that so you may be informed truly of the whole scope of our resolution, and we more faithfully receive your commands. In the mean time, by a cessation of arms on both sides, enjoined us by your majesty, the lives of many of your subjects may be preserved, and the improvements of many years kept from desolation. And we, in duty bound, will ever pray for your majesty's happy reign over us.

Gorman's-Town.

Dunboyne.

Emer. elect. Dun. & Connor.

Robert Forestall.

Mount Garret.

David Ep. Oflorien.

Edmund Butler.

George King.

Ikerrin.

Upper Oflory.

Christ. Holywood.

Edmond Shea.

Robert

Dec. 1642.

Robert Nugent.	Edmond Fitz Gerald.	Piers Butler.
Mor. Flaherty.	Richard Barnwell.	Peter Clinton.
Thomas Shea.	James Cusack.	Thomas Fitz Gerald.
John Power.	Adam Cusack.	Walter Bagnall.
Thomas Fleming.	John Bourke.	Andrew White.
Bartholomew Dillon.	Tibbot Bourke.	Richard Shea.
Thomas Porter.	John Walsh.	Henry Dillon.
James Cowley.		

Mr. Richard Martin, the 2d of December.

Right Honourable,

BEING in a course of physick these three years, understanding that doctor Fennell and doctor Meara were in Kilkenny, I went thither to meet them, where since I went thither, until I came from hence, I kept my chamber, being all that while in physick. I assure your lordship, I took not the oath of association taken there, neither did actively, or passively, concur to any act of counsel that might decline his majesty's service; but, on the contrary, laboured with all the power I had with my friends, who were there in great number of the best quality, and daily frequented my chamber, to plant in all a desire of peace and quietness, modesty and temper in their actions, and a timely application to his majesty's grace and mercy; wherein I have represented unto them the greatness of the power opposed, and the weakness that strives to resist it, which hath taken a deep impression in many of them, and brought all to agree upon addresses, by petitions to the king and queen; and if the course laid be well followed, and meet with fair acceptance at the place of address, I have strong hopes to see the fire quenched, that puts this kingdom to the present distraction. I was pressed by divers to accept a place in the supreme council, and in the provincial of Conaght, which, for some reasons, I have obstinately refused. I presume your lordship had a true relation of the passages at Kilkenny; nevertheless, since I was upon the place, I conceive it my duty to represent unto your lordship the most material things that passed there.

The assembly of the lords and commons met at Kilkenny the 24th of October, 1642. The first act they did was to protest, that they meant not that meeting to be a parliament, confessing, that the calling, proroguing, and dissolving of that great body, was an inseparable incident to the crown, which they would not inroach upon; but was only a general meeting, to consult of an order for their own affairs, until his majesty's wisdom had settled the present troubles. Then they proceeded to frame a model of government, wherein care was taken that the former government might be continued, lest any variation might make the right recontinuance difficult. This framed and finished, a supreme council of the confederate catholicks of Ireland consisting of twenty-four, whereof twelve to be always resident, was chosen out of the provinces, and accordingly authorized with plenitude of power, qualified with some instructions, and they were sworn publickly upon a new composed oath. This ended, the provincial generals were chosen, Owen Roe O Neile for Ulster, colonel Preston for Leinster, colonel Barry for Munster, colonel John Burke for Conaght, this with the name only of lieutenant general, in hopes one day to confer the generalship upon a person more in their eyes and wishes. After this, the raising of the coin was in agitation; it was much opposed, because it was an unnecessary invasion upon the prerogative royal, and because there being no publick treasure, no publick benefit could arise thereby, and because the coin being raised, the price of commodities would rise proportionably; however, the violence of some, upon weaker grounds, since experimentally discovered, carried it.

The abuses of selling of powder by gray merchants, and tobacco bought from those conceived to be enemies, took up some time, but, at last, it was concluded, as appears by the orders.

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The meeting was at the house of Robert Shea, heir to Sir Richard Shea; the ^{Dec. 1642.} lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in one room; Mr. Pat. Darcy bare-headed upon a stool, representing all, or some that sat in parliament, upon the woolfacks; Mr. Nicholas Plunket represented the speaker of the commons, and both the lords and commons addressed their speech to him; the lords had an upper room for a recess for private consultation, and upon resolutions taken, the same were delivered to the commons by Mr. Darcy.

The clergy, not qualified in the house of lords, sat in a house called the convocation; the laity bruited that they handled only matters of tythe, and settling church possessions; however, the lay misconstructions issued out the provincial of the augustins, who threatened to wipe off the ashes from his feet, and those of his friers, and to bend his course over sea, if his possessions were not restored.

The monks desired a restitution of all their possessions that were recovered from puritans or protestants, omitting it seems for a while those held by catholics, but all was denied by the general assembly: First, because that the fee being established by act of parliament; this being no parliament, could not dissolve it: Secondly, because the same was the inheritance of divers bought for valuable considerations, and much of it settled for jointures, allowed by the bulls of cardinal Poole; and because of the dissolution of abbies, warranted by the laws of England, solemnly sworn to be observed. This is very ill taken by the monks, and such as had comendaries of abbies. My labour was bent to advance a pacification, and to forward the addressees to the king; and at last the petitions to the king and queen being prepared, were read in the house the last day of the assembly, and were recommended to the supreme council, to be conveyed to their respective majesties.

In this assembly met the respective generals of provinces, the lords of the pale and Leinster, and most of those of Munster, and generally the deputies of corporations, some few towns excepted, and deputies of all shires, all understanding men, and in fair equipage, and professing, at least, good ends. The divisions natural in our country appeared in the general only between Sir Phelim O Neile, lately married to general Preston's daughter, and colonel Owen Roe O Neile, absent, but represented by the elect bishop of Down, a prelate of no small understanding; but that quarrel was appeased by the interposition of friends, and prudence of the assembly.

Some other distractions arose between Rory O More, and others of Leinster, supposing themselves despised in the disposition of the publick ministry; but these likewise were composed.

Much speech was made of the deaths of the lords justices, but all was found false; two deputies from the parliament, with twenty thousand pounds, arrived in Dublin, and desire an oath of fealty to the parliament; it is said, the lord marquiss of Ormond, lord Lambert, colonel Crawford, Sir Francis Willoughby, and others, have not taken it, and therefore are not like to receive much of the said money. His majesty, as it appears by several different relations, is victorious over the parliament forces, God continue him so, though it be not very certain that he doth favour the cause here in hand.

Much money could be had from foreign princes to advance the present wars, upon pawning to them some sea-towns here; but that secret proposition was rejected by the interposition of some, that foresaw and feared the end of it.

Since the 20th of October, some two thousand muskets, and some few other firelocks, carbines, and petronels, arrived at Wexford and Dungarvan, but not eight thousand, as is reported; but true it is, that Don Anthonio daily expects at Wexford a ship, wherein are four thousand muskets, one thousand cases of petronels, one thousand carbines, two thousand swords, and some other fire-works.

Every one cries there upon your lordship, as the author of the greatest part of the publick losses of the catholick confederates. How far I have laboured to

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rectify

Dec. 1642. rectify their opinions, I leave to others to relate; this I can only say, that some remain satisfied, though but few; all believe, upon just grounds, that your lordship's power only restrains Conaght from helping them.

I shall not now, my lord, be tedious, I send your lordship copies of the model of government proclamations, or things in nature of them; orders, oaths, and all things else I could gather. I am sorry for my want of a clerk, that I could not send them better written. I will therefore conclude, with a firm purpose ever to express myself your faithful servant, however I hear I am misrepresented to you; and in all fortunes will ever remain

Your lordship's most humble and affectionate servant,

Bally-M'Kegan, the 2d of
December, 1642.

RICHARD MARTIN.

P. S. I send your lordship likewise a relation of lord Castle-Haven's escape, written by himself.

The humble petition of all the catholicks of Ireland.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

YOUR majesty's most faithful, humble, and loving subjects, having apprehended, with fulness of sorrow, the condition whereunto the misrepresentation of your ministers in this your kingdom, united with the malignant party in England, hath reduced us; and sad experience having brought us to the knowledge of a resolution taken by some malevolent persons there, and by your officers here, to supplant our nation and religion, being deprived of a safe access to your sacred person; and having observed others of your subjects, bent upon our ruin, in arms; after a long patience we have humbly conceived it necessary to put ourselves into a posture of a natural defence, with intention, nevertheless, never to disturb your government, or to invade any of your high prerogatives, or to oppress any of your British subjects of what religion soever, that did not labour to suppress us, which, in the birth of the present troubles, we have solemnly sworn to observe by oath, often since reiterated, lest the misguided and unauthorized motions of some passionate persons amongst us should be construed to derogate from the faith and allegiance, which, in all humbleness, we confess to owe, and sincerely profess unto you; in pursuance of which, our real and candid endeavours, bent only to a due settlement of our religion and just liberties, before any act of hostility committed on our part, we have, with all submission, addressed ourselves, by petition, to your lords justices and council here, for timely remedy against the growing, and then springing evils; but therein we have found for a salve to our wounds, oil poured into the fire of our discontents, which occasioned that intemperance in the commonalty, that they acted some unwarrantable cruelties upon puritans, or others suspected of puritanism, which we really detesting, have punished in part, and desire to punish with fulness of severity in all the actors of them, when time shall enable us to it; though the measure offered to the catholick natives here, in the inhuman murdering of old decrepit people in their beds, women in the straw, and children not eight days old, burning of houses, and robbing of all kind of persons, without distinction of friend or foe, and digging up of graves, and their burning the dead bodies of our ancestors in time of cessation, and, in breach of publick faith, have not deserved that justice from us; which unparalleled and unprecedented violations of all human and divine laws, we ascribe not to any superior commands, but to the savage fury of an unbridled multitude. Amidst these distractions, we have entreated our very good lord, the lord marquiss of Ormond, lord general of
your

your forces here, to convey our humble petition to your majesty, expressing our ^{Dec. 1642.} earnest desire to be directed by your grace and power, to some place, where with safety we might inform your majesty of all our grievances, and receive your royal commands; but therein we have been, and are so unfortunate, that the great diversions administered unto you in other places, have not given your highness time or leisure to take any order for our relief, which fills us with grief, though mixed with hope and confidence that your majesty, having removed all obstacles with the continued felicity of your arms, will look upon our sufferings with those eyes of mercy which brings you nearer to the divinity you represent, than all the laurels that Mars can heap upon your head, and which gained, with the expence of your subjects blood, may make you more feared than beloved.

To remove therefore the distractions which the heat of the present distempers may produce to yours and our prejudice, we have now met in a national assembly in your city of Kilkenny, to provide for the safety of us your subjects here, until your majesty shall take some fit course for our preservation, where, to meet misconstructions, we have protested, that we intended not this assembly to be a parliament, or to have the power of it; we, in all plainness, really confessing, that the calling and dissolving of that great body, is an inseparable incident to your imperial crown. We likewise renewed our oath of allegiance to your sacred person, your heirs, and lawful successors, and our firm and immoveable purpose to observe, and to be ruled only by your common laws of England, and statutes here established, and enacted by parliament among us, which are not contrary to our catholick Roman religion, wherein, we hope, we have given testimony of the candor and reality of our actions and intentions, and given your majesty that satisfaction which is due from a most faithful people to a most gracious sovereign. We therefore, with hearts bent lower than our knees, do humbly beseech your sacred majesty timely to assign a place, where with safety we may express our grievances, and you may, with freedom, apply a seasonable cure unto them, and there you shall find our dutiful affection attended with just cause of security in our faithfulness, and manifest arguments of our earnest desire to advance your service; and that you may be graciously pleased to leave us free in the profession of our faith here, continued since the first conversion of this island, and which our ancestors of British extraction, at the first coming of the English to Ireland, found before them here, and brought with them; and that you may secure our estates and liberties according to your laws, as you have done in your two other kingdoms; and that hereafter your majesty will make no distinction between us, and the rest of the nations subject to your empire, but by the faithful services which we will never cease to do; which granted, we will convert our forces upon any design your majesty will appoint.

And we will ever pray.

The humble petition of the catholicks of Ireland.

To the sacred majesty of the Queen of Great Britain, &c.

AFTER long suffering under the heavy pressures of his majesty's unfaithful ministers in this kingdom, understanding of an union between them and the malignant party in England, to extirpate our nation and religion; and finding the ways of access to our sovereign lord for declaring our grievances stoppt up by misinformation from hence, and force and violence there; we humbly conceived it necessary to have recourse to arms for our natural preservation, at the entry whereunto all the parts of this kingdom have taken a solemn oath to bear firm faith and true allegiance to our sovereign lord king Charles, his heirs, and lawful successors, in the observation whereof we will express all that ever history commended of loyalty and constancy in a good people, to a most gracious sovereign, to give faith to our professions. We have made addressees from several parts of
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Dec. 1642. the realm to the lords justices and council here, desiring a liberty to remonstrate our grievances in the parliament then continued, and freedom to send for that purpose to his majesty; which reasonable and modest request being denied, the parliament, though there appeared but few of the true members of it, employed the lord Dillon, and others, to acquaint his majesty with the distempers, and with heads of some of the occasions of them, but, being arrived in England, his application to his highness was interrupted, and his person restrained; whereupon, thinking that a stranger might meet a better fortune, lieutenant colonel Reade, a Scotchman born, and bred in England, and always serving in his majesty's army, was employed by us to his majesty, to receive his royal commands touching the causes of the present troubles, and the means to quiet them; but the poor gentleman, upon the rack, found the unwillingness which the publick officers of state here do bear against the revealing of the mystery of their iniquity; which course missing the wished and much looked for effect, we have again applied ourselves to our very good lord the lord marquiss of Ormond, lieutenant general of his majesty's forces, to convey our humble petition to his majesty, desiring the appointment of a place where we might with safety open our griefs, and he might, with freedom, relieve them; whereupon, having not yet received any answer thereunto, and being invaded with all the British fury that ever was acted, or imagined between enemies, we met at Kilkenny in a national assembly, to provide for the publick safety, until his majesty should be at leisure from his other great diversions to take our present condition to his princely consideration, and we to renew and reiterate our former suit unto him. Thus resolved, the contemplation of your majesty's great goodness, your compassionate care of distressed catholicks, your interest in the settlement of this kingdom, the inheritance of your royal issues, whom God everbless and preserve, and the felicity, in point of religion, which all the nations of Europe have received by the alliance of their princes with the royal house of France, hath induced us, in this our extremity, to implore your Esther-like intercession to our most gracious prince, and humbly to beseech your majesty so to interpose for us your power in his favours, that he may settle our religion and liberties, as he did those of his other kingdoms, and decline all apprehensions which may derogate from that true faith and natural allegiance, which in all duty, humility, reverence, and sincerity, we owe and profess unto him.

And we will ever pray.

My letter to my lord marquiss of Ormond, the 9th of December.

MY LORD,

IF my servant, Thomas Webb, be safely come unto you, whom I sent about by sea to Dublin, and from thence into England, then by my letter, and a paper therein inclosed, being compared upon this I now send you, your lordship will need no other casement to discern the light that may guide you to the knowledge of my present expressions, and, out of the same windows, convey your commands to me. I have been long in expectation to hear from your lordship, report being here so various, that we live in perpetual distraction. When your lordship sends a packet into England, I shall earnestly desire the conveyance of this inclosed, which I send with a flying seal for your lordship's perusal, having confident hopes given me of the safe delivery of this dispatch unto your lordship, which hath nothing more in charge, than to give your lordship assurance of my constant being

Your lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My casement letter to my lord marquiss of Ormond, the 6th of December.

BY some lately come from the great assembly, I am informed, that it was in private debate to deliver some port-towns into foreign hands for the loan of large sums of money, which being diverted for the present by the discretion of some there, yet it may be hereafter effected by those commanders that are likely to have the power in their hands; and is of that dangerous consequence, that I held it fit to give you speedy notice thereof, that, by your lordship's conveyance, it may be speedily informed to his majesty, and such prevention used, as shall be found fit, either by declaration here, to give some satisfaction, or by some course abroad to divert it. This inclosed only in general touches my application to your lordship in this particular, without relating the business itself, for fear of interception. It is said, letters are coming to me to offer the command of this province, and, upon the refusal, to be prosecuted with extremity. My resolutions are unalterable, my danger great, and relief far from me. I believe the fort will be suddenly attempted, it is of the greatest importance in the kingdom, and fit a ship, intrusted by his majesty, should always ride in that harbour; the accidentals coming thither seeking their own advantage only, and rather doing hurt than good. My thoughts are at some ease, having lately put in the three months provision into it, not without much charge, trouble and danger, the convoys being assaulted, and part of the goods rescued by myself at a late hour in the night, and what was wanting after supplied; and some were hanged, for which there are great threatenings of severity and revenge. I am very doubtful that some other forts supplied by me will shortly be in danger to be lost, having never had relief from the state, and not now possible to be supplied by any care of mine, the danger being as great on my part as any others. It troubles me much I cannot hear from your lordship, reports coming, with much probability, of great battles fought in England, and much dissention amongst you there. Where satisfaction above is mentioned, was meant some course to keep off desperation, that draw on designs of that ill consequence.

The 7th of December, 1642.

My letter to the King's most excellent Majesty, the 7th of December.

May it please your Majesty,

MY hopes are great, that, before this time, my humble addressees of the 26th of October, having obtained a free and safe access to your royal hand, and that my presumption therein hath likewise received pardon; and next to deprivation of the chief happiness upon earth (my personal attendance upon you) nothing doth more afflict me than to be so unfortunately seated, that I cannot deliver my thoughts freely, where, I conceive, or observe, your service to be most concerned; and immediate application being now debarred me, for fear of interception, having formed means to express myself, without discovery, to my lord marquiss of Ormond, I have desired his lordship to inform your majesty of some things necessary for your knowledge and prevention; and that those particulars, by his lordship's conveyance, may be accompanied with these general acts and professions of humility, duty, and affection. And God bless and preserve your majesty full of glory and happiness, the incessant prayer and meditation of

Your majesty's most humble and faithful subject and servant,

Portumna, the 7th of
December, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

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Dec. 1642.

My letter to Sir Ulick Burke, the 10th of December.

Noble Cousin,

YOUR letter of the 6th I received yesterday, together with the money for the fort provision, wherein I find the continuance of your care and affection to me, and do hope God will in time enable me to make a fair return of those good acts of yours ; and I must likewise intreat your assistance for gathering the exchequer and composition rents, that as you have given good example in your own particular, so, by persuation, you will endeavour to prevail with others ; for besides the great charges I am at, and that it is like to be all the payment I shall have for many great arrears ; and that it will come into the hands of others nothing interested therein, if I fail now of it ; it will be a great honour and argument of this county's affection to his majesty to have it levied here, when, by the present troubles, it hath been diverted in all other places ; and it may be a means so to preserve and increase the king's favour towards me, as may make me useful in this time of distraction, not only to my friends here, but to the general benefit of the kingdom. And believe it, let others speak their pleasures of me as they think fit, it will be found in time that the courses I have taken with honest and faithful intentions, both to king and country, will be of publick good consequence, as well as of particular advantage to myself. Concerning the bringing in of my lord president's forces, or Sir Charles Coote's, I doubt not but you are fully assured, that I have no such intention, I having not yet entered into any disturbance, wherein I have not been first attempted ; and in the prosecution of personal injuries and affronts put upon me, have ever been more moderate and easy than, perhaps, became either my quality or authority ; so tender and careful have I ever been to preserve peace and plenty amongst my friends ; and I do confidently hope there is no such inclination in any to put such high provocations upon me, as to inforce me to such courses, so contrary to my nature and desire ; and, if this were a personal conference, I should say more to your satisfaction than is fit to be contained within this weak inclosure. And if it might sort with your occasions to bestow a visit upon me, it would afford much content to

Portumna, the 10th of
December, 1642.

Your truly affectionate cousin,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 15th of December.

Mr. Mayor,

I RECEIVED a letter from you the last night, nominating some new hostages to me in the place of those that have remained long here, by which I conceive that the corporation have not acquainted you with my former letter, written in your absence to the deputy mayor, and the just exceptions I took to three of them, to which letter I must refer you ; and for the fourth, now named by you, without disparagement to his quality and abilities, I may truly say, that he is none of those ancient and known names of the town that might give myself, or others, any satisfaction in the acceptance of him ; and I do much wonder, that you should be so scrupulous in making the best choice amongst you. To be received to my table and conversation is the greatest punishment that I know of, inflicted upon any that hath been sent hither, more than long absence from their affairs there, which can be attributed to no other cause than your own breach of promise upon the receiving of these now here ; that, for the future, they shall be so justified, in all respects, as should be without exceptions ; which not being performed, I must content myself with these gentlemen,

men, until you show better respect to me, and more compassion on them; if they be prejudiced by a long absence as is pretended, in my former letter, as I remember, I mentioned another particular, wherein I conceive his majesty's service neglected, and myself much injured, which I shall not press any further, since I know how to find a remedy for any debts due unto the king. But leaving these things to your speedy and judicious consideration, I will expect those occasions as may invite me to express myself

Loughreagh, the 15th of
December, 1642.

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 16th, I received a short letter from Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Ulick Burke, and Hugh Oge O Connor, informing, that they were commanded by a provincial council then assembled to repair unto me, and be the messengers of some addressees made unto me from them, and the supreme council, as likewise to impart some things to me concerning his majesty's service, and the distressed state of the poor country; and that, being upon their way, they would not presume to come to me without my licence and allowance. I returned answer, though much troubled, that Sir Ulick Burke had declared himself of their party; that if they pleased to come they should meet with safety and free access; but their messenger not declaring where they were, and not knowing the time of their coming, they must take the pains to travel to Portumna, some urgent occasions enforcing my sudden return; but the next day they were arrived before my departure, which caused my stay that day; and, upon their admittance to me, they delivered one letter from the Irish archbishop of Tuam, and another from their supreme council of Kilkenny.

The Irish archbishop of Tuam, the 15th of December, received the 17th.

MY LORD,

BY directions from the supreme council, grounded upon a command from the late general assembly, I am directed to invite your lordship to an oath of association for advancement of his majesty's service, and preservation of this our native country, which willingly I should have performed with my personal attendance, if being much impaired in my health, and other employments hereabouts, did not withdraw my willingness. And by consultation of this present assembly, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Ulick Burke, and Hugh O Connor, Esq; are appointed to wait upon your lordship, and intrusted to deliver you a letter from the said supreme council, and impart other occurrences of near concernment to this poor kingdom; them I desired and authorized, in obedience to the said direction, to tender the said oath unto your lordship, in which, and with assurance of the respect I owe you, no man will be found more ready to pray the Almighty for your lordship's good guidance than

Tuam, the 15th of
December, 1642.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

MALACHIAS, archiepisc. TUAMEN.

The delivery of this letter being highly distasteful to me, that they should in that manner presume to tender me an oath, the refusal whereof, by their rules, was excommunication, I told them I did little suspect that persons of their quality, and professors of respect to me, would offer to put such an affront or surprise upon me; of which I was so sensible, that I had nothing more to say unto them, but that they might be pleased to depart, which was all the return I had to make, and so left them; but they staying that night in town, they sent unto me,

Dec. 1642. me, desiring me with more patience to consider of the business; that for their parts they had no ill intention, and did but obey the command imposed upon them; and that it was neither theirs, nor the intention of those who employed them, to offer me that oath in the ordinary way, but only to know my pleasure therein, to know whether I would in that comply with other persons of honour that had taken it, and my resolution being known, that was all they expected; and for their discharge, were importunate I would write somewhat to the archbishop thereupon. Having debated with some friends, I was persuaded, considering the dangerous condition I was in, and they employed from the whole body of the kingdom in arms, that I would not let them depart wholly discontent, and without an answer; whereupon, they desiring to take their leaves of me the next day, without admitting of much discourse, I gave them a letter to the archbishop, and promised as soon as I came to Portumna, whither I was of necessity immediately to go, I would return an answer to the other letter they brought me.

My letter to the archbishop of Tuam, the 18th of December.

MY LORD,

SIR Lucas Dillon, Sir Ulick Burke, and Mr. Hugh O Connor, being pleased to bestow a visit on me this day, they delivered me a letter from your lordship, and another from some lords and gentlemen of the council, settled at Kilkenny by the late general assembly there; to which I shall return answer, with as much expedition as a business of that highest consequence, divided into several branches, and circumstances of weight, will possible permit.

For the oath propounded by your lordship, I must crave your pardon, not to swear to future unknown actions, which, if taken, I could conceive no ways binding; and, to deal more clearly with your lordship, I have no intention to take any other than that of my allegiance, so well known, and formerly established in this kingdom, nor to act any thing that is not warranted by the king's undoubted authority, which, setting aside all plausible opinions that may be subject to error, is the infallible rule in point of duty to my prince, that is to guide and square out the ways and actions of

Loughreagh, the 18th of
December, 1642.

Your lordship's humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A letter from the confederate supreme council, the 28th of November, received the 17th of December.

Our very good LORD,

WHEN we, who by the rule of inevitable enforcement have squared our actions, and are conscious to ourselves of the uttermost scope of these religious and loyal designs we have undertaken, reflect upon such abilities of wit and judgment as have grown up with you, under the care and instruction of that prudent and true patriot your father, and have been seasoned by your own observance of state affairs, we cannot conceive but that our actions and intentions have been misrepresented unto you; for otherwise how could you from such a ground of advantage, where nature, education, and experience had placed you, see so imperfectly into the necessity and justice of our enterprize? Was not it threatened and designed that the Scots should plant their gospel among us with the sword? hath not the majesty of the best of princes, our sacred sovereign, been clipped by the vote, and defiled by the applauded invectives of the malignant party of the parliament of England? do not they wage war against their anointed king and liege lord, under the command of a nobleman, whom we fear

fear to be too near in blood unto your lordship? is it not the approved doctrine ^{Dec. 1642.} of the times, that the laws of England, if they mention Ireland, are binding here? We confess the entrance into this great work was most perplexed, and did partake of much confusion, insomuch as some did think, stripped and pillaged, to have been of the essence of it; but all indifferent men that now search into that heap of distempers, do vote it the sole act of the many-headed beast the multitude, of whom some of the most forward in such base attempts, by the providence of the omnipotent and just judge, have been sacrificed to the fury of our enemies; others are marked out for the justice of more settled times. Neither can we deny, that the perfect union and regular government, which now is established among us, was a work of many days, and that the disorders which did arise from such our wants, might occasion in those who weighed all things to a scruple, a less favourable regard of our cause, as despairing to see the distracted government thus knit and recomposed. We have taken notice likewise of the unauthorized liberty which some men have assumed to themselves, of entering into your lordship's castles and lands, whereby you might have been exasperated, as conceiving it (besides the impairing of your revenue) an affront done unto your honour; for this we heartily wish your lordship did make yourself capable of receiving ample redress; and that no home or foreign insinuations did debar you from looking with a clear light upon our affairs and determinations. And once again, in the behalf of the kingdom, we do invite you to resent with us the injury done unto our religion, and the service of the Almighty, and the indignities which our dread sovereign is forced to suffer from an ungrateful sort of people, that riot in his favours, and are grown wanton by his indulgence; and the despicable condition whereunto the pride and avarice of such as had ingrossed all offices, did reduce the kingdom, that so, with joint endeavours, we may prosecute so fair and so just intendments. But if your lordship hath fixed a resolution unalterable by this our admonition and request, as we expect effects of disadvantage to our cause from all your counsels and actions; so in discharge of the duty we owe to God, our king and country, we will pretermitt no means to advance interests of so high and near concernment. Thus expecting your lordship's answer, with our heartiest wishes, we rest

Your lordship's assured loving friends,

Kilkenny, the 28th of
November, 1642

Mount-Garret.

Hugo Armachanus.

Johanes Ep. Clonfertensis.

Nicholas Plunket.

Richard Bealing.

Ger. Fennell.

Richard Lombarde.

Gorman's-Town.

Mau. de Rupe and Fermoy.

Emer. elect. Dun. & Connor, Ep.

Pat. Darcy.

Geffry Browne.

James Cusacke.

P. S. This, my lord, we are commanded to write unto your lordship by the exprefs order of the late great assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the rest of the confederate catholicks of Ireland, met in this city.

My answer, directed to my lord of Gorman's-town, the 21st of December.

MY LORD,

UPON the 18th of this present I received a letter from Kilkenny, signed by divers noblemen, and persons of quality, by the direction of the late general assembly; and observing your lordship's name in the first rank, my former acquaintance and interest in your lordship hath invited me to make use of your

Dec. 1642. favour for representing the effect and substance of my answer, graced and adorned by your lordship's more able expressions.

In the first place, I shall not be scrupulous to acknowledge, that my breeding and education hath been, where virtue, ability, and loyalty, had a firm and secure habitation, and these, as far as I was capable, infused into me by the exact and lively examples and precepts of a most indulgent and careful parent, and that since many additional advantages have been offered to me by my observance of, and application to, a most royal, prudent, and gracious master; and I shall never expect or desire a blessing upon any actions of mine, that shall not be punctually conformable to both, as far as my knowledge or observation can attain unto; and to the height of my judgment, with an industrious search and enquiry, I have laboured to render my power and interest most capable of service to his majesty, according to the living and dying admonitions and commands of my deceased father, which to my comfort is perfectly recorded between God and my own conscience, for a publick testimony to the world, and private joy of heart to myself. I have his majesty's royal attestation, both by word and writing, approving my ways of service; and having that approbation for a sure foundation to build upon, I have cause to expect, when so much duty and affection is published and declared, I shall no longer stand charged with any crime in my proceedings.

My lord, in this time of general distraction, though it may not fort with all dispositions, yet I hold it a necessary part of my duty to God, my king, and country, freely to deliver both my own apprehensions, and such informations as come unto me; and if any wrong construction or prejudice be thereby put upon me, I shall submit and resign myself to the divine will, who best knows the justness of my intentions.

That his majesty hath been abused in his trust, by the ill carriage and management of affairs by some of his ministers here, and some blemishes put upon the splendor of that ancient noble government under which we happily lived, and that there might be some intentions of oppression upon the subject, both in religion and liberties, seems probable to me, and, by what is alledged, is more clearly discovered to others; but whether there might not have been better ways of prevention, is that which is most in question; much present misery and calamity hath happened; and whether that which was but the inclinations of some few, be not now turned to be the resolutions of many, is much to be feared, and the success no less to be doubted.

That there have been great incroachments upon his majesty in his prerogative, and many disrespect shewed against his own person, seems evidently to appear by the great distempers in England, by his majesty's taking arms, and the opposition against him; but how the commotion and general association, as it hath been here pursued, can be drawn into consequence, as a means of preservation, either to his person or prerogative, proves difficult to many understandings; and what are his majesty's apprehensions thereof, and the aspersions by that means cast upon him, his own expressions will best declare.

It hath been likewise in dispute, as a question not easily confuted, why an assembly of this nation, called by their own power and interest, may not as easily be subject to error and mistake in point of service to his majesty, as a parliament in England, summoned by his own authority; the complaints of both having a near relation, the one of evil counsellors about his person, the other of bad governors placed in authority here: the one inclining, as is conjectured, to a destruction of the catholicks there; the other to a subversion of the protestants here: and both professing duty, honour, and safety to his majesty, who, by his belief, is obliged to preserve the one religion, and, by his clemency and compassion, willing to defend the other from violence.

It is likewise objected, that the proceedings hitherto sheweth an inclination to a national quarrel, and an intention to abolish the English government, there having

having been no distinction made, nor notice taken, of the quality of persons, their ^{Dec. 1642.} alliance or relation to such as attend faithfully upon his majesty, or consideration of their moderate dispositions, friendly neighbourhoods, or former diligence, or assistance for the publick good of the kingdom. These particulars, my lord, I observe to be most insisted upon, and cast a stain upon the religion, duty, and honour of the nation. The remedies necessary to be applied, it seems have been taken into consideration; and until his majesty's pleasure be further declared, such a form of government settled, as these times will permit, which, by reason of great distractions, could not be sooner effected, though I am not made acquainted with the particular reformation, yet I can easily imagine, that, in the first place, there have been humble addresses and applications made unto his majesty, and yet, to clear former aspersions, and for removal of national distinctions, there is much of disgrace and punishment appointed and inflicted upon such as have been instruments of foul and horrid acts, there being yet some who do boast and glory in those inhumanities; and, if God's just judgment and wrath be not first appeased, it is much to be feared there will be a long expectation of a more settled time.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that special care is taken for satisfaction and future preservation of the English, and such friendship and correspondence endeavoured to be settled, as may be most agreeable to his majesty's pleasure, and conducing to his service; and that if the danger of the times do imply a necessity of being in arms, and in a posture of defence, it shall be used with that moderation and circumspection, as may be most agreeable to the professions and protestations solemnly taken.

My lord, I shall now come to my own particular, in answer to the invitation I have received to join in this general cause, wherein, without taking upon me to judge of the actions, or intentions of others, more than as they may concern my own private interest in person, honour or fortune, or the publick trust I bear from his majesty, I may truly say I am altogether ignorant of the particular motives, resolutions, and proceedings that have been formerly, or are now conceived, or agreed upon; and if, upon a full representation of them, my judgment might be conceived to allow of the necessity of the present association, yet it cannot be denied, that my state and condition is far different from that of others in this kingdom. I am intrusted by his majesty with a government, and the only catholick in his dominions that hath that honour conferred upon him; I only endeavour peace and quiet obedience therein, until I am further instructed from his majesty; and for me to swerve from those known rules of duty, which hath no relation to the passions, or doubtful apprehensions of either kingdom, would certainly be a great scandal to religion, dishonour to the nation, and diversion of the like employment to be conferred upon any of this nation or religion. And I shall desire your lordship to take it into your serious consideration, and so represent it, in what posture or condition I am most probable to discharge my duty to God, to the king, and to manifest my natural affection to my country, if I should break this trust by any doubtful ways of proceedings. Will it not be objected to his majesty, what hopes can there be of that nation or religion, when the earl of Clanricarde, bred here from his childhood, of both ancient and recent extraction from hence, matched, allied, and estated here; honours conferred upon him, and never failing of your favour; a great power and command put into his hands in his own country; what greater ties could your majesty devise to oblige a man unto you? and he not regarding those obligations, what can be done with such a people, but to reduce them to total subjection?

On the other side, preserving myself in his majesty's favour, will there not be a fair occasion and advantage given to my friends there to alledge, that though great disorders were committed here by unruly multitudes, yet it was not the religion or intention of the nation to make it a national quarrel, or to shake off the English government, but to remove the abuses, disgraces, and oppressions
put

Dec. 1642. put upon them by ill-disposed persons in authority there? For the earl of Clanricarde, whom you favoured and intrusted with command, though of that religion, and esteemed of great power there, yet no pretences, threats, or persuasions, could disturb his integrity to your majesty. So that take away the occasions, remove those that oppress them, and give some encouragement by your favour, and your majesty will certainly find them a loyal and dutiful people.

To this I will add, that I presume it is known to many, that I have made good use of his majesty's favour in time of peace for the advantage of the country in general, especially Conaght, and for many particular friends; and, in the way I go, I hope to hold the same interest and place in time of war.

My lord, if these be not powerful motives to give satisfaction for my own particular, but that my actions and councils shall be esteemed destructive to the kingdom, I must freely declare, that the discharge of my duty in point of trust to his majesty is an interest of that high concernment, not only to myself, but to the honour of the nation, that no apprehensions of fear or danger, either of life or fortune, can shake a resolution that hath the powerful defences of the king's authority, and a testimony of a clear conscience, to preserve it. And when it shall please God to call me from hence, I do not doubt to leave full assurances of my duty to God, my king and country; and that I am not unmindful upon all good occasions to approve myself

Portumna, the 21st of
December, 1642.

Your lordship's humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord Roche, the 29th of November, received the 18th of December.

My very good LORD,

THOUGH another letter hath been directed unto your honour from the council, whereof I am a member; yet the innate affection I have always borne your deceased father and lord (whose heroical nobleness was such as would never be behindhand with any for desert and respect) emboldeneth me to pray your lordship to consider, that I would not have offered, unarmed and unprovided of all warlike necessities as I was, among so many garrisons of armed and well-appointed enemies, to take arms in a champain country, if I had not certainly known and conceived the cause taken in hand so far to have concerned God, the safety of the king, and welfare of this poor country, as I conceived myself unworthy my quality, or the notice taken of me, if I had not applied my best endeavours rather to this service than to regard my own private interest. Therefore, and because you see all the catholicks of this kingdom so far engaged herein, as that either they must proceed to go through with it, or that certainly there shall be no being for any catholick to live in this kingdom hereafter (whether they wage for or against the enemy) I shall pray your lordship not to expose the honour descended from so noble a father to so much obloquy, as that the world may see, when all the rest of the catholicks of this kingdom answer their father, your lordship should be the only branded member for denying to your own father, your king and country, to say, *ecce adsum*; and if this be not enough, if the present service may permit me the leisure, I shall be ready at all times (upon fair terms) to clear your honour further from all scruple in this particular, either by meeting or otherwise. In the mean while, praying God to direct you to what may most conduce to his glory, and your honour, remembering my love and best respects to yourself, my lady the countess, and my young ladies and cousins, I rest

Your assured loving friend and cousin to do your service,

Kilkenny, the 29th of
November, 1642.

MAURICE de RUPE and FERMOY.

My letter to my lord Roche, the 21st of December.

Dec. 1642.

My LORD,

THE miserable calamities of the present time, in my apprehension, appears in nothing more than in the separation it makes between friends, debarring not only the mutual comforts of personal visits, but even all communication by letters, which is grown a very dangerous way of commerce. The motives and occasions of this general disturbance is not within my knowledge to judge of, but, in all probability, they must be urgent that have joined so many persons of quality to an association, that in outward appearance, and, according to ordinary rules, seems to be in opposition to his majesty, and his government, but by profession and protestation directed to his service. For my own particular ways of service, I doubt not, by God's favour, but I shall render a good account of my actions therein; and though guilty of many natural frailties, yet not unmindful of the duty I owe to my religion, king and country, wherein, I presume, your lordship will receive better satisfaction by another dispatch, that I believe will speedily come to your view; the main scope of these lines being to return thanks for your favour, and to give you assurance that I desire to be esteemed

Portumna, the 21st of
December, 1642.

Your lordship's kinsman and humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Ulick Burke, and Hugh O Connor, the 21st of December.

SIRS,

IN discharge of my promise, I send you here inclosed a letter to my lord of Gorman's-town, with a flying seal for your perusal, which contains large expressions of those particulars, wherein I conceive my duty most concerned. The constructions, I presume, will be divers, answerable to the distractions of the time, which renders all men incapable either of safety or good opinion, in what quality or vocation soever he is in. The testimony of a good conscience, and clear intentions, are companions to be cherished, which no power or adversity can destroy, if the will do not betray the fort that keeps them. By this hasty scribbling you may discern that I am tired, and worn out with the length of dispatches; and the defects of both I desire may be supplied by your abilities, and the knowledge you have of

Portumna, the 22d of
December, 1642.

Your humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my cousin Dermot Shaghnessy, the 22d of December.

Dear Cousin,

THE letter I received without a name, which I imagine came from you, invites me easily to believe that you are not free from distractions through the intended proceedings threatened against you, and many other of my friends, which likewise causeth both great admiration and passion in me; and I cannot be satisfied how far, or what is the latitude of power, that some of the pastors of the church in this kingdom assume to themselves, it being far different from what I have ever observed, or read of, in any other part of the world, from the beginning of christianity to this time. There are, and have been, civil wars in all parts of Christendom; and now the princes of Italy against the pope; but excommunications so grounded as these, I could never hear of, and I believe is

K k k k

scarce

Dec. 1642. scarce practised in any other part of Ireland but in this county. I have been instructed, that the highest and sublimest articles of our faith, though above reason, are not contrary to it, and, in this particular, more easy to the understanding, I could never receive any reasonable satisfaction. I observe some other proceedings, that in the practick part seem to me far different from those rules and grounds I was brought up in; and if such powers must be obeyed thus, in vain have our ancestors acquired honours and fortunes to their families, with the loss of their best blood, to have all overthrown in this manner. If you do not conceive it the best way of safety to keep yourself in a quiet posture till a more settled time, God forbid that I should press upon yours, or any man's conscience; but for those that shall remain firm unto me, and trust my ways of preservation, I doubt not to make a fair and just appeal, if I be necessitated thereto. Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Ulick Burke, and Hugh O Connor, are now with me, and brought me a letter from the council at Kilkenny, which, with my answer, I will send unto you, and likewise write unto your noble father, as soon as I can have any reasonable leisure. It hath been in agitation there, though for a time diverted, to deliver up some port towns into foreign hands, which is no part of my religion; yet probably, by degrees, it will be an article that will draw on censures if not consented unto; this last part I desire to be no author of, though most true it is, that these expressions are sent with a much grieved heart from

Your affectionate cousin,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord Forbes, the 6th of December, received the 21st.

My very honourable good LORD,

BEING commanded from hence to Cork to assist my lord Inchiquin, I could not leave these parts without a remembrance of my humble service to your lordship, in testimony of my thankfulness for all the noble favours your lordship hath been pleased to bestow upon me, and I am heartily sorry that at the present I am no more able to requite them, but by keeping a grateful memory of them, till time and place serve, wherein I may more conveniently requite the same. Your noble care in relieving his majesty's fort of Galway, and Fort Falkland, and the many dangers you have objected yourself unto, and are daily in, for the advancement of his majesty's service, and preservation of the English, will, I hope (when the troubles betwixt his majesty and the state are settled) find both from king and state that due recompence and reward, which your noble worth doth deserve; wherein my small testimony can bear weight, it shall not be wanting; and I am exceeding sorry I can spare no more arms, since lieutenant Rouse can inform your lordship how I am commanded to bestow them; but if your lordship have any service for England (whither I intend to resort shortly) and will honour me with your commands, either to his majesty, or to the parliament, I shall endeavour to discharge them faithfully, and shall ever approve myself

Your lordship's most humble and affectionate servant,

From on board the Good Hope, in the river
Shannon, the 6th of Dec. 1642.

FORBES.

My letter to my lord Forbes, the 26th of December.

MY LORD,

I AM sorry to find by your lordship's letter of the 6th of this present, that these parts shall be deprived of the comfort and safety of so noble and powerful an assistant; the notice you are pleased to take of my endeavours for his majesty's

jesty's service, and the relief of the oppressed, and your lordship's intentions to ^{Dec. 1642.} mention them where they may be of most advantage to me, are great testimonies of the continuance of your favours and respects, of which I shall still retain a grateful memory; and though in this distracted time, and neglected condition I am in, I cannot pretend to much merit, yet it is a great satisfaction to me in all fortunes, that my conscience gives me assurance I have not failed to do my best. It seems the commands your lordship hath received is like to debar me of that favour and justice I know your lordship would have readily conferred upon me; and, indeed, I cannot but conceive it very hard measure, that when dangers increase, and relief not near, nor easy to be had, those means of defence which were taken here, should be totally transferred to another place. I should rather conceive that those that govern afar off, do leave a discretionary power to the commanders upon the place, to alter directions as exigents and occasions fall out; but if it may not be in my particular, which I leave to your lordship's consideration, though my power be weak, my thoughts shall be active and industrious in his majesty's service; and I shall wish your lordship a prosperous voyage, and be still ready to give assurance that I am

Your lordship's most humble and assured servant,

Portumna, the 26th of
December, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my cousin Dermot Shaghnessy, the 26th of December.

Noble Cousin,

THE divulgers of untruths have gained so much art and confidence, as that until the receipt of your letter I was almost forced into a belief of that which I held almost impossible; it was reported that you were not only gone yourself to Tuam, but with a company and colours displayed. That importunity might have prevailed with you to go thither, carried some possibility; but in that manner, without better consideration and intimation given, I did assure myself could no ways agree with your judgment or affection to me. The resolution you have taken gives me great content, not only for my own particular, but for your own interest, which doth challenge a second place in my care and affection, as I could fully relate unto you for many important reasons, if you could with conveniency repair unto me, my actions and proceedings being so narrowly watched that I dare not trust much to this weak inclosure. I send you herewith a copy of the letter I received from Kilkenny, and my answer thereunto directed unto my lord of Gorman's-town, a copy of a letter from the archbishop of Tuam, and likewise my answer, which was the occasion of staying your messenger thus long, and yet I cannot attain to so much leisure as to write to your father, and Sir Charles Vane; within a day or two I hope I shall overcome the present difficulties that are upon me. The town of Galway do not deal fairly with me in the choice of their hostages, and two of them with me made an escape, but were again recovered beyond Athlunry; and upon the notice you have given me, I shall not accept of Martin Lynch Fitz Anthony, by reason of his near relation to you. I shall in all things be ready to give full testimony of my constant being

Your truly affectionate cousin,

Portumna, the 26th of
December, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

I omit several letters that pass between me, captain Willoughby, and the mayor of Galway, too tedious to be here inserted; making relation of several discontents, and some encounters abroad between them, accidentally upon captain Willoughby's

Dec. 1642. Willoughby's sending out some parties to interrupt their market, wherein the townsmen were beaten. That which was most in dispute between me and the town was concerning exchange of hostages, wherein they would give me no fit satisfaction, which invited me to believe that upon the arrival of their lieutenant general they might intend some attempt against the fort, in regard that they offered none unto me, but such as they were displeased with for having been formerly friends to the fort, and very loving to the English, as likewise for that two hostages with me attempted an escape, and were gone about six miles, but overtaken and brought back by those sent after them. They still pretended obedience to me, and seemed forward to make payment of the king's exchequer and composition rents, and other debts demanded by me; and though I was often sharp in my letters to them, yet I avoided as much as I could to put them into despair, or thinking themselves in absolute rebellion, being still in hopes that by delay and giving of time, some assistance or resolutions would come either to suppress them, or confute their erroneous pretences.

That which past most considerable between captain Willoughby and me, besides my care of relieving him, was the miscarriages of his soldiers in two sallies abroad, killing, by their own confession, a dozen poor innocent people, men, women, and children; and another time pillaging all the remains of Sir Richard Blake's stock, who was his constant friend, never refused him any thing within his power, indangered himself to keep the town in temper, lost almost all his estate for adhering to me, and was the principal man I could rely upon for giving me timely notice of any ill intentions towards myself or the fort.

To captain
Willoughby,
the 22d of
November.

Another business much more dangerous and scandalous to both of us, was an information made unto me against one Constable, a captain of one of the ships that came to assist captain Willoughby, of some strange desperate words spoken by him upon the rampire of the fort, to some upon the town walls, saying, Your king is run away, you rogues, you shall have a new king shortly you rogues; whereupon I wrote immediately to captain Willoughby, the letter being long, I shall only mention so much as concerns that particular.

"I may not but acquaint you, that it is with much joy discoursed of in the town there, and here in the country, that captain Constable in your presence stood upon the fort walls towards the town of Galway, and with a loud voice called to the townsmen on the walls, by the name of traitors, and told them that their king was run away, and that shortly they should have a new king, with many other words to that purpose; all which, they say, was acted in your hearing. What truth this carries, I cannot say, but believed and bruited it is for truth, to make you and that place and me odious, as enemies to our gracious king, that endeavour to maintain it for his majesty, whose it is, and for whose service it is and ought to be employed; and to make good among the vulgar, that the common cause they talk of is in maintenance of the king, and his rights and prerogatives against the parliament, and those that partake therewith. I hope the gentleman was not so indiscreet; and though there be a difference between his majesty and the parliament for other things, I am confident they would render no thanks, but deserved punishment, unto any that should so traduce his majesty, or draw ignominy upon him. I would be glad to know from your pen the certain passage herein."

Captain
Willoughby,
the 29th of
November.

To this captain Willoughby returned answer, touching that passage of captain Constable, "True it is, and I am very sorry it was done here, that he calling over this wall to some of the town, told them twice over, a new king you rogues and traitors, a language I assure your honour that sounded very harsh in every man's ears here. I was not in hearing of it spoken, until such time as Sir Arthur Blundell told me of it, who was then near him at the same time, who presently rebuked him for it, and I calling him to an account, he did confess he spoke the words as above expressed, and I did rebuke him in the best manner I could, and will not fail, when time shall serve, to inform and urge it against him; all the satisfaction he gave me was, that it was out of his mouth before he was aware."

He

He further informed me, that "colonel Burke was in town, and sent him word ^{Dec. 1642.} that he stood for the king, and would be glad to have a fair correspondent agreement between this place and the town; and that he returned him answer, that he would yield to any thing that might conduce thereto, which might stand with the honour of this place and your lordship's approbation."

The letter of Mr. Richard Martin, and that directed to me from the new erected council at Kilkenny, doth fully and clearly demonstrate what a height and dangerous state this insurrection was grown unto, the great distempers in England, and the dilatory and suspicious, or rather malicious proceedings of the state at Dublin, having given them time thus to frame and mould a new commonwealth, and not only to gather strength in an orderly way, and receive assistance from beyond sea, by the reputation of a formal and plausible government; but by their publick declarations and pretended applications to their majesties, grounded upon those formalities, to possess the people that all that were opposite to them, or did not enter into the rules of their new establishment, did countenance and assist those that were in opposition to his majesty, and were enemies and destroyers of their native country; and the arrival at Dublin of the two commissioners from the parliament, and the great authority and sway allowed them there; their opinion and direction carrying and governing the whole council-board, was no small credit and confirmation to the reports, diligently spread abroad in all parts of the kingdom; and as they had provided for other parts, so was there no diligence omitted for the advancing of their ends and interests in this province, and more especially in this county, where they met with the only resistance given them in the whole kingdom by the strength of the natives, only without assistance from England, having kept divided and distracted not only their forces in the province, but several of the neighbouring counties. To which end, besides the restless and violent working of a powerful clergy, they made choice of colonel John Burke, not long since come over, of the Birth of the county of Mayo, to be commander of the whole forces of the province, a man highly valued and esteemed for his experience in martial affairs, having been bred abroad in the wars for near years; and to this was added a strong opinion of his piety and zeal in religion, both which made his reception into Galway, and these parts, with great applause, and longing expectation of great matters to be achieved by him; and very many of whose stability I was confident, declining my advices and proceedings, adhered to them. By all these circumstances may apparently be discerned my most desperate condition; and it is much to be admired how there could be any way of preservation for me, continuing opposite to their proceedings, next to the immediate hand of God, to whose mercy I do wholly attribute my safety. For any means in this world, it may be conjectured to proceed from these causes: First, the memory of my father was very precious to most of the kingdom; and some trials they had formerly of my good inclinations and endeavours, by all lawful ways to do good offices for the nation, did somewhat stick with them that then were most powerful in the province; that they did not like my ways, and were themselves intangled in the cause, yet they did bear a great respect to my family, and somewhat to my own person, having several ways obliged many of them; and not being charged with any cruel, treacherous or malicious acts against them, and some more moderate and discreet did look upon me as a person so much allied and interested in England, that in time I might be a powerful instrument for their obtaining pardon, and the future settlement of a good peace; many through compulsion and mere necessity, being involved in this general calamity; and, on the other side, many did believe that if any cruelty or outrage were put upon me, it would be so pursued against them that no mercy was to be expected. Another principal cause of safety was, that some, whether out of fear or love to me I cannot judge, had possessed their council of Kilkenny, that if any attempts were made upon me it would but make me greater, and reunite all those that had forsaken me, who would not suffer

Jan. 1642. my person to be injured, though otherwise withdrawn from me; and that, in the condition I was now reduced unto, I could not be so prejudicial unto them as formerly; and lastly, though not so well to be justified, my constant answering their letters and dispatches, which gave very great satisfaction not only to my own dependants, but many others who were persuaded at first that their arguments were unanswerable, and I could say nothing to justify myself; in this I have and shall trust to the mercy and goodness of a royal and gracious master, who, I am assured, would not have me, and his service, here destroyed, by too strict observance of formalities of law, when all my actions and expressions did fully declare my unalterable resolution to live and die his most loyal and faithful subject and servant.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 2d of January.

Mr. Mayor,

BY former letters I signified unto you my dislike of your elections of hostages there, which I know to be carried with faction, and much secret working and preparation, which, I fear, doth bewray too much the turbulent spirits of some there, that intend that which they are not able to compass, and to no other end than to hasten their own and the ruin of the country. Here appeared only before me Martin Lynch, and Marcus Lynch, both intrusted by me (as I remember) among others, with the charge of keeping the powder and ammunition there, whereof I hope to be able one day to call for an account, and that I believe to be a reason why they are pointed out to me now, and is one reason why I returned them back; the one hath of late sent his mother and brother, and the other a great part of his stock by captain Ashley, and others, and hath been by me for that and other reasons refused upon former elections. I wish some there may not please themselves by adding affliction to the afflicted, and in practising their deep designs upon me to my danger and prejudice. The more curious I find you there in your partial elections, and those you choose in repairing hither, the more circumspect and jealous I shall be in my acceptance of them; and I assure you if their own, or the demeanour of that place, shall not highly deserve it, they shall find all fitting respect here, &c.

The 2d of January, 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Ulick Burke, the 4th of January.

SIR,

I AM informed, that the inhabitants of Loughreagh venting to the ships some superfluous commodities the country could well spare, and bringing back others most wanting in these parts, they have been robbed by some of Galway, who keep their own gates shut, and by William Burke Fitz-Edmond, and others. I desire, by your means, to know whether restitution shall not be speedily made, being to the value, as I am informed, of four or five hundred pounds; or whether he, and those of Ballylin, shall be countenanced to rob and spoil the country, and oppose my authority. I do likewise understand that some do take the liberty and boldness upon them to withdraw my friends and followers by excommunications and compulsory oaths; I desire to know speedily, whether that course shall be pursued, or what satisfaction I shall receive in the other particulars. My affairs will admit no long delay, and requires a certain answer, which, if not speedy, I must right and preserve myself by all the ways I can, since there is so little regard taken by some of the honour or safety of, &c.

Portumna, the 4th of
January, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 10th of January.

Mr. Mayor,

IPERCEIVE by your letter the 4th of this instant, you have learned to speak the languages and utter the conceptions of the mayor of Galway, which to me seems to vary much from the wonted and known judgment and expressions of Mr. Richard Martin, the lawyer. It doth not become you there to take upon you to be judges of the breaches or performance of the pacification, neither will the fort be thought indifferent therein; and I hope one day to give a just and impartial account of the carriage of both unto his majesty and the state, who will vouchsafe an equal ear to both, and may hold me an impartial witness in my relation concerning either; till which time they are not well advised, nor advise me well, nor cannot wish my safety or good, that will expect I should detain no hostages in my hands, for whom I must be accountable before king and state, considering how particularly the passages of the pacification are taken notice of in England and Ireland, and that I hold hostages in pursuance thereof. And I shall desire you, Mr. mayor, that you expect not so strict an account from me, wherefore I reject one, and accept of another for an hostage. The freedom of electing of hostages, without publishing the reason, being in all times left in those that take hostages, and somewhat a larger freedom being due to the king's governor; and I am not now to be confined to the literal words of the articles of pacification therein, when as hitherto, and now of late, many acts are publickly done and countenanced by authority in that town, that I do believe come nearer an intrenchment upon, if not a breach thereof, than any proceeding of mine. Tho' two of those here could be content to free themselves by escape, and expose me to the danger, yet I am very sensible of their long stay here, much occasioned through the factious and partial elections of a wilful number there, and a necessity laid on me to provide for my own security. The sense of their sufferings, and not my desire to humour any faction there, hath inclined me (notwithstanding my former resolutions) to accept of any four of the six here underwritten, so that one of them be of the three aldermen, whereof six are of the twelve, agreed upon to be successively sent hither; and upon their repair unto me, I will return the former hostages unto you, and not before. Mr. Mayor, expect not many more letters from me, seeing many of your vain-glorious members much boast beforehand of their great undertakings, and resolution of besieging his majesty's fort the second time; which their hopeless and vain design, in all likelihood, will meet with the like to their former success, and will expose them to the just revenge and hatred of England and Scotland, and many of this kingdom, and undoubtedly bring a present destruction upon all this county, and future certain destruction upon themselves, upon whom, it is to be feared, the curses of most of this province will fall, as the original authors of all their calamities. When I hear your youth have laid by these high designs, I shall be as moderate in my choice of hostages as formerly; till then I will detain these I have, until I receive others to my mind; and presently after their first attempts, will seize upon the persons and goods of any other of that place, to secure their loyalty, and punish their pride, and will make use of all his majesty's power here, and draw what I can from other places, to preserve his peace, and defend the country, &c.

Loughreagh, the 10th of
January, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Jan. 1642.

My letter to Sir Richard Blake, the 10th of January.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letters of the 5th and 8th of this present, and shall to-morrow give you my resolution, having occasion to send into those parts for some provision wanting here. I shall now only give a brief touch of the cause of my present repair hither. I have heard much commendation of the abilities and disposition of colonel John Burke, now at Galway (as I am informed) and I have formerly received expressions from him of great affection and respects to me, and, by report, seconded with many publick professions since his arrival into this kingdom; but now by the working of some perverse faction among you there, or some other ill-affected persons elsewhere, I observe very great appearances of contrary effects; and that his first enterprize is like to draw dishonour and danger upon me, and spoil and destruction upon this county, having made Galway his place of residence; and from thence to send his letters missive to the gentlemen of the several baronies of this county to repair unto him, and even to some, that, both by their nearness of blood and residence, are particularly obliged by duty and affection to give their attendance upon me. Next, that consultations are held, if not resolutions taken, to besiege his majesty's fort, even with forces raised within this county; a greater danger and injury cannot be devised to fall upon me in several respects, both future and present. And though it hath, and shall be, my constant endeavour to keep this county in peace and obedience until I receive farther instruction from his majesty, which I daily expect; yet considering the great general distempers of the time, I should not much wonder that some young captains might be led and persuaded to serve in other parts of the kingdom; but to be so drawn and misled to bring dishonour upon me, and destruction upon themselves, by making this the seat of war, doth much amaze me; and if such determinations must be pursued, I must likewise settle my own resolutions to make trial of the king's authority, and the interests of the earl of Clanricarde in this county, in discharge of my duty both to king and country. The substance of my apprehensions in this business, you may impart where you conceive I am likeliest to receive best satisfaction. I shall now conclude with my prayers to God, to guide and direct us to what may be most to his honour and glory, to the true service of the king, and good preservation of this poor kingdom so much astray, and I shall still remain

Loughreagh, the 10th of
January, 1642.

Yours, &c.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the earl of Cork, and the same to my lord Inchiquin, the 11th of January.

MY LORD,

I HAVE had the favour from Mr. Thomas Fitz-Morris, that he hath bestowed a visit upon me here; and the short acquaintance I have with the gentleman, hath so far obliged my affection and good opinion unto him, that I dare, with confidence of his loyalty, discretion, and worth, recommend him unto your lordship's special favour. He is of a noble extraction, adorned with civil education, and one that, in these doubtful times, hath given demonstration of his loyalty to his majesty, and good affection to the English, in which way I desire he may receive all encouragement and continuance from your lordship, as he formerly did from the noble earl of Barrymore, deceased. He is so well known to your lordship in all respects, that he needs no recommendation from

from me, only that I am forward to take hold of so fair an opportunity to present my love and respects unto your lordship; and I shall pray your lordship, that this my intercession on his behalf may add something to that care and indulgence your lordship was wont to take of him, or any allied unto him, that shall not deserve your displeasure; which will lay a farther obligation upon me, upon all occasions, to approve myself, &c.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Mr. John Fitz-Gerald, the 13th of January.

Noble SIR,

I HAVE by the relation of my noble cousin Sir John Burke, received so large and good a character of your worth and loyalty in this searching time of almost general defection, and your many sufferings and losses for that cause, by some of your own near friends and kindred, who having fallen into that misfortune, labour to involve others into the same calamity, and likewise informing me of your professions of friendship and respect to me, that I should esteem myself very much ungrateful to a person so well deserving, and much failing in my duty to his majesty, if I did not endeavour to give you all the comfort and encouragement I may at so great a distance. The sad distempers of England have hitherto so impaired my strength and ability, keeping back the wonted powerful influence of his majesty's favour towards me, that I have not been able to render my actions so active in his service, nor useful to my friends, as my duty and affection doth readily invite me to. I do daily expect to receive particular commands and directions from his majesty, that will, I hope, enable me to give better testimony of my affection and well-wishes to you than I have yet means to express; but if you be oppressed where you are, and shall esteem yourself in better safety here, you shall at all times be most welcome to me; or if any power or interest of mine may be there employed to your advantage, upon notice given me you shall find me diligent in all those ways that may best approve me

Yours, &c.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

About this time I received letters from my lord president of Conaght, informing me that Sir James Dillon had very nobly and carefully performed his promise in the safe conveying of his son and his daughters to Tuam, where they were received by Sir Richard Greenfield, to be conveyed to Dublin, with some other particulars and intelligences which my answer will express, and inclosed therein he sent me this short casement letter.

"If you can possibly supply me with that provision from the fort which I have so long looked for, it will be of very great importance, as well to your occasions, as ours in these parts. And now that I have relieved Raghra, I am able to bring it away at any time you shall appoint; let me know what I shall trust to in this particular."

Ten barrels
of powder
and match,
and lead.

My letter to my lord president of Conaght, the 15th of January.

MY LORD,

YOUR letter of the 26th of the last month came to my hands with much difficulty; the messenger being taken, threw it away, and afterwards very luckily found it. The news your lordship sent me of the safe passage of the ladies to Dublin gave me great content, and was much increased by the hopes of a pacification in England, and the expected arrival of the lord lieutenant, both which

M m m m

comes

Jan. 1642. comes since confirmed to me, and is still confidently affirmed at Dublin; but that which makes it doubtful is, the news comes to me from a very good hand, that there was a very bloody battle fought near Oxford, on the 2d of December, the victory the king's; the vast number of both armies being ninety-five thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. And the relation of the treaty your lordship mentioned, could hardly come so soon after into this kingdom.

The arrival of colonel John Burke is likely to raise great troubles and distempers in these parts, and danger upon me, many of the principal members of this county repairing to him at Galway, but how far uniting themselves to him is not come to my knowledge; he hath been there since Christmas eve; and their long consultations not yet grown to any certain resolutions; but that which I find most desired is besieging of the fort, though they say much opposed by many of the better sort of the town, but others are more inclined to give me an assault, as not willing to leave me free at their backs. And if your lordship escapes in the county of Roscommon, I believe it is want of power, and not of good-will to visit you. They use all the art and power that can be imagined to withdraw the affections and attendance of my friends and followers from me, both by spiritual and temporal practices. My lord of Mayo, and most part of that county, have refused to join, or to be under the command of the new general; neither do I observe any great unity in other parts of the kingdom. Colonel Cullen is gone away discontented, and some that stay it may be are not well pleased. It is written from Kilkenny, that two ships are come with arms and ammunition to Wexford and Dungarvan, and that seven more are coming from Dunkirk. It is related to me from a very intelligent person that the heretofore secret discontents between the prince of Orange and the States, are visibly burst forth into sharp invectives, and some places of consequence surprized on both sides; France already distempered by the death of Richlieu; a great defeat given the Imperialists in Germany; the confederate princes of Italy strong in arms against the pope; in what condition Spain hath long been in your lordship knows; so that no part of the christian world is left free for a quiet man to retire unto. These general distempers might excuse the many violent confusions of my unhappy countrymen, if they would yet make fit applications, and be capable of advice, to avoid the certain ruin and destruction they draw upon this unfortunate kingdom.

The convoys I sent to the fort, and returned on Thursday last, escaped hardly; three foot companies, and many horse, lying in wait for them, giving out, that they spared them because they saw they had no powder, which they expected, upon the report of a soldier, who ran away from the fort to the town, who said there was great quantity of powder going to Oran More, which I was to convoy to your lordship; but their intelligence failed at that time. The bearer, my cousin William More, is most thankful to your lordship, and I in his behalf, for your favour and great care of him, and I doubt not but he will deserve the continuance of it; though he dares not wait upon your lordship as he desires, and you may expect; and your lordship, by his preservation, doth very much oblige

Your lordship's faithful and affectionate friend to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 15th of
January, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My casement letter sent inclosed to his lordship.

THE commodities promised were brought four miles by water, but could not be farther carried for the reasons in the letter; so that until this storm be over, or settled in some place, there is no hopes of it. If either of those designs which is mentioned in my letter be undertaken, I desire to be assured what assistance may be afforded according to your former instructions, either by encounter,

counter, or diversion upon the borders, so that distinction be made to prevent too large a discontent; but nothing to be done until the certainty be known, it being hoped to raise that disorder; which will spoil all the designs, the other too soon would the more unite. Jan. 1642.

Sir Richard Blake, the 17th of January.

Right Honourable,

YOUR lordship's letter of the 10th of this month, importing a sense and apprehension of reported intentions to besiege his majesty's fort, with forces raised within the county of Galway, and the inconveniencies that may follow such a resolution, both to your lordship in particular, and in general to the whole county, and this town, I have imparted to lieutenant general Burke, as one whom for his noble good dispositions, and the many professions he makes of his desires to serve your lordship, I conceived fittest to be made acquainted with them. His answer was, that there is no lord in the world he more honours and loves than your lordship; that he never made any expression of resolution to besiege his majesty's fort; that if he had any such intention, he was of the age that gave experience, and the judgment not to publish or make known the same, which he hath not; that if those of the fort contained themselves within their bounds, and were obedient to your lordship's directions, keeping the sea from his majesty's good subjects of this town, nor spoiling, burning, or preying on the country, or killing or taking prisoners the townsmen, not demanding high ransoms for them, which is not in any place accustomed amongst christians, and subjects to one king, or relieving or aiding the puritans that daily come in ships unto him, and are the king's declared enemies; that they giving assurance to perform the same, he, for his part, would desire a fair correspondence to be kept with him, the gates opened, and free intercourse, and the benefit of the market to be between the town and fort; that himself hath nothing in his desires, but to be a faithful and humble subject to king Charles, and that his poor subjects of this kingdom may enjoy their religion and consciences freely, and that all his endeavours will extend thereunto; and for his sending letters to the gentlemen of the several baronies of the county, that he did it according to the trust reposed in him, and the commands that he hath; and that he would at midnight willingly go to attend your lordship if you had taken the command upon you; and that he hoped that your lordship would follow the steps and actions of your most noble father, whose memory is, and ever will be precious unto him. This being the substance of what he was pleased to deliver unto me, I humble offer the same to your lordship's consideration, and most humbly take leave.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

RICHARD BLAKE.

My reply to Sir Richard Blake, the 21st of January.

Sir RICHARD BLAKE,

IHAVE received your letter of the 17th, which contains an answer of colonel Burke's to a former letter of mine directed to you, to which I make reply, and the last that I intend to trouble myself withal to any upon this subject. That if the town and county have failed to traffick, or suffered in their estates, it hath been for neglect of their duty, and disobedience to me his majesty's governor; that if they expect redress, or the enjoying of those benefits, it must proceed from their conformity to my commands, and applications to me for his majesty's service, without relation to other authority, not warranted by his majesty's commission; that the fort hath no reason to refuse supplies from the ships, nor the country to forbear traffick with them for their profit and advantage,

Jan. 1642. vantage, without which they cannot subsist, though some of them may be ill-disposed, as is pretended; neither do the disputes in England warrant us to proceed against them. That though I may not approve of all the actions and proceedings of the captain of the fort, yet I am obliged to regard the place, however I affect the person; that his deportment is not concealed to his majesty, who, in his own good time, will direct his commands concerning him; that if the town and country continue refractory, they can pretend to no future excuse, enjoying all their own hearts could desire, having a catholick and native governor; that I punctually and religiously observe the living examples and dying commands of my deceased father, and, by a constant perseverance therein, do with confidence expect a blessing from God, and the overcoming of all difficulties, according to what almost his last breath delivered to me; yet if the rest of the county did as well observe the examples of their parents, they might have continued happy, as now like to prove unfortunate; that no story doth deliver any good or firm settlement of religion by disloyalty to their prince; that no oath is binding that is opposite or contrary to our allegiance to the king; that whatsoever is pretended, his majesty's displeasure to those proceedings is fully known to most of themselves, as likewise what the queen hath declared in this business, whose zeal to religion is not to be questioned; that if the colonel had not adhered to the counsels and commands of others, but first applied himself to me, and attended the resolutions and commands I should receive from his majesty, he had fully shewed his respects to the memory of my father, his professed affection to me, and served his king and country with honour and reputation; and lastly, that through former fair reports, though I should wish well to his person, yet as he stands engaged, and seeks to overthrow my interests in this government, I being, by the express words in my patent, to command in chief all land forces in this county that served the king, in the absence of the lord deputy, or chief governor, and by ancient descent to be chieftain in Clanricarde, I must continue a resolute will, and, I hope, shall not want the power to resist any such attempts, wherein whatsoever becomes of my own person, I doubt not those that shall succeed me will full resent the dishonour and injury done, not to my particular, but the house of Clanricarde; and, at their peril be it, of this county, that shall not obey and adhere to the king's governor, and their natural lord; and I desire that the town of Galway may not pretend ignorance of what is here by me expressed. And having now discharged my part, there only remains to tell you that I am

Yours, &c.

Portumna, the 21st of
January, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, about the same time.

Mr. Mayor,

I HAVE seen a letter of yours unto Mr. justice Donnellan, where you complain of some hard measure in my proceedings between you and the Cahans. For what concerns the law, I believe he will give you satisfaction that there was no wrong done you therein; though if the strictness of it were not performed to your advantage, as I conceive it hath been, I must take that upon myself, who am not solely to be guided by any of that profession, when I see the law of so little force in other things of more concernment; and that reason, and the condition of the times, will not allow that poor ancient tenants and followers should be dispossessed at this season of the year, which would draw the curses of the poor upon us, and be otherwise of ill consequence, by disheartening those that have relation to me, which makes the prejudices on my part apparent; what the loss may be to you I cannot imagine for so short forbearance. And to deal more clearly with you, though, in my own private opinion, I am desirous

desirous to harbour the best opinion of you and your intentions, and as my special ancient friend to shew respects unto you, yet I must now look upon you as the publick magistrate of a town, that declareth a resolution to besiege his majesty's fort, entertaineth and maintaineth a strange person with new power and jurisdiction, in opposition to his majesty's governor, to make this county the seat of war, and to be at the charges of it, when other counties decline it that have more occasion. And if I had been a malicious enemy, there could be nothing more done to my ruin and dishonour, and to the disgrace and destruction of the house of Clanricarde, when God, and your own consciences, know and bear testimony against you, that there hath been no industry omitted by me, nor charge, nor labour for the good of this county, and the whole kingdom; and if such designs be pursued, and such authority supported here, I shall not take it for any favour to have my person preserved for the greatest ignominy and disgrace. And I suppose that you have forgotten the last letters I received out of England, wherein was expressed his majesty's approbation of my proceedings in the pacification with you; and his majesty, by report, beginning to grow master of his affairs in England, that would have been a good step and fair occasion for me to obtain mercy and favour for you, if not destroyed by a second unpardonable revolt, without patience of a short attendance what my next dispatch may produce, daily expected. I have no more to say, but, &c.

Portumna, the 21st of January, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 21st of January.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

THE last night I received a very sad complaint from Sir Richard Blake, who after a long sufferance, and loss of his estate, hath now the small remnant of his stock taken from him by your soldiers, that was left for the present relief and maintenance of his lady, children, and family; and some part of them that were reserved for the supply of my warders in those parts, and all of it his, and my tenants under him; and that upon two letters of his, and lieutenant Daly's application to you, he can receive no manner of satisfaction, neither of restitution of the milch cows, nor ticket for the rest, if there were occasion to use them, as I should hope there was not after such large supplies, and several preys taken. I cannot but much wonder at this proceeding, as it comes informed to me, since it may draw danger upon you, and much hazard upon me, by thus falling on your best friends and assistants, and at a time when you knew my endeavours were employed to divert and break this violent storm that threatens us. The fault and clamour for all such actions being still laid as a heavy charge upon me; and if you should be attempted, it may dishearten many from giving assistance, or being guided by me in those ways, that might most tend to your preservation, when they observe, that spoil and preying upon them is the reward of their best actions; and truly, if you do not find some means to give him a good comfort and satisfaction in this particular, it will not appear fair dealing with him, nor respect to me.

I have received your letter of the 18th, and for those supplies you mention, or for my repair unto those parts, it will not be possible for me to compass it at this time, or to move from these borders, being beset on all sides. General Reston, with a great army, and some pieces of ordnance, besieged Birr the last week, and it is rendered to him, and Mr. Parsons and the ladies conveyed to the Naas, and, as they say, a fair quarter gained, but the particulars I know not; he remains still there with an intention, as is given out, to fall next upon Fort Falkland and Raghra, and what farther attempts he may make upon these parts is much to be doubted. The commodities you desire are hard to be gotten, and I assure you I have not yet made my own provision of it, and do not yet

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know

Jan. 1642. know how to be fitly supplied, neither for love, money, nor any power I have. My tender care of that place shall constantly continue to the best of my ability; but I shall desire you to use all other means you may, and not to trust to my endeavours in that particular; the neglects that have been put upon me, and want of arms, makes me unable to cope with those powers that threaten and compass me, &c.

Portumna, the 21st of January, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The fervour and zeal of many of the clergy growing now highly inflamed, with the benefit and possession they had gained of all the church livings; they did breathe forth their thunders upon all men that would not desperately throw themselves into destruction to make good their undertakings, and particularly in this county; their proceedings exceeded all others in violence, and oppression of the conscience; and, to manifest that truth, I thought fit to set down an excommunication published here in the diocese of Clonfert and Kilmacduogh, contrived and set forth by Oliverus Burke, a dominican friar, and vicar general to his brother the bishop of Clonfert.

The EXCOMMUNICATION.

IT is beyond the art of words to express the deep resentment of our sorrow conceived for the foul and shameless deportment of some of our degenerated compatriots, divested of all humanity, and to whose iron breasts no piety seems to have had admittance; who viewing their country in these present distempers of the times, turning on the vertical point of her uprising by means of her late insurrection, or of her own downfall, by the hellish plotting of the puritan faction against our whole nation (which times eternity shall never devour) these flinching tergiversators, by open furtherance, and the helping hands of our deadly foes, do seek and procure to weaken the nerves, and blemish the lustre of our actions. We mean first of our natives, the professed enemies of our catholick cause, whose ambition is, on their mother's ruin, to build the Babel tower of their imaginary fortunes. In the second place, we intend false brethren, and treacherous dissemblers, who in lieu of expected succour, and supporting our necessities in these our thorny affairs, by their double affected dealings, entrench us deeper into misery, shrouding their poison in sugared words. Thirdly, we mean neuters, spectators, and politicks, temporisers, whose minds, devoid of grace, are stamped with crooked intentions, and fooling themselves with the opinion of their own wisdom, transcending all others, frame many chimeras of their own safety, however the world will turn; and in the interim, care not how winds will blow, so they be at anchor themselves at home. Fourthly, we strike and single out old covenanters and timorous associates, who misled in a lethargy of self-love, are insensible of the imminent dangers hovering o'er this island. Finally, we intend intruders, who love to fish in troubled waters, and unprovindently pretend to distribute the prey before they be masters of it, undertaking withal the directest course to prostrate our names in foreign dominions to most unglorious misrespects, and bury our pristine honour in future infamy. When all nations are possessed of our intentions in these present wars to be maintainers of true religion, king and country, certified hereafter of so many abuses and proper interests, in lieu of praise, will sound out our disgrace unto posterity, all which manner of persons, or rather wicked imps of Satan, are to be deplored; and if they continue (as God forbid) in their former practices, are worthy to be consumed by the horrid claps of heaven's thunder, or swallowed to the vaults of big-bellied earth. If they continue (I say) their pernicious disunion, cold disaffection, and misdeeds, exhibited to their native soil, after so many experiments had of cruelties practised by our common enemy, as never man knew before, of their outrages, abominations, rapes, adulteries, murders,

ders, without difference of sex, age, and quality, risings, perjuries, sacrileges, Jan. 1642 breach of quarter and covenants, wasting depopulations, foraging hostilities, perpetrated by the enraged kennel of puritanical sectaries, our hearts would melt in drops of blood, our breasts may sob out sighs and inflamed groans, considering our brethern and countrymen, so benumbed, so misled, and so blinded, as they see not, or pretend not to see, how just our quarrel is against those Ammons, that project and thirst no less than our total extirpation, our war being rather defensive than offensive, defined and decreed as just and lawful by the publick assemblies of our jealous prelates and prime clergymen, approved by his holiness the pope of Rome, who lately directed unto us his gracious breves and missives, which we received, containing his acclamations and approbations of our endeavours, with his apostolical benediction to all the furtherers of so good a cause, and a plenary indulgence to those in state of grace that will die in defence thereof. We may but weep and lament, yea never dry our eyes, reflecting on the dulness of some titular catholicks, who slightly hear and conceive no feeling of the horrid blasphemies disgorged and enacted by the malignant party of puritans in parliament, against the mysteries of our Roman catholick professions; the sacrilegious impieties vamped and belched out of their infectious breasts against the sacred name of our sweet Saviour Jesus, a name to which all knees in hell, in earth, in heaven must bow; a name that makes the heaven and earth to shake, and send shuddering chillness throughout the veins of all infernal powers; how can we but highly admire, and in our admiration burst into most doleful notes, to see our most gracious sovereign king (the best of princes) his royal issue, our gracious queen his noble consort, set on with fire and sword, with all affronts, dishonour and disgraces proscribed? But alas! how charity from some is gone to endless pilgrimage! O Lord, through what forbidden paths doth passion hurry us, when reason is unseated, which never in Pharaoh's, or Nebuchadnezzar's obdurate minds was more conspicuous than it will appear in our refractory friends, if they abjure not themselves, and reclaim not their hearts from their former error.

In conclusion of all the premises, we have taken to our serious consideration, how disastrous and dismal the precedent sort of people's proceeding may prove to this much afflicted kingdom, and that nothing inflicts more dangerous wounds in a body politick than the splinters of some broken confederates, whose actions may bring a doleful and deadly knell over themselves, no less than over the best affected; we thought it high time to apply the most efficacious and speediest remedy to divert such incumbrances, and rectify those crooked members in their ruptures and dislocations, endeavouring to joint and beset them in their proper seats to the body politick, otherwise to hack and hew, and spare neither trunk nor lordships amongst you. *Cuncta prius tentanda, sed immedicabile vulnus, Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trabatur.* Our duty to God, our pastoral function obliging us, not only to reduce the strayed sheep into the fold, but also to cut the corrupted sores that cancer and infect the whole and wholesome composition, lest God, who sweetly hitherto chastised our flock, far underneath the rate of their demerits, now, by occasion of so many irritating factions, should shew his indignation against us all. Having therefore hitherto made use of mildest courses by frequent admonitions, counsels, prayers, and often warnings and exhortations, now at length, though much against our mind, being driven thereunto, we resolve to unsheath the fearful sword of excommunication; and so hereby, and by this our present act, writing, definitive sentence, and decree, invoking first the name of God, having his fear before our eyes, so as we aim at nothing but the amendment of wilful transgressors, and cure of putrid members, by virtue of the authority which graciously was conferred upon us by God's divine providence, by the catholick apostolick Roman church, and the supreme governor thereof, vicar-general to Christ on earth, his holiness the pope of Rome, we excommunicate, with a major excommunication, *ipso facto, nulla, alia, expectanda sententia, seu sententiae*

Jan. 1642. *sententiæ declaratione*, we extend all the properties, effects, penalties, burthens, disabilities temporal or spiritual annexed, depending or attaining by law or custom unto that manner of excommunication; and we declare actually as excommunicated, singularly, determinately, and in their individious existence, as if we had named and singled each one by the pole, all catholicks of what dignity, preheminance, calling, or profession soever, as will be found hereafter known, or really continue open enemies to our catholick cause, and to the expeditions in hand for upholding or maintaining the same; all neuters, cold and flinching covenanters, all aiders, entertainers, counsellors, abettors, relievers, encouragers of the common enemies, and that will hereafter send them any private or publick intelligence; all spies and false brethren; as also all intruders, dispossessors, detainers of catholick, English, or Irish goods, lands, chattles, without special licence to be exhibited from the supreme provincial, or county councils; all publick robbers of such goods, and general notable disturbers of the aforesaid cause, or the advancement thereof, which in our interest, under our command, and within the limits of our jurisdiction, if within three days after the publication of this in their several parishes, they will not in proper person, or by their lawful attornies, repair to their parish priests, and submit themselves to us, our doom and judgment, which will be agreeable to the acts of the supreme council at Kilkenny, and withal testify their submission by their subscriptions, swearing and signing the oath of association, according to the model and rights prescribed at Kilkenny aforesaid. Farther we declare and manifest by this, that we reserve the absolution, or relaxation of this censure and excommunication to ourselves alone, or to those authorized by us; and if any (as God forbid) will presume to contemn, or infringe, or vilify the said censure, he shall not only incur the indignation of God, and ours, but also we will labour to whip him to his dutiful obedience by temporal punishments, invoking the secular powers to our assistance, and dint of the sword to that effect. And further, for the better and speedier execution of this sentence, act, and decree, we strictly command and charge, *sub poena suspensionis ipso facto*, all deans, archdeacons, vicars, foreigners, all pastors having charge of souls, all pastors incumbents, all parish priests, and their assistants, all covenantal regulars within this diocese, in their chapels and publick services, to publish and notify this excommunication, publickly expounding it unto all, and setting forth the effects of a major excommunication, how sore and fearful a punishment it is, yea, and the severest that may be inflicted upon earth; withal to declare there is no use of appellation, or provocations to the see of Rome, or to the next publick assembly of the clergy, which will not be accepted by us, being but idle, frustratorious, and unreasonable. In farther testimony, strength, and confirmation of the same sentence and excommunication, we have hereunto put our hands and seals, &c.

This strange unusual way of excommunication being published, raised very great disturbance upon me, and all that adhered to me for his majesty's service; yet in these two dioceses near my principal dwellings they held firm to me with great resolution, and many others in several remote parts of the county, though by violence excluded out of the church, reposing much confidence in my example, and some private assurances given them, that this heavy punishment was unjustly laid upon them, and that the crime did lie upon the imposers, and not upon them, for being absent from the free exercise of their religion; and in regard the oath of association was the ground of the excommunication, all other particulars mentioned being little examined, so that oath was taken. Tho' it may be had in print, yet I hold it most convenient to insert it here, that it may the more plainly appear what a strange ground-work was laid to keep men out of the church; the only choice left them was either to be perjured, and renounce their allegiance, or, by excommunication, be thrust out of the communion of saints.

The

The OATH of ASSOCIATION.

I A. B. do promise, swear, and protest before God, and his saints and angels, during my life to bear true faith and allegiance to my sovereign lord Charles, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and to his heirs, and lawful successors; and that I will to my power, during life, defend, uphold, and maintain all his and their just prerogatives, estates and rights, the power and privilege of the parliament of this realm, the fundamental laws of Ireland, the free exercise of the Roman catholick faith and religion throughout this land; and the lives, just liberties, estates and rights of all those that have taken, or shall take this oath, and perform the contents thereof; and that I will obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made, or to be made, by the supreme council of the confederate catholicks of this kingdom, concerning the publick cause; and that I will not seek, or receive, directly or indirectly, any pardon, or protection, for any act done, or to be done touching this general cause, without the consent of the major part of the said council; and that I will not, directly or indirectly, do any act or acts that shall prejudice the said cause, but will, to the hazard of my life and estate, assist and prosecute, and maintain the same. So help me God, and his holy gospel.

I have heard of many punished for swearing and perjury, but never any excommunicated for not swearing, though the oath had been lawful, and lawfully administered; temporal punishments and penalties are, and have been inflicted by princes upon their subjects.

About this time there happened a sudden accident that did much more perplex and disturb me than all the threats and menaces of the clergy, or any other misfortune that had befallen me. There lived for the most part resident in my house one father Dominick Burke, of the order of St. Dominick, and prior of the abbey of Athunry, a poor, but strong walled town, newly revolted from me, and had received and entertained their county counsels, and their lieutenant general and his forces. This father, though young, yet very exemplary both in life, learning, and disposition, had constantly defended my ways and proceedings against the rest of the clergy, and they were very highly incensed against him, and all the commanders of their party; but I being desirous to learn some certainty of their proceedings and intentions, it was proposed by some, and consented unto by me, that he should repair to his abbey, where probably he might come to the knowledge of their resolutions from some of them, there being a general meeting in that town both of their commanders and counsellors. As soon as the lieutenant general heard of his being there, with a politick zeal, and great shew of devotion, he went thither the next morning, a little before mass time, accompanied with all his commanders, and attended to the abbey door with several foot companies, and, after some short salutation, caused all his colours to be brought into the church, and would needs have them hallowed by him, who, being suddenly surpris'd, performed his desires; the particular passages will fully appear by the following letters. This (if I may say so) counterfeit zeal of his, did at first apprehension deceive many, and, amongst others, my own steward, who making a relation of it, to wit, he was glad father Dominick met with so fair correspondence among some, who, as it was thought of late, would not accept a blessing from him, which surely was to be imputed to the religious discretion of the chief commander. How welcome such expressions were to me, may easily be imagined, and will in part appear by the following letter.

O o o o

My

Jan. 1642.

My letter to my steward James Davocke, the 25th of January.

JAMES DAVOCKE,

YOUR first letter this day hath struck so deep and sad an impression in me, as makes me incapable of giving any present instruction or direction. The besieging of the fort, or the firing of Loughreagh, and the country about it, could not have raised so great a distemper in me, as the proceedings between colonel Burke and father Dominick; and it doth much amaze me, that from your judgment should proceed such an epithet, as to call that religious discretion, which was a more mischievous practice upon me than to attempt my life, being not to raise a future suspicion, but in appearance a certain knowledge of a combination between me and those in action, and in present to take all men from me that I could hope to assist me. What can ever be thought of me hereafter, when it shall be told, that my own confessor, and of my wife and family, did bless and give benedictions to those colours that are to be displayed against the king's authority in this government, to besiege the king's fort, and destroy the English? or into what extremity doth it put me, when it cannot be redeemed but by making this county swim in blood, or by my speedy banishment from it, or else my house and self to perish, when, as otherwise, if threats and intreaty could not prevail, it might not have been dangerous for me to remain quiet, having so small power, being so much neglected, and the expectation of supplies so uncertain? And it is strange, that the professions of love and friendship in the colonel to me should be so much valued by my friends. Can it be imagined that a stranger should come into this county of Galway, and think to compass his own ends, and draw the people to him, if he do not profess to love the house of Clanricarde? but do not all his actions run a contrary course? and doth he not set up a tribunal and jurisdiction here opposite to mine, and none but this county assisting or countenancing him? and well may he do it, being thus encouraged.

It doth much afflict me, that the necessity of the present occasion doth inforce me to lay my command upon you to give father Dominick notice, that he forbear repairing to me, which is the only remedy I can think of at this time to prevent or qualify the mischief that might ensue this disaster; I shall ever love him dearly, and I am sure his intentions were good, though being not well considered, it must inforce a separation for a time, until, upon better recollection, some other course be thought of, &c.

Portumna, the 25th of Jan. 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My steward James, upon the receipt of this letter, acquainted father Dominick with my commands, and within a few days he wrote unto me as follows.

Father Dominick Burke, the last of January.

MY LORD,

BEING on my way to wait on your lordship and my lady, against the purification day, according to my promise, to comply with the duty of my function, I understand that your honour conceived most sensible apprehension and displeasure of a passage happened in Athunry, between colonel John Burke and me, superficially related in a letter of mine to Mr. Davocke, whom I wished to acquaint your lordship therewith, not thinking it might subminister occasion to offence, or indignation, whereas my intention was far from deserving any, however I may unadvisedly fall thereinto.

My lord, Monday the 23d of this present, finding myself in the abbey of Athunry, of set purpose, and with your lordship's licence, to learn how things were

were like to fall out or be carried, and discover to my uttermost the intentions ^{Jan. 1642.} and courses to be pursued by the new raising army, appointed to meet there, colonel Burke with ten or twelve captains, and other commanders of his confederates, with their companies, entered the said abbey, just at the time I was to say mass, and laid their colours before the altar, earnestly desiring I should, according to the custom of catholick countries, hallow or bless the same; to which I answered, "that such ceremonies should rather be reserved for my lord archbishop, shortly expected in town, than performed by me;" colonel Burke replied, "that he never used to display colours, or accept thereof, to pay or muster, without being first hallowed, and that I being the prior of the abbey, it was my part to do it within my jurisdiction." Thus, my lord, unexpectedly circumvented, either of purpose, or by accident, I performed the ceremony with expressing my sense of their ways and management of affairs, and the conditions necessary to be observed in a pretended just defensive war, the present, in my opinion, being not justifiable, if taken in the nature of an aggressive war; yet I endeavoured to frame my discourse with that moderation, as that I neither approved, nor disapproved positively either side, and gave a touch of the wrongful aspersions cast upon your lordship and myself, without regarding conscience or reason; and finally, prayed God publicly, that whosoever intended merely to destroy the English without distinction, and make this insurrection a national quarrel, or swerve from the obedience and loyalty due to the king and crown of England, or aim at the bringing in of any other government, might never prosper or succeed well, if not mended. This is the true relation of the passage in substance.

Adhering
to the parlia-
ment and
puritans
against the
king.

My lord, I shall now intreat your lordship to take into your serious consideration: First, the motives aforesaid which invited me to be then in Athunry: Secondly, how suddenly, and without being able to avoid it, the occasion came upon me: Thirdly, that being already no better conceived of generally in this kingdom than if I were a professed puritan, for my observance of your lordship, and connivance with your ways in this time of distraction; which is so apparently known to your lordship, that I need not extend farther therein. If in the face of an army, and so many persons of quality, I had denied the performance of an indifferent ceremony proper to my function, I could not assuredly escape the indignation of the people then present, giving way to the confirming all former aspersions, and to draw upon myself, and your lordship, the often threatened censure of the clergy and laity of this kingdom. Next, I take God to witness, I never thought then any inconvenience that thereby might reflect on your lordship, and if I did, I should likely rather hazard myself, as I have heretofore done, than otherwise; and however your lordship may apprehend my carriage in that point, or others now, or hereafter, may construe it, as a sign of any combination in you, contrary to your professed courses of serving his majesty, I hope my innocent meaning and faithful endeavours for the advantage of your lordship's intentions, shall effectually prove more beneficial than that passage hurtful to any.

Howsoever, I do renounce hereby my interest in heaven and earth, if thereby I meant any plot or project against the faith I owe your lordship, or prejudicial to your ways of serving his majesty, to whom I am myself in my wishes and intentions as loyal a subject as any he hath in the world. My chief affliction is, for fear your lordship would harbour a conceit of my being false or faithless to you; if I be, ever have been, or shall be, God may never extend his mercy to me. But in case my reasons or expressions be not sufficient to satisfy or remove your lordship's apprehensions and fears of future and present reflections upon you, I shall be ready to banish myself from your presence and house, nay would rather wish myself in Jerusalem, than be a means to draw any inconvenience upon your lordship in honour or fortune, whom I never observed, or served, for any expectation of interest, but for mere nature to your house, and affection to yourself, and your good lady, since I had the honour to be acquainted with both, which
hath

Jan. 1642. hath been still of such perfection, as that I esteemed no greater worldly content to myself than to continue my service to both, whilst I were permitted by those to whom I owe obedience, whereof, if through my own disgrace I be deprived, I shall humbly resign myself to the divine will, who knoweth best what is good for me, and that my sins deserved far greater punishment. I will not presume to appear before your lordship until I receive either your answer, or direction. In the interim, God of his infinite goodness protect and bless your lordship, as truly wishes

Your lordship's most affectionate and faithful poor servant,

The 31st of January, 1642.

FR. DOMINICK BURKE.

P. S. My lord, I have observed and learned divers things concerning the present time, and occasions in hand, which I shall by word or writing acquaint your lordship with upon your direction.

My lord president of Conaght, the 30th of January, received the 31st.

MY LORD,

THE advance of an English army to Mullingar yesterday on their way hither being most certain, and the intelligence thereof coming thick unto me this morning from several parts of the country, I hasten this bearer to bring your lordship that good news, with assurance, that I shall be careful to perform the contents of your lordship's letter and inclosed paper of the 15th of this month; and this being all I have time to say upon this hasty dispatch of letters to our several garrisons, I humbly pray your lordship's excuse for this brevity, so remain,

Your lordship's affectionate and most faithful servant,

Athlone-Castle the 30th of January, 1642.

RANELAGH.

P. S. Cheer up, for I hope to be in state to do you service.

My letters to the mayor of Galway of the 2d, 10th, and 21st, sets forth the proceedings and violent inclinations and intentions of the major part of the town; and by their declining to send any hostages, but such as had always opposed the factious proceedings, and been friendly and assisting to the English, they did give apparent cause of suspicion, that their resolutions were bent to besiege the fort; though I used all possible ways within my power, both by threats and persuasions, to divert that design; and I had some probable assurances given me that they were in no fit posture for such an attempt, and was likewise confident that the fort was in a very good state, and had plenty of provisions of all kinds.

4th of Jan. By my letters to Sir Ulick Burke, in what an untoward posture the country was then in, and their simplicity in joining with Galway to hinder the venting of their commodities at great rates to the ships and fort, and receiving in others, without which they could not well subsist, and Galway ever imposing excessive rates upon all commodities; some restitution was made to the inhabitants of Loughbreagh, but the compulsory oaths and excommunications were violently pursued.

10th of Jan. My letter of the 10th to Sir Richard Blake sets forth my constant careful endeavours to try all ways and means of power or persuasion, and to frame my expressions so as might be most winning and prevalent with them, though to others, not acquainted with the distempers of the people, they may seem improper, nay perhaps culpable in me, my whole labour and design being to keep off all attempts from the fort, the safety of which I did value above my own, though the commander of it was both highly troublesome and ungrateful.

My

My letters to the earl of Corke, my lord of Inchiquin, and Mr. John Fitz-Gerald, do give testimony of my earnest desire to keep and preserve as many as I could, though far remote from me, from falling into the general infection, and to procure them favour and encouragement, which if the state and others had done, and not run contrary courses to put all into desperation, this rebellion could never have risen to so great and dangerous a height. Jan. 1642.
11th and
13th of Jan.

By my lord president's letter to me, and mine to him, may be observed the difficulties upon me to comply with his lordship's desires and occasions for the present service, and his lordship's forces were so impaired, that they could not be divided to afford me any considerable assistance; and to stir here without forces well provided, would but the more endanger all, by uniting them, who were now much distracted with their own irresolutions, upon what design to dispose of their forces; and, by some private working, I still found means to keep up those disputes, being in hopes that somewhat, either of power or pacification, would at last arrive unto us. 15th of Jan.

Sir Richard Blake's answer to my letter of the 10th, and my reply, doth rightly set forth the dispute in question between the fort, town, and country; and though my power was weak, I did declare a strange resolution to preserve the king's right and authority, and the expression of chieftain was an ancient title of great value and reputation with the people, and likely to work upon them, to stick firm to me rather than to a new commander that would usurp that power. 17th and
21st of Jan.

Concerning the oath and excommunication I have already treated of it, and shall have farther occasion to speak more of it in another place.

I have likewise mentioned, both by letter to my steward James Davocke, and others, the perplexity I was in for what passed between father Dominick Burke and colonel Burke, which indeed was like to prove very dangerous to me, both in present, by seeming to encourage my followers to forsake me, and in future, by casting a suspicion upon me; but my knowledge of the man, and his honest and plain expressions in his letter, gave me full assurance that it was sudden surprisal, and nothing of ill intention in him, but I withdrew my countenance from him for a time, until I observed, that neither the country, nor others, had taken much notice of it, either to their advantage, or my prejudice.

Upon the 24th, colonel Preston, styled general of Leinster, sat down before Birr, with about two thousand foot, and some few troops of horse, and having bestowed some great shot upon it that made some slight breach, they began to parley, and, after a short treaty, it was rendered up upon a very fair and honourable quarter, which was carefully and punctually observed to them, and they were attended on with a strong convoy unto the English quarters towards Dublin.

On the 26th, colonel Preston advanced with his forces, and came before Fort Falkland, and the next day it was yielded to him on a fair quarter. The place was of considerable strength, and might very well have held out against him, longer than he could have been able to stay there: but their number within was great, though not many serviceable; their provisions nothing plentiful, and being much discouraged, and tired by the continued neglect of the state, and no hopes appearing of future relief for them, but what could come from me, which then began to be very difficult for me to undertake; and then the report of Preston's fair carriage at Birr, was a powerful motive to render themselves to him, lest they should afterwards fall into worse hands. Though these were true, and seem to be satisfactory reasons for their surrender, yet some do object, that it was one of the king's forts, and that they are not usually rendered upon such easy terms before any shot made against them. One part of the conditions was, that my lord Castle-Stewart, and his company, should be conveyed to the fort of Galway, in which journey they were much crossed, and delayed, by the irresolute proceedings of colonel John Burke, there being, as it

Feb. 1642. should seem, no good intelligence between the two generals, which proved much to my charge and trouble, as will be expressed in another place.

Colonel Preston having had such prosperous success, and being advanced so near unto me, he thought it then a fit time to make some trial of my resolution, and sent a letter to me to invite me to their association, with (as I conceived) some kind of disrespectful language, of which I was very sensible, but knew not how to right myself, nor did think it fit to make any return that might exasperate, until I heard of his removal back, yet I did not apprehend much present danger; for besides the difficulty of passing over the great river of the Shannon at that time of the year, I received certain information his provisions were so scarce as that he would be enforced to a speedy return. His letter will be more conveniently inserted the next month, together with my answer.

The receipt of my lord president of Conaght's short letter, informing me of the advance of an English army towards him, was a great comfort to me in the condition I was in, though not free from much disturbance, that no forces were ever sent to myself, or to be under my command; but that I must still be at courtesy and disposal of others, and subject to their humours and violences.

Upon the last of this month, my castle of Clare, where I formerly resided during the time the fort was besieged, the chief place of strength and importance that I had, both to curb the town of Galway, and command the country thereabouts, through the negligence, if not treachery, of my tenant Jonakin Lynch, and the carelessness of my warders there, was surprized by captain Thomas Burke of Anbally, his lieutenant and soldiers, by the deceit and practices of a Franciscan friar.

The loss of this important place was a very great vexation and disturbance to me, in regard that if the fort should be again attempted, I had no other place in those parts of safety to preserve and draw my forces together, and the enemy placing a garrison there, might the more easily keep off all attempts I could possibly make upon them.

Colonel Preston, the 28th of January, received the 5th of February.

MY LORD,

THOUGH I have not heretofore had the honour to be known unto your lordship, yet my due respects, and many obligations unto your honourable family, enforce me to take the boldness to let you thus understand my mind, as well, in the first place, to declare the sincerity of my own intention in this general cause, as also to shew your lordship how unadvisedly you have been hitherto therein misled, thereby hoping, that the thick cloud which overspreads the true light of your understanding being dispersed, you may perceive and amend your error.

Wherefore be pleased to understand, that, for my part, I should not, upon any slight perusal of this cause, lightly cast off the employments which I had in the Low Countries, to embark myself, my wife, children, estate, and honour, in a cause so full (in a word) of imminent danger to each particular of these; but when (by the opinion of all divines) I perceived that the catholick religion, the rights and prerogatives of his majesty, my dread sovereign, the liberties of my country, and whether there should be an Irishman or not, were the prizes at stake; I thought all those but weak motives to withhold me from the service of God, my king, and country. The cruel proceedings of our enemies in destroying by fire and sword men, women, and children, without regard had to age or sex; their commissions being derived from the parliament of England (not from the king) are sufficient to satisfy any impartial judgment, that they are not warrantable either by the law of God or man, and therefore not to be countenanced,

nanced, much less to be followed or imitated by any heroic spirit, lodged in ^{Feb. 1642.} the breast especially of any true Irishman, good subject, or good christian. What sharp and fierce battles have been lately fought betwixt the king and parliament, your intelligence is too good to be ignorant of; how the parliament proclaiming all such as adhere unto his majesty traitors, is not unknown to your lordship; that his majesty terms us not his disavowed rebels, but his best vassals, is come unto your ears. I may not doubt but that your lordship should still cleave unto the parliamentary state of Ireland, all this notwithstanding I cannot but greatly admire. Good my lord, let it not be said by after-ages, that your lordship should so far degenerate from the worth of your ancestors, as to further the designs of the parliament against God, our king, and country, but remember you are an Irishman, and if that the Irish be extirpated, you must not think to escape scott free. I will trouble your lordship no more by night; but I beseech the Almighty to direct you to that course which may most conduce to the honour of God, the king, and good of your country, which shall be the incessant prayers of

Your lordship's most humble servant,

From Fort Falkland, the
28th of January, 1642.

PRESTON.

My answer to colonel Preston, the 5th of February.

SIR,

YOUR letter of the 28th of the last month found me in no good state of health, which hath enforced this delay of my acknowledgment of your favour, by your expressions of respect unto myself and family.

The subject you were pleased to treat of hath been often pressed upon me, and my replies so frequent, that there is not much new matter left me to deliver; but I choose rather to be guilty of repetition, than failing of what might be expected from me.

I stand charged not only with being misled unadvisedly, my understanding clouded, and many other errors, but with adhering to his majesty's enemies, countenancing and following their cruelties, prejudging or condemning my country's cause and actions, and to degenerate far from the worth of my ancestors; indeed these are charges of a high nature, and I must needs say, that until this unfortunate time of my arrival here, I was never acquainted with such aspersions, nor would any attempt such deep invasions either upon my loyalty or honour, though I had contestation with the most powerful and splenative adversaries then in his majesty dominions, and for what cause is now forgotten.

I cannot but much wonder that persons of honour and quality can be so easily drawn by flying and malicious reports, to lay such imputations upon any without more certain knowledge; and however I have been misled, I believe it will be found, that I have been much more moderate and sparing in declaring any censures upon the actions and proceedings of others, though I might with much more reason and certainty affirm (let the cause be never so just, or well approved of) that until it was of late managed by men of worth and experience as yourself, and before, it may be, by some few particulars, there appeared much of shame and reproach to the nation; and those that do not so acknowledge it, and lay it home upon such as are guilty of those crimes, do not (as I conceive) respect the honour or safety of the nation, but have violent and sinister ends of their own.

I have received the government of this county from his majesty, by his immediate power and favour. My proceedings in the beginning of this distemper are approved under his royal hand; and, by my procurement, the former promised graces, confirmed to all such as would continue their obedience; since that time (by his command) my actions are approved under the hand of his secretary of state my lord of Falkland, intrusted in his affairs of greatest importance in England.

I have

Feb. 1642. I have accordingly endeavoured by all fair and moderate ways to make this county capable of those favours, and to preserve them in peace and plenty, and, in pursuance of a former pacification made by me in his majesty's behalf with the town and county, removed imminent dangers from them, even when destruction was at their doors, and have since desired some temper and moderation within themselves, until I might more clearly receive some further instruction and direction from his majesty; this is the first point of being unadvisedly misled, and clouded in my understanding.

Some dissolute young men of this county, whom I should blush to name, have robbed and spoiled the country, assaulted my convoys, surprized my own goods, intercepted my dispatches, destroyed my tenants, and others live altogether upon spoils and rapine; these must be countenanced, and preserved, for fear of discouragement, and prejudice to the cause (a tenet of somewhat too near relation to others, that are reported to stand in opposition to his majesty). I have appeared in some displeasure against them, sought to recover my own, and defend myself, that must be interpreted, following or imitating the cruelties of his majesty's and the country's enemies.

Some English ships, coming to the relief and supply of his majesty's fort, I have allowed; and assisted the country, impoverished with many taxations, to vent their superfluous commodities to them, and bring back others beneficial, and most useful to these parts; that is one main error.

Some poor English of this, or the neighbouring counties, have been robbed, stripped and wounded, and came to me for relief, and defence from being murdered; I have endeavoured to preserve them, and desired some reparation or comfort for them; that is against conscience and the oath of association, and an unpardonable fault for me to demand it.

Some persons of honour and quality, my English neighbours, to whom I am obliged, either though ancient acquaintance, or late received courtesies, and to whom I know no crime objected, have desired civil respects from me, and that this county, whilst it carried a face of peace and plenty, might supply them for their money; I have given direction for it, that is, adhered to his majesty's enemies.

At the entreaty of a commander arriving in these parts, known to be employed by his majesty's commission, and withal my intimate friend, I conveyed a small token from him to another; that proclaims me a great offender; and, in brief, to perform or requite any civil courtesy, hath been a crime of a high nature; to supply or keep correspondence with his majesty's fort, though obliged both by special direction and common duty, and resisting some ridiculous, though insolent attempts against it, that is prejudicing and condemning of my country's cause and actions.

There remains one chief imputation, wherein indeed I do not well know how to clear myself. My castles, manors, and tenements have been surprized and detained from me by violence, my authority and interest in this county by his majesty's favour, and my ancient birthright, hath been contemned, and the power delivered up to others, in all which my easy nature, and moderate inclinations, have been so abused, or the violence of the times so prevalent, that I have not had the good fortune to vindicate my honour, or teach them their duty therein. I must confess I have far degenerated from the worth of my ancestors; but industry and resolution, more experience, and his majesty's power, may in good time recover it. I have now made a free and full confession. I have from the very beginning unto this time, been so totally ignorant (more than by common report) of the motives and grounds of those unhappy distempers, and of the proceedings and resolutions thereupon, that I have ever been tender in giving a judgment upon the action of any person of quality engaged therein, but have rather often expressed it must be of very great danger and consequence that could draw them to an opposition to those former known rules of government, established

established here by his majesty's authority, which, in outward appearance, can ^{Feb. 1642.} hardly be distinguished from what in former times hath merited but a very harsh nomination; and the invitation must certainly be very powerful that could draw you from the great and noble commands you enjoyed beyond sea, to engage yourself, fortune, and family in those tumultuous and doubtful troubles here; and from a person so qualified and experienced, may well be expected fair and just intentions.

That there have been great and sad distempers in England, and much opposition given to his majesty, comes many ways related to me, and my prayers are not failing for his happy success and preservation from all dangers; neither shall my best service be wanting upon his least commands, which, I presume, is fully known to himself, whatever doubts may be pretended by others.

That his majesty terms those in action here not only his disavowed rebels, but his best vassals, is not in the least circumstance come to my knowledge; they that have obtained so good a testimony from his majesty in this time of general distemper and distraction, may justly account themselves happy. I must freely confess my own ignorance, and thereupon, for my own particular, must trust to his majesty's mercy for not being active and adhering to those unusual ways of service, which differs much from those rules and instructions which his majesty left me to guide my actions by; and I believe I have with as much industry as any other, endeavoured to know his pleasure, and cannot find any thing varying from his former commands.

Sir, report hath delivered you to the world a person of great reputation; be pleased to call your best and most generous thoughts together, and by your next dispatch freely impart your answer to what I shall now propose; if the command you left had been in this kingdom conferred upon you, not by mediation of friends, or other ways of procurement, but by his majesty's special favour and knowledge, either of your merit or affection to him, after above twenty years frequent attendance upon him, and many great and particular favours bestowed upon you, and upon others by your mediation; upon any pretences of friends or country which may prove but illusions, or, perhaps, ignorance of the true state of affairs, would you entertain any designs, or run any doubtful course of opposition to that settled trust and command deposited in your hands, without a clear and undoubted warrant from that power that gave it you? or would you not esteem it a scandal to your religion, a dishonour to your nation, a stain and shame to your name and family, and that you justly merited the scorn and hatred of all good men, even of those that might invite, and make present use of you? This is plainly and fully my case and condition.

What my affections and endeavours have been for my country's good, are known to many; what my intentions are, or shall be, contributing to that end by all warrantable ways, God, and my own conscience, can witness with me, and time, the discoverer of truth, will make known; and it may be, if my advices had been hearkened unto, and pursued accordingly, they might have produced good effects, and his majesty's service so well known, that I might have met with better occasions, both in the general, and your own particular, than is now allowed me, to express myself

Your humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P. S. Sir, the convoys that brought my lord Castle-Stewart into this county can inform you, that they did not miss such respect from me that this distracted time could afford; and that I did offer to force a passage to the place they were designed; their return back, with their charge, after so long delay, I leave to your own consideration to judge of.

Feb. 1642.

My lord Castle-Stewart, and his company, to the number of men, women, and children, being convoyed through my quarters two days journey, and received into my town of Loughreagh, having two companies of colonel Preston's for his guard to the fort, he was there staid two or three days by the unsettled resolutions of colonel Burke, who would not suffer him to pass according to Preston's undertakings with his company, but only himself, and two or three servants; and, in conclusion, the convoys, with their charge, were forced to return back to the King's county, and so to Athlone, where the poor people desired to be, being debarred going to the fort. And upon the 5th, the lord Castle-Stewart came to visit me at Portumna, whilst his people were on their journey to Athlone, some few of the ablest of them whom I entertained for soldiers, and some few tradesmen excepted.

The same day I received letters from my lord president, informing me of the arrival of Sir Richard Greenfield, and his forces, bringing a supply of ammunition and cloaths for the garrisons, but no money, which did so discontent the new soldiers and commanders that they were importunate to be gone, and, for some reasons, he had given way to the departure of some of them; and inclosed he wrote unto me in a casement letter, as followeth, being dated the 2d of this month. "The hard condition our new soldiers have so long lived in for want of means makes them all so weary of this country, that now finding no care taken to supply them with money, they will not stay, and being gone, your condition and mine will be very ill, unless the news of the conclusion of the peace in England prove true; for my part, I am armed for the worst, yet resolved not to live confined within the walls of a castle, but to go along with this convoy, in hopes to return speedily, as well for your service, as the preservation of the king's interest under my care; God send us a happy meeting."

This sudden and most unexpected information of being left quite forsaken, instead of powerful assistance which I certainly expected, did for a time put me into absolute despair; Sir Charles Coote at the same time giving me notice likewise of his departure with them; and having considered of all ways imaginable for the safety of my poor wife and family, in conclusion, I could not find any human means of preservation left, nothing remaining, but solely to submit, and leave all to the divine providence, yet I would not seem to be dejected, but still keep to my former ways and resolutions.

A letter from the provincial council, the 6th of February, received the 8th.

Right Honourable,

THE provincial council of the confederate catholicks of Conaght, out of their respect to your lordship, and at the instance of the nobility and gentry of the said province, and, in pursuance of their continual solicitation of your lordship to conform yourself to the resolutions of the general assembly of the confederate catholicks of Ireland, for settling the ancient religion, and just liberties of this kingdom, and so be enabled to serve his majesty with our joint force against all his opposites, have now again deputed and authorized Sir Richard Blake, knight, to communicate unto your lordship certain matters, whereof we desire your lordship's answer, and intreat that your lordship may give him credence in what he shall report unto you on our behalf. In expectation whereof we remain

Your very loving friends to serve you,

Athunry, the 6th of
February, 1642.

Malachias Tuamen.
Lucas Dillon.
Robert Lynch.
Jo. Browne.

John Burke.
Owen O Rourke.
Ulick Burke.
Edward Skerret.

Feb. 1942.

Instructions to be observed by Sir Richard Blake, knight, in the execution of the charge given him by the provincial council, with the advice of the nobility and gentry of the province, to be represented to the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, lieutenant governor of the town and county of Galway.

1. **H**E shall with all convenient speed repair to the said earl, present unto him the best respects and affections of the said council, and of the lieutenant general, and their desires to give his lordship all just satisfaction upon all occasions, wherein the publick service of the catholick cause may not suffer by their observance of him.

2. You shall put his lordship in mind how ill it becomes a nobleman of his family and interest in the kingdom, and of his catholick profession, in this time, wherein danger of subversion is threatened to nation and religion, to withdraw his countenance, power, and authority from assisting his distressed country, that naturally love and honour him, and are, and will be, ever ready to expose their lives and fortunes for the defence of his person, honour, and fortune.

3. That the lieutenant general is a person most desirous to serve him, and had been preferred to a higher title of honour in command, but for the respect borne to his lordship; that he had applied himself to his lordship upon his first arrival in this country for direction, and that no derivative power should be sooner obeyed than his, if he had conformed himself to the confederate catholick union, sworn to serve their God, king and country faithfully, without change of laws, master, or civil government.

4. That in expression of their desires to comply with his lordship, they have not hitherto proceeded against him, or his servants, or followers, by censures ecclesiastical, or rather penalties provided in the model of government against neuters, or enemies; and that in applotting of a charge upon the country for the maintenance of the catholick army, a considerable part of the country is left free to his lordship from that contribution.

5. That the country for the reasons following do apprehend, that his lordship sets too mean a value upon their continued application and affection.

1. That his lordship imposeth a charge of ten shillings per quarter upon the country, and levieth the same without the consent of the gentlemen and freeholders thereof.

2. That they find that his lordship expresseth no full sense against the frequent incursions made into his government from the fort, and garrisons of the county of Roscommon, and yet sharply reprehends the taking of arms by this county for their natural preservation.

3. That the fort-men daily murder, burn, rob, and spoil in Clanricarde; and that the garrisons in the county of Roscommon have recently committed the like cruelties, outrages, and desolation in the half barony of Ballymo, in the said county.

4. That his lordship detains the hostages of Galway given him for observance of the pacification of Clare, though he well knoweth that every point of the articles of the said pacification was broken to the said town, and signify unto him, that their detaining is of no consequence to his lordship, and yet is a great corrosive to all the confederate catholicks.

5. That great forces are now arrived in Athlone, with intention (as it is reported) to destroy the whole province, whereof his lordship is conceived not to have been ignorant.

6. That by letters lately intercepted of captain Willoughby's, and ready to be produced, it appears, that he calls to the fort the puritan forces of the parliament; that it is much feared, that his majesty will not take it well that his proclaimed
rebels

Feb. 1642. rebels in England should have any fast footing here, and that his lordship doth not withdraw his relief and countenance from the said captain.

7. That if his lordship take any apprehension at the taking of Clare, the necessity of securing the passage only induced it, and that his tenants there have not, neither shall they suffer any loss thereby; and that if his lordship complies in a course for our preservation, both Clare, and all other his possessions entered into, shall be forthwith restored, and his honour, estate, and fortune shall be supported to the best of our endeavours and abilities.

The answer, which I desired Sir Richard Blake to deliver from me.

1. **H**IS lordship returns thanks to the lord archbishop, and the rest that directed their letters to him, for their verbal expressions of respect, which when he finds performed to him in reality of acts, as in formality of words, he shall receive with all due regard; and in present, if they fit by his majesty's commission in this county, he is ready to pay them all exact obedience, if otherwise, however he did affect particulars, he cannot approve of the composition.

2. That as his lordship was never made acquainted with the first ground and motives of this war, nor of the prosecution of it to this height, more than by report; so he cannot pretend those abilities as to judge of the merit of the cause, how far, or in what posture, free-born subjects may stand for the just defence of their liberties and religion, the circumstances being various and intricate, and a business to be treated with much circumspection, being commonly liable to the worst construction; but he conceives he doth perfectly understand his own case, his obedience being settled by a particular rule, the government and command he hath immediately from his majesty; and let the cause be never so allowable, or just in others, any association in him, not approved by his majesty's authority, must needs be disobedience and rebellion; and so consequently all countenance, power and authority derived to him from his family, or interest in this kingdom, so employed, would lay an infamy upon the cause, nation and religion, and draw ruin and dishonour upon himself.

3. That his lordship neither by experience, inclination, or direction from his majesty, hath aimed at any martial titles more than what belongs to his charge, and knows no interest of his in that kind to be an impediment in the advancement of any; but he cannot choose but be very sensible of any power or authority assumed in this county by any title whatsoever, that is opposite to the authority of his majesty's governor; who, both by nature and education, holds himself as much obliged, and as ready to perform all true service to God, king, and country, as any whomsoever, without change of laws, master, civil government, or distinction of nation.

4. His lordship knows no colour or pretence for any ecclesiastical censures against himself, servants, or followers, or any model of government that can justify the same, or the applotting of any charge, though he finds both daily tempted and practised.

5. That his lordship for many just reasons doth fully apprehend, that many of the country do set too mean a value upon his authority by his majesty's power and favour, upon his own interest by birth-right, and upon his affection by his constant endeavours for their preservation.

To the first reason of his failing to value them by laying of ten shillings a quarter upon some baronies, it was by consent of many, and the necessity of it for his majesty's service will justify the act; and upon these occasions, in time of distraction, his majesty's governor may use a discretionary power, rather than draw the country too frequently to general assemblies, that may be more to their charge and trouble than the imposition; neither hath he found any of these
parts

parts repine, or complain thereof; and if it require redress, it ought to be by their application to him, who will never deny justice to the meanest. Feb. 1642.

To the second and third, his lordship knows not by what power or interest he can claim a preservation of those that withdraw themselves out of his government and protection, and if they had not drawn inconveniencies upon themselves, but taken hold of his majesty's offer by letter directed unto his lordship, or since performed according to their agreement under their hands, scarce any part of his majesty's dominions had met with the like plenty and security; and that he doth not reprehend the taking arms for their just preservation, but for their unnatural opposition to his majesty's governor, and his authority; and yet their conformity and obedience to him may produce that happiness which they may no other way expect.

To the fourth, his lordship doth find apparently that the articles of pacification hath been, or is resolved to be broken; the former disputes thereupon have been represented to his majesty and the state, and their resolution expected, and likewise an account of his safe keeping of the hostages required at his hands, and is of that consequence that it would be a great corrosive to many persons of quality, and to others of his friends and followers, that his head should be the forfeiture and price of their delivery.

To the fifth, his lordship knows nothing of it more than by common report, or what course they have now taken.

To the sixth, captain Willoughby hath the command of his majesty's fort, and is himself to be answerable for his actions and proceedings therein; such as have appeared distasteful to his lordship, have been fully represented with his answers, and both of them must submit to the judgment of higher authority. If he has been threatened to be besieged, and assaulted, it is probable he hath called forces to his assistance, but not to be over-mastered by any that should hazard the safety and preservation of that place for his majesty's use and service, which doth most nearly concern himself to look unto; and, as his lordship is informed, he hath declared somewhat that may give satisfaction in this particular.

To the seventh, concerning the surprisal of his castle of Clare by the perfidious treachery of some unworthy persons, he is sorry to find such an act countenanced by any persons of quality, and the possession by force endeavoured to be maintained to his disgrace and dishonour; that for the preservation of the tenants there, he doth not know how to apply it as a respect to him, but rather for the interest of the intruders, having certain intelligence that in most other places, all his tenants are spoiled and destroyed with as much extremity as professed enemies; that if this county will comply with his lordship, with that duty and affection that becomes them, he will use the power of his majesty's authority, and his own interest both of friends and fortune, for their safety and preservation.

Lastly, his lordship concluded with his prayers to God for himself, and all of us, to extend his grace and mercy, and a right understanding to discern, and power and ability to perform, what might be most to his honour and glory, the true service of his majesty, and the safety and welfare of this kingdom, and that all injured persons, of what quality or nature soever, may meet and enjoy all possible and just reparation in honour and fortune.

My letter to my lord Castle-Stewart, the 9th of February.

MY LORD,

THE content and satisfaction I received in your lordship's acquaintance, would have been much increased, if I had been in a condition to have shewed the respects due to a person of so much worth and honour; and I hope you will afford me that right as to make the best construction of my not waiting upon you, for indeed, my lord, I was much ashamed to appear with you at Loughreagh, not being in a posture to have conveyed you through in spite of

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opposition

Feb. 1642. opposition, which truly I would have attempted, both formerly, if your convoys had been fit to be trusted, and now upon my own strength, if there were any forces near to second my exasperating an enemy too powerful for me, though I hope too weak for any greater exploits. Your lordship may be pleased to let captain Willoughby know that I believe they will have no ability to besiege the fort, unless the county of Mayo joins with them, who yet keep off, and would still do so, unless my lord president's departure gives them encouragement. I did write to my lord president, desiring to know, if the fort or myself were attempted, what forces he could bring either to set upon them, or by way of diversion upon the borders; his first letter gave me great hopes, but his second only informed me of his departure, without any notice what power or direction he left behind. I did write about a month since to my lord of Inchiquin, taking notice of the captain's desires, and expecting the performance thereof: I did likewise write to Dublin, expressing my opinion that I did confidently believe the fort would be besieged, and set forth the ill condition of these parts, in all which, if intercepted, I do run a very great and desperate hazard, unarmed, and so totally neglected, to draw the fury and malice of the whole nation upon me, no other reward as yet appearing but disgrace and suspicion; but a clear conscience is of good proof to bear out all calamities. I have written some other particulars to the captain, which though not so much material, I hope will meet with a safe conveyance; I shall likewise desire your lordship to acquaint him with my settled good opinion of Sir Richard Blake, and that if he appear in some things not justifiable, I believe he will redeem it by other ways of much more advantage. I shall desire that your lordship will let this paper be consumed by fire before your departure from Loughreagh. And I will add nothing more, but wishing your lordship a safe and prosperous journey, and all increase of happiness to you and yours, I shall still remain

Your lordship's most assured friend to serve you,

Portumna, the 9th of
February, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord marquis of Ormond, the 3d of February, received the 11th.

MY LORD,

I CONFESS I have not answered what you might most justly have expected from me in a more frequent correspondence in this way, but my unwillingness to send you empty words (which were all I durst venture on by land) together with my several sicknesses, was the true reason. The thing that for the present makes most noise amongst us is, the arrival of Mr. Thomas Burke, who brought with him a commission under the great seal of England, directed to your lordship, the earl of Roscommon, the lord Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace (speaker of the house of commons) Mr. Burke, and myself, giving to any three or more of us power to send for some of the principal of those that petitioned his majesty in August or July last, in the name of all the catholicks of Ireland, and to hear what they would say or propound, and to receive the same in writing from them, signed by them which we are to send subscribed by us to his majesty. This commission did at first much trouble some of the council, most of the officers of the army, and generally all those that the malignant party call round heads; and to satisfy the officers (which properly belonged to me, and was indeed the most necessary work) by advice of the rest of the commissioners here present, I shewed them, or the principal of them, the commission, whereby they were satisfied as to the substance of it; but it stuck much with them that Mr. Burke, who had been delivered to them for a rigid papist, a man suspected for a fomentor of the rebellion, and an agent employed for, and by the rebels in England, should be made use of in the carriage and execution of the commission; to
this

this was answered as much as we could, and so much as I hope there will not after a while remain any scruple in the officers; but the more malicious will make what use they can of it to the prejudice of his majesty, and the final destruction of this gasping kingdom. News out of England will come more freshly to you by your servant; yet lest the winds might not serve, I will in another way endeavour to give you a short account of the principal things that have happened.

I am intreated by Sir George Wentworth to move your lordship in behalf of him and others, who as trustees for the earl of Strafford have money due to them at Galway; if you please to further them in it, I shall take it for a singular favour; and however I shall still approve myself to be

Your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

Dublin, the 3d of
Feb. 1642.

ORMOND.

My lord marquiss of Ormond, the 4th of February, received the 11th.

MY LORD,

THE crossness of the wind hath given me time to cause a copy of the commission to be taken and sent your lordship, as also to inform you that the 23d of this month is appointed for the execution of it at the town of Drogheda, as may appear by the copy of our summons which is likewise sent you, to the end that if it possibly may be, we may have your lordship's assistance there. A copy of the summons which recites the commission in all that is material, I shall send by your servant that goes by land, and a copy of the safe conduct given by the justices, which in effect recites a letter from his majesty to them. These being things that must be known to the other party, I may without prejudice to his majesty's service venture by land, that being the most probable way to have them come with speed to your hands. I am very constantly

Your lordship's very faithful and humble servant,

Dublin, the 4th of
Feb. 1642.

ORMOND.

P. S. I received your lordship's dispatch of the 6th of December, and within two or three days after sent an express with your letters to England, and my own went the 15th of January.

My lord marquiss of Ormond's casement letter, received the same time.

YOUR dispatch of the 6th of December is long since where you would have it. The justices and their party are much troubled at the commission, taking it for a step towards the peace of this kingdom, and their ruin. I much fear the ambition of the clergy on the other side will stop both: The king is very strong, and increases daily; the only fear is, he may meet with such counsellors as will sacrifice his affairs to their own ends and safety. I could have wished Mr. Burke had been left out of the commission, such offence his being there hath given to this army, who were all devoted to the king; to you there is no exception taken.

My nephew Thomas Burke, the 6th of February, received the 11th.

MY LORD,

THOUGH I am in no good condition of health at this time, yet I cannot longer forbear sending to you, the present affairs here requiring it; the marquiss of Ormond, and the rest of the commissioners, have sent this day a trumpeter

Feb. 1642. trumpeter to Kilkenny, with a safe conduct and summons for the Irish to meet them at Tredagh the 23d of this month, there being no other convenient garriſon within thirty miles of this city able to entertain any conſiderable number. A convoy of horſe is to meet the Irish commiſſioners where they ſhall appoint. How inconvenient it may prove to you to come ſo long a journey, I know not, but the king expects you will be there; and truly it concerns his majeſty, this kingdom, and yourſelf. My lord, I dare not come to viſit you, to avoid a cauſeleſs ſuſpicion which hangs over me. If I ſhould paſs through the country before the meeting, and return back, I muſt for England immediately after the execution of the commiſſion.

Much of exception is taken againſt any accommodation here; and I underſtand by ſome the intention is, ſeeing no relief comes from England, to let the army live upon the ſpoil in the enemy's country; this reſolution, if it ſhould take hold with the king, will render this kingdom a ſecond Germany, and whatſoever ſide ſhall maſter, it will be of little uſe or comfort in our age.

This day three weeks I left Oxford, where his majeſty is to reſide till the approach of fair weather. The king commands ſeveral armies beſides his own, that quarter round about Oxford; the ſhires adjoining are under contribution; the lord Newcaſtle in Yorkſhire, the earl of Derby in Lancaſhire, the marquifs of Worceſter's ſon in Wales and the marches, the marquifs of Hertford and Sir Ralph Hopton have ſeveral armies apart; my lord of Eſſex reſides at Windſor, and many parts of the kingdom have a party.

The prentices in London, and ſome citizens, would have peace, and begin to mutiny; others oppoſe it; all intercourſe and trading is ſtopt for the preſent; and the confuſion is ſo great and univerſal that of neceſſity one ſide will down, both parties being forward to fight it out. Of your lordſhip's friends the colonel is plundered at Townthill, and my lord marquifs at Nettly, notwithstanding my lord Eſſex's protection then in the houſe; the lady Rivers loſt eighty thouſand pounds in Eſſex, not ſo much as the wainſcot of her houſe undefaced.

Biſhops are voted out of the houſe of peers, together with all popiſh lords. Tom Bruer upon motion of ſome friends in the lords houſe, was brought from Maidſtone goal; but at a conference of both houſes, Sir Henry Vane opened to the lords, it was againſt the eſtabliſhed laws to releaſe a papiſt denying the oath, whereupon he is ſent back to the ſame goal, and ſince I believe is found guilty of a premunire and high treaſon upon the third denial of the oath; for ſo is the ſtatute in this time of diſtraction. What Sir H. Compton can do with your lordſhip's eſtate I know not.

I have not received any letters from your lordſhip ſince your being at St. Albans by Feogh Cooge. I long ſince ſignified to your lordſhip what you were to truſt to from hence, and what courſe was in the opinion of your more honeſt friends left for you to take. Thoſe letters came to your lordſhip's hands by Webb; and Mortimer ſhews they adviſed you rightly, for ſuch as were there upon the place were well aſſured no relief would be ſent you from thence, as the caſe ſtood. What ſays your ſervant Webb at Oxford, I know not, being not privy to his demands. The king was pleaſed to tell me, he left it to your lordſhip to ſtay or go for England; but I preſume that was not his total buſineſs; for it might be diſpatched in a day, either ſecretary being forward to further your affairs, ſo far as I could obſerve by them.

My lady marchioneſs and the children I have ſeen ſome fix weeks ago. Baſing eſcaped hard from being plundered by Sir Arthur Haſelrig's forces; ſome men were ſhot, whereof Mr. Walton was one; they nightly and daily keep a watch; my lord of Northampton is governor at Banbury, his lady is at Oxford; my lady of Eſſex has helped you to a young nephew; my wife and her children are at Aſtwell with Charles Shirly.

Thus far I have written to your lordſhip at random, but if I had thought your lordſhip could not be at the meeting, I would adventure to write of ſome-
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what else; however, your lordship will send thither your servant Dominick Burke, ^{Feb. 1642.} or some other, by whom you will express what your own sense is, and what you desire should be delivered unto his majesty in writing as from you, and withal to understand back from me, though late, what by these letters I cannot impart. Your lordship, or any from you, is to have a safe conduct and convoy from the Irish, if any you desire.

Your lordship's faithful humble servant,

Dublin, the 6th of

Feb. 1642.

THOMAS BURKE.

Those letters were brought me by a young kinsman of mine, Jonack Burke, who had been a prisoner in England, and enlarged by my mediation for him, and by Feagh M^c Cooge the keeper of my park at Portumna, employed by me with dispatches into England above a year past, and detained by the parliament; the dispatches they brought were of great comfort to me, giving me good hopes that this treaty would be a means of preservation to me for a time, otherwise in a desperate condition, and likewise gave me liberty to meet with my lord marquis of Ormond, and my nephew Thomas Burke, from whom I might receive a clear light of all affairs, and a settled advice for my future carriage and proceedings.

A copy of the King's commission, directed to my lord marquis of Ormond, myself and others, dated the 11th of January, 1642.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our right trusty and well beloved cousin James marquis of Ormond and Ossory, Ulick earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, James earl of Roscommon, Charles viscount Moore, and to our trusty and well beloved Sir Thomas Lucas, knight, Sir Maurice Eustace, knight, and Thomas Burke, Esq; greeting. Albeit we do extreamly detest the odious rebellion which the recusants of Ireland have without any ground or colour raised against us, our crown and dignity; yet having received an humble petition in their names, desiring to be heard, we have thought it not unjust or inconvenient for us to receive from them what they can or shall say unto us, to whom they insinuate that they will yet yield due obedience: Know ye therefore that we, reposing special trust and confidence in your approved wisdoms, fidelities, and directions, do by these presents nominate, constitute, assign, and appoint you to be our commissioners; and we do hereby give unto you, or any three or more of you, full power and authority upon the receipt hereof, to send unto some of the principal of the said recusants who sent the said petition to you the said marquis of Ormond and Ossory, to meet you our said commissioners, or any three or more of you, at such convenient place or places as you, or any three or more of you, shall think fit to appoint, and there to hear at large what the said petitioners shall say or propound; which, our will is, that the said petitioners, or the principal of them authorized by the rest, do set down in writing under their hands. And our pleasure is, that you our said commissioners, or any three or more of you, send the names so signed unto us testified under your hands, or the hands of any three or more of you, to have been by you, or any three or more of you, received from them as aforesaid; whereupon we shall take such farther consideration as shall be just, honourable, and fit for us. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent, and to have continuance during our pleasure. Witness Ourself at Oxford, the 11th day of January, in the 18th year of our reign.

Per imperium Regis.

Feb. 1642. A safe conduct from the lords justices to the agents of the confederate party,
the 2d of February, 1642.

WM. PARSONS.

JO. BORLACE.

WHEREAS his majesty by his letters of the 11th of January last hath signified unto us, that upon consideration of the petition which he received from us in October last, in the name of the catholicks of Ireland, whereby they humbly desire to be heard: Albeit his majesty has not thought fit to admit any of them to his presence who have been actors and abettors in so odious a rebellion; yet his majesty conceiveth it is not inconvenient for him to receive from themselves what they can or shall say; and hath therefore given a commission under his great seal of England to our very good lords, the lord marquiss of Ormond, the earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde, the earl of Roscommon, the lord viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, knights, and Thomas Burke, Esq; or any three or more of them, to meet with some of the principal of the said recusants who sent the said petition, at such convenient place or places as his majesty's said commissioners, or any three or more of them, shall think fit to appoint, to hear and receive in writing what the said petitioners shall say or propound, and to return the same to his majesty, that thereupon his majesty may take such further consideration as shall be just, honourable and fit for him. And that the said commissioners may with more safety and expedition perform what his majesty hath given them in command by his said commission; his majesty thought good by his said letters to require us to give them our best aid, assistance, and furtherance, as there shall be cause, and as often as they or any of them shall desire it. And whereas the said commissioners, or some of them, have now issued summons, or are to issue summons, to some of the principal of the said recusants who sent the said petition, to meet the said commissioners, or any three or more of them, at Drogheda, the place appointed by his majesty's said commissioners. We therefore, in humble obedience to his majesty's said commands, and at the request of our very good lord, the lord marquiss of Ormond, and others his majesty's said commissioners, do hereby give full and free safe conduct to such of the principal of the said recusants as the said commissioners, or any three or more of them, shall so appoint, to meet them as aforesaid; that their persons, servants, and whole retinue shall be safe and free from all danger, molestation, restraint, or detention in their repair to Drogheda aforesaid, abide there with his majesty's said commissioners, and return to their former places of abode. And therefore we command you, and every of you, that you do not only permit and suffer all and every of the said so summoned recusants, their servants and retinue as aforesaid, but also all such persons as shall be employed to carry packets or letters, or to ride in post, bearing a warrant signed by any two of his majesty's said commissioners hands, freely to pass and repass by you without any let, restraint, or molestation. Hereof any of you may not fail, as you tender his majesty's service, and will answer the contrary at your perils. Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 2d of February, 1642.

To all the commanders and officers of his majesty's army and garrisons, as also to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and to all others his majesty's officers, ministers, and loving subjects whatsoever, to whom these presents shall come, or whom they shall or may concern.

The summons sent to Kilkenny by the said commissioners, the 3d of Feb.

WHEREAS his majesty hath been pleased to direct his commission under the great seal of England, unto James lord marquiss of Ormond, Ulick earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde, James earl of Roscommon, Charles lord viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, knight, Sir Maurice Eustace, knight, and Thomas Burke, Esq; in which it is among other things recited, that his majesty hath

hath received an humble petition in the name of the recusants of Ireland, and ^{Feb. 1642.} that he thought it not unjust or inconvenient for him to receive from them what they can or will say unto his majesty: And his majesty by the said commission hath given full power unto the said James marquiss of Ormond, Ulick earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, James earl of Roscommon, Charles lord visc. Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, knt. Sir Maurice Eustace, knt. and Thomas Burke, Esq; or any three or more of them, to send to some of the principal of the said recusants who sent the said petition, to meet the said commissioners at such convenient place or places as the said commissioners, or any three or more of them, should think fit to appoint, and there to hear at large what the said petitioners shall say or propound, which the said petitioners, or the principal of them authorized by the rest, by his majesty's express pleasure declared in the said commission, are to set down in writing under their hands; and the said commissioners, or any three or more of them, are to send the same so signed unto his majesty, testified under their hands, or the hands of any three or more of them, to have been by them received as aforesaid. We therefore James marquiss of Ormond, Ulick earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde, James earl of Roscommon, Charles lord viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, knight, Sir Maurice Eustace, knight, and Thomas Burke, Esq; have thought fit, in pursuance of the said commission, by these our letters of summons to signify and give notice unto you the persons under named, being some of the principal of the said recusants who sent the said petition, as by your subscription to a letter wherein the same was sent inclosed may appear, to signify and give notice unto you, that we have appointed Thursday the 23d day of this present month of February, to sit upon the said commission at the town of Tredagh, at which time and place we shall expect your presence, and will be ready to hear at large what you shall say or propound; and will receive from you what you shall set down in writing under your hands, to be transmitted by us to his majesty, as we are required by the said commission; and you, and such as are to be trusted in this business, are to come to the place appointed authorized by the rest. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands the 3d day of February, 1642.

Ormond.	Roscommon.	Moore.
Thomas Lucas.	Mau. Eustace.	

P. S. We send you herewith the safe conduct of the state. We desire that the number of those to be trusted in this business, and their necessary attendants, do not exceed the number of thirty, and that those that shall be trusted by you in this business be only laymen.

We desire to know the certain time and place where the convoy which is to guard you to Tredagh may meet you, whereof you are to send timely notice to the lord marquiss's house at Dublin.

We do expect that you do send by the messenger, who shall bring notice of the time and place where the convoy is to meet you, a safe conduct in writing for the convoy who shall be appointed to guard you.

It is expected from you, that when you come before the commissioners, that it be with that respect as is comely and fit to be given to his majesty's commissioners by those who are petitioners.

These premonitions we thought fit to send to you, to the end that no impediment may arise which may hinder the execution of the said commission.

Ormond.	Roscommon.	Moore.
Thomas Lucas.	Mau. Eustace.	

For the lord viscount Gorman's-town, the lord viscount Mount-Garret, the lord Ikerrin, the lord Dunboyne, the lord of Upper Ossory, Sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Tibbott Burke, Esq; George King, Esq; Adam Cusacke, Esq; Thomas Fleming, Esq; or any two or more of them, to be opened by direction from his majesty.

Ormond, &c.

Feb. 1642.

The council of the confederate party to the Lords of the Council, the 9th of February.

WE his majesty's most humble and most faithful subjects, whom the great assembly of this kingdom, which met at his majesty's city of Kilkenny the 24th of October last, hath authorised and intrusted by the name of the supreme council of the confederate catholicks of Ireland, to provide for the safety and welfare of such as adhere to us in defence of the free exercise of our religion, the rights and prerogatives of our sovereign, and the liberties of our country, have the 8th of this instant opened and read a summons, under the signature of James marquiss of Ormond, James earl of Roscommon, and others, bearing date the 3d of February, and directed to the lord viscount Gormanstown, the lord viscount Mount-Garret, and eight more, whereby notice is given to them, in pursuance of a commission said to be from his majesty, and mentioned to have been granted upon a petition of the catholicks of Ireland, of Tredagh the place, and the 23d of the same month the time, where and when they are to meet, and to deliver under their hands, or the hands of the principal of them, authorised by the rest, all their propositions in writing to be transmitted to his majesty. To this summons are added instructions signed by the said commissioners, limiting the number, and directing the quality and behaviour of such as shall go. In the first place, we are not satisfied why a commission, whereof the date is not expressed, and is mentioned to have been granted upon a petition of the catholicks of Ireland, which was sent in August last, to be conveyed unto his majesty, should so long be kept from the knowledge of the parties interested; and we believe it would be proper for us to have a view, or a copy of that commission, concerning the instruction given us for the demeanour of our agents. Although this war hath produced many bad effects, yet we hope incivility hath not won so much upon either side as we should stand in need of admonishment to regulate our behaviours. Together with this summons, and the addition, likewise attested by the said commissioners, we have received an instrument signed by the lords justices, and expressed in that addition to be a safe conduct; in which instrument we observe how it lies in the power of some eminent ministers of state, either surreptitiously to procure from beyond, or unwarrantably to insert in their writings here, the words (actors or abettors in so odious a rebellion) and to apply them unto the catholicks of this kingdom. We are not (praised be God) in that condition, to sacrifice our loyalty to the malice of any; and it would be a madness beyond expression for us, who fight in the condition of loyal subjects, to come in the repute of rebels, to set down our grievances. We take God to witness, there are no limits set to the scorn and infamy flung upon us; and we will be in the esteem of loyal subjects, or die to a man. The chaff lies yet unsevered, and there is much blood spilt, that must be accounted for to his majesty. We therefore, whom nothing can afflict more than the condition of the times, do protest it proceeds not from us that any overture for appeasing the present distempers should fall to the ground, but we find we are necessitated to absent ourselves from that meeting, without we did submit our apparent and unspotted affections to his majesty's service to the worst of calumnies, render our cause despicable to all the world, and drawing on ourselves and our posterity the odious name of rebels; so as we have unanimously fixt on a resolution to cast away all thoughts of accommodation, until that foul imputation of rebellion, most undeservedly laid to our charge, be taken away; which done, we will readily contribute our best endeavours to the cure of this great body, miserably rent by the convulsions of an intestine war. Yet expecting that our agents be not named to our hand, nor we confined to our choice of them, and that we be assigned a place of meeting less incommodious, or more indifferent, and a secure course taken for the safety of our agents; for we have among
many

many other examples of faith-breaking, a lamentable experiment in the pillaging of Mr. George King's whole substance, and the burning of his house three days before he was to appear, how unsafe a safe conduct, even a proclamation set forth by the now lords justices in his majesty's name, proved unto him. If these our just and reasonable demands shall be denied unto us, we must again employ some zealous and well-minded man, who in the behalf of justice dare hazard the rack, by whom we may address our humble requests to the fountain of justice, his sacred majesty, whose most faithful and most humble subjects we are.

Mount-Garret.	Hugo Armachanus.	Gorman's-town.
Joannes Clonfortensis.	Nicholas Plunket.	Richard Bealing.
Patrick Darey.	Gerald Fennell.	George Comin.
		Geffrey Browne.

Rofs, 9th Feb. 1642.

My letter to my lord Gorman's-town, and my lord Mount-Garret, the 13th of February.

MY LORDS,

BY dispatches out of England, and one from the lord marquis of Ormond, I am informed of a commission come from his majesty, directed unto his lordship, myself and others, for the receiving and returning unto his majesty what shall be said or propounded unto his majesty from those engaged in the present action; and withal that a summons and safe conduct is already sent for such as shall be chosen by you to repair to Tredagh the 23d of this present, the time and place appointed for the execution of that commission. In obedience to his majesty's commands, and out of my desire to contribute my best endeavours for the quiet settlement of this distracted kingdom, I am preparing myself to give my attendance there at the time prefixed. And in regard of the great distempers that possess all parts, and disturb the passages, I hold it necessary by your lordships means to desire a safe conduct for myself and company, that with security I may pass and return with an indifferent number, being unwilling in this scarce season of the year to be too great a burthen to any by carrying too large a train; and I shall expect your lordships favour herein with all expedition; the limited time being now at hand. And I hope this will be a ground and happy beginning of a happy understanding between his majesty and his people; and that God will so confer his blessings upon this work, that a full proportion of duty and affection shall proceed from hence, and a plentiful measure of mercy and grace be poured upon us from his throne of majesty, and that all will be so happily composed that I may be able to express myself

Your lordships affectionate friend to serve you,

Portumna, the 13th of
February, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord Gorman's-town, and my lord Mount-Garret, the 27th of February.

Our very good LORD,

YOUR lordship with these will receive the copies of a summons, and of an instrument called a safe conduct, sent unto us from Dublin, together with our answer thereunto; by which you may perceive how our enemies have prevented his majesty's gracious intentions towards us, by casting a block in our way, at which all men of upright hearts, who are conscious to themselves of such loyal thoughts as ours, must needs stumble. We take God to witness that nothing upon earth could have befallen more acceptable unto us, than to be put in a way to give an end to the present distempers; but it were a sin which scarce any repentance could expiate, to give the lie to our private consciences, and in the

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behalf

Feb. 1642. { behalf of a kingdom to acknowledge a most just war to be a rebellion. We do not yet know what answer will be returned to our reasonable demands; and when we are advertised that nothing will be a hindrance to your lordship's journey, but an assurance that you may pass safe in these unquiet times, we will provide for it. Thus with the remembrance of our heartiest wishes unto your lordship, we rest

Your lordship's affectionate friends to serve you,

Kilkenny, the 17th of
February, 1642.

Mount-Garret. Gorman's-town.

My lord Gorman's-town, and my lord Mount-Garret, the 18th of February.

Our very good LORD,

WE have detained the gentleman you sent for a day, because the council had resolved to write unto the commissioners, that by him you might receive the copy of their letter, and a safe conduct, which, because we know not how soon your lordship might have occasion to make use of it, we have likewise sent unto you, and do heartily desire that it may not be in the power of our professed enemies to hinder the peace of the kingdom. Thus with the remembrance of our heartiest wishes unto you, we rest

The 18th of February, 1642.

Your lordship's loving friends,

Mount-Garret. Gorman's-town.

The council at Kilkenny to the lords commissioners, the 18th of February.

Our very good LORDS,

WE have since the 9th of this instant to this present (a time sufficient for a messenger to return) expected to have received an answer to the just and reasonable demands which we made, in answer as well to a summons sent from your lordships, grounded on his majesty's commission, as also an instrument of safe conduct, signed by the lords justices. The uttermost of our endeavours are, and at all times have been, that no malice of our enemies should establish us by any practice, in a condition ill-becoming the profession we have often made of our loyalty, and due obedience to our sacred sovereign, and merely opposite to the sincere expressions (if called upon) we shall make in our estate and persons to his service. And therefore we desire your lordships, that his majesty's gracious intention towards us, and the right understanding which he is pleased to receive of our proceedings, may not be frustrated by any, who because they would countenance their own bad inclinations, and second their many professions to destroy us root and branch, would involve the kingdom in a war on both sides, destructive to his majesty's interests. And we beseech you to believe, that we conceive there cannot a great blessing under heaven befall us, than the assurance of any way by which we may transmit our grievances to the fountain of justice, his sacred majesty. And though we are as yet enforced to bear all the aspersions and calumny which malice can dictate, yet we are confident to make it appear our enemies have heaped their own crimes upon us, and that by this their practice we have suffered twice over. And we pray your lordships to be satisfied, and so to inform his majesty, that his commands shall find obedience in the dispose of our men and arms; and we will be ready, as far as the necessity of this much wasted kingdom will give us way, to express our hearty zeal to serve him. Sure, our very good lords, these appear not like the propositions of actors or abettors in an odious rebellion; and we resent these words with an indignation, proportioned to the loyalty we will die in; and therefore we expect that no such words be inserted in any instrument directed unto us; and that, in
satisfaction

satisfaction of our reasonable demands, we may have a copy of the commission, ^{Feb. 1642.} a place more commodious and indifferent, and a competent time to meet appointed for us, and a course taken for the safety of agents to be named by us, who shall be so chosen and authorised, as may best further the appeasing of the present troubles. But if such be our misfortunes, and the power of our enemies, that way may not be given to these our just requests, we shall, upon notice received from your lordships, prepare our petition of grievances and propositions to be transmitted by your lordships, so the commission do bear it; otherwise we shall be constrained to adventure, with any hazard, the presenting thereof immediately unto his majesty, whose most humble and most faithful subjects we are.

Kilkenny, the 18th of
February, 1642.

Mount-Garret. Gorman's-town.

My letter to my lord Gorman's-town, and my lord Mount-Garret, the 23d of February.

MY LORDS,

YOUR dispatches of the 17th and 18th I received, and the inclosed replies to the lord marquis of Ormond, and other commissioners residing at Dublin, and the safe conduct for my own repair thither, for which I return your lordships many thanks, but have for a time deferred my journey; the time and place for the execution of the commission being altered, and no new settlement being come to my knowledge, what resolutions hath been since taken therein I desire to receive from your lordships, all intercourse to Dublin being stopped; and my confidence of my own speedy repair thither made me forget in my last dispatch to move your lordships for a pass for my messengers to go and come safe from thence during this treaty, and further as there should be occasion, since I cannot with conveniency go thither without some preparation beforehand; and besides, I am to send some great dogs to the prince, having received his commands to that purpose.

My lords, my wife is importunate with me for her repair into England with her family, being invited thereto by the earnest persuasions of her friends there, and her own desires pressing much that way; if your lordships please to afford her that courtesy, as to procure a safe conduct for her, either to Dublin, or through Munster, which she may reserve by her until she shall think fit to make use thereof, I presume your lordships will find it a favour not cast away, or forgotten by her; and a resolution to these particulars, I shall desire with convenient expedition; and, in the mean time, will continue my prayers for a speedy and happy cure to the present sad distempers, that may enable me to appear

Portumna, the 23d of February, 1642. Your lordships affectionate friend to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord viscount Gorman's-town, and my lord viscount Mount-Garret, the 27th of February.

Our very good LORD,

WITH these we send unto your lordship the copies of the commissioners second dispatch, and our answer thereunto, whereupon you may ground a resolution such as to your lordship seems most expedient. A pass is sent unto such messengers as shall be employed by your lordship about the affairs concerning this commission, who may safely convoy such great dogs as your lordship will send by them. The safe conduct desired by my lady is likewise granted,

Feb. 1642. granted, but with less chearfulness than any other request which might be made in her ladyship's behalf, we being heartily sorry her ladyship enjoyed not the comfort of more quiet times, and would not resolve to expect them. Thus with remembrance of our heartiest wishes unto your lordship, we rest

Your lordship's loving friends,

Kilkenny, the 27th of

February, 1642.

Mount-Garret.

Gorman's-town.

The lords commissioners to some of the council at Kilkenny, the 18th of Feb.

WHEN we sent you our summons, we expected not that you would doubt of our having a commission from his majesty; to avoid which, and other scruples made by you, we have thought fit herewith to send you a copy of the same, which were brought and delivered unto us from his majesty on the 1st of this month, and by Mr. Thomas Burke, one of the commissioners appointed.

The words excepted against by you in the safe conduct are taken verbatim out of his majesty's letter, which was brought and delivered the same time by Mr. Burke unto the lords justices, of which we assure you. Our desires, by way of premonition, we still take to be in themselves fit.

The place, as a matter of less importance, may be varied, and another time appointed, so the same be with speed and conveniency desired by you. However, we desire you to let us know as soon as you can by this drum your receipt of this letter. Dated this 18th of February, 1642.

Ormond.

Roscommon.

Thomas Lucas.

Mau. Eustace.

Thomas Burke.

Subscribed, to the lord viscount Gorman's-town, the lord viscount Mount-Garret, Nicholas Plunket, Richard Bealing, Pat. Darcy, Garret Fennell, George Comin, and Geoffrey Browne, Esquires, or any two or more of them, to be opened.

The council at Kilkenny, to the lords commissioners, the 25th of Feb. 1642.

Our very good LORDS,

WE have received yours of the 18th of February by this drum; and in answer thereunto we desire, that what hath befallen contrary to your expectations in the necessary wariness of our proceedings, may be imputed to the weighty occasion which justifies all scruples, and expects from us an exact discussion of each circumstance. His majesty's commission (whereof a copy hath been sent unto us by your lordship) hath satisfied us two ways; the one in clearing that access unto his majesty's justice, which hitherto, by all the practices the malice of our enemies could invent, hath been debarred us; a favour which justly requires at our hands all the grateful expressions of hearty and zealous affections to his service; the other in letting us see the bad effects sprung from the misrepresentations of us and our actions, which (if smothered) might have continued us under the cloud of his majesty's indignation, and have been an impediment to our just defence, not knowing how far otherwise their malice had prevailed against us. Since therefore the same power which is able to redress the injuries done us, and satisfy his people, with the just punishment of the misinformers (when such they shall appear to be) delivers itself in their words, lest any colour might remain unto our enemies, whereby they might countenance their practices, and now character us insolent contemners of his majesty's grace and mercy, we have appointed our very good lords, the lord viscount Gorman's-town, the lord baron of Upper Ossory, Sir Lucas Dillon, knight, Sir Robert Talbot,

Talbot, baronet, Turlagh O Neile, and John Walsh, esquires, or any three or more of them, to attend the execution of the said commission, and to present the grievances and demands of the catholicks of Ireland, and to deliver them in writing under the hands of any three or more of them. We desire, if it be so thought fit by your lordships, that the 17th of March next at Trim be appointed the time and place of meeting, and that the safety of our said agents, and their retinue, be carefully provided for, and all timely made known unto us. Yet since the ugliness of the shape wherein we have been set forth to his majesty, hath drawn from him all expressions of disloyalty in us; we, to do right to our own consciences, do declare the clearness of our intentions; and to the end that no act of ours may countenance the opinion of any such guilt in us, in presence of the God of truth do protest we have been necessitated to take arms, to prevent the extirpation of our nation and religion, threatened and contrived by our enemies, to maintain the rights and prerogatives of his majesty's crown and dignity, the interests of his royal issue, the just liberties of our country, and to no other end; and that we are, always have been, and ever will continue his majesty's most humble and most faithful subjects.

Kilkenny, the 25th of
February, 1642.

Mount-Garret.

Gorman's-town.

By the supreme council of the confederate catholicks of Ireland.

WHEREAS the right honourable the lady Anne, countess of Clanricarde and St. Albans, as we are given to understand, hath a desire to repair into the kingdom of England, when her own conveniency, or the state of her health, may invite her thereunto: And request being made unto us for a safe conduct for her ladyship, and her family, and retinue, which being by us considered, we willing to comply with the desires of a lady of her honour and interest in this kingdom, do therefore in his majesty's name command and require all and every the lords general, lieutenant general, commanders, officers, and soldiers of the catholick army in this kingdom, and all governors, magistrates, sheriffs, and all others his majesty's officers and loving subjects, whom it shall or may concern, to give unto the said countess, her family, train, and retinue, goods, and all other necessities in her ladyship's company, free pass, either to Dublin, or any other parts thereabouts, or to any of the ports of Munster, where she may find it most convenient to ship herself, her family, train, retinue, and goods for England; and also safely to convoy and conduct her ladyship, her said family, train, retinue, and goods, in all places in this kingdom, as occasion shall, or may require the same, and as to a personage of rank and quality doth appertain. And inasmuch as we have given, and do hereby give unto the said countess, our safe conduct, we do expect that all and every of his majesty's subjects whom it may concern, do afford due obedience thereunto, as they shall answer the contrary at their uttermost peril. Given at Kilkenny, the 26th of February, 1642.

Mount-Garret.

Hugo Armachanus.

Gorman's-town.

Joannes Clonsertensis.

Nicholas Plunket.

Richard Bealing.

Patrick Darcy.

Gerrard Fennel.

Tur. O Neile.

George Comyn.

Geffry Browne.

Ever M^c Gennis.

Whilst these important affairs were thus in debate, there was no time lost by the clergy of these parts in their violent prosecutions of myself and followers, by their accustomed compulsory oaths and excommunications, inasmuch that many came to me with great anxiety and amazement, importuning my care to procure some better condition for them, being debarred the exercise of their reli-

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gion,

Feb. 1642. gion, and kept out of the church, besides many temporal oppressions, which would be still enforced upon them if they did not quit their duty and allegiance to his majesty, by taking unlawful and contradictory oaths to those they had formerly taken. In this exigent I was necessitated to a course, which, if not warrantable according to the formalities of some parts of the law, yet I held it better to run some hazard that way, rather than endanger a publick breach of all laws by a general defection; and, upon that consideration, I published this following advice and declaration.

I Desire that all the gentlemen of the barony of Longford, and others of the bishoprick of Clonfert, who have taken the oath of allegiance to the king, or an oath to be faithful in their service to his majesty by my direction, his majesty's governor in this county of Galway, being willingly and freely taken, without any equivocation, or mental reservation, and are still desirous to continue in that duty and obedience as they ought, and conceive themselves bound unto, but are scrupulous by reason of threats of excommunication and censures of the church for refusing to take the oath of association, that they repair to father Oliverus, as their spiritual guide and superior, and demand of him, as he shall answer for their souls in this particular before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, just judge and searcher of hearts, to declare in writing under his hand, and the hand of the bishop of Clonfert, whether, notwithstanding their former aforesaid oaths, they be bound in conscience, under pain of mortal sin, and incurring the censure of excommunication if published against them, to take the oath of association by him propounded and urged, and that his answer be clear, formal, and without evasion between lawful and obligatory action; and that I expect, until his absolute answer appear as aforesaid, he surcease from farther proceedings, or terrifying of people; and likewise that his reasons be inserted in his declaration for the more clear intelligence and right understanding.

The 25th of Feb. 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

By colonel Preston's letter and my answer, and by the propositions from the provincial council of the confederates, and my returns unto them, and by the restless working of the clergy to draw off all dependance from me, may be clearly discerned what variety of dangers and difficulties were daily multiplied upon me, and all means of safety still impairing and going farther from me, by the sudden and unexpected departure of my lord president, Sir Charles Coote, and the rest of the English commanders; the increasing of the troubles in England, and the power and government both here and there, in such hands as had little regard or consideration of my perplexed condition, but rather, as I conceived, watchful to take advantage of me by a curious search into, and perjudicate opinion of all my actions and proceedings, if I should chance to escape the violent proceedings of the confederate party here.

As the arrival of his majesty's commission directed to my lord marquiss, myself, and others, did seem to promise me a temporary preservation, and gave me strong hopes that it might be a good beginning of a more lasting safety, and a means of settling the sad distractions of the whole kingdom; or at least, if not successful in all, I might gain that advantage by it as to enable me to wait upon my lord marquiss, and to confer with my nephew Thomas Burke, lately come from his majesty, who could clearly inform me of all intelligence, and the true state of affairs, and advise and instruct me in the prosecution of my service, and discharge of my duty to his majesty, together with the best ways of security to my own particular, having hitherto had little other assistance than the weak and dim light of mine own judgment and observation, to guide me through many dark and thorny affairs; so the exceptions, and somewhat high expressions of those that managed the affairs of the confederate party against the safe conduct

duct sent, and the suspicion held of the state, together with the passions and violent inclinations observable in many of both sides, industriously labouring to disturb all ways of accommodation, thereby to conceal or cover their own guiltiness and malicious practices, under the hardly to be discovered veils, in times of tumult, of duty to the king, zeal to religion, and care of the safety and happiness of the kingdom, the pretences of both, but their ways spitefully opposite, and the means of acquiring those ends not at all regarded, though earnestly pretended. The consideration of these difficulties did even quite blast in the bud the springing hopes I had of a successful issue to this important affair. Concerning my answer to colonel Preston, my reply to the provincial council, my letters to Kilkenny, and the expostulation with some of the clergy by my publick direction, if I have transgressed in the strict letter of the law, as probably I have, either through ignorance, or necessity; if the remoteness of my dwelling and jurisdiction, with the power of my adversaries that surrounded me, be considered, the neglects put upon me by the failing of assistance in all kinds, both of advice and strength, and the small hope of any timely supply remembered; the natural obligation to provide for the safety of my wife and children, how prodigal soever of my own life and fortune rightly considered; the quality and disposition of those that adhered unto me, my want of power to give them reward or encouragement; the many snares laid both spiritual and temporal to withdraw them from me, and my having nothing of satisfaction to give them, or ability to oppose the violence of others, but only that form, and those arguments I was inforced to use, being all duly weighed, together with my settled resolutions, expressed in the whole scope of all my actions, writings, and discourse, to live and die most loyal and faithful to his majesty's service, though, perhaps, accompanied with some compulsory defects. I do confidently hope, if appearing before his majesty to make my defence, he will through his infinite wisdom and gracious goodness acquit me from all intention of crime, and declare me, though not so considerable as might be expected, if the times had not been so malicious and distracted, yet not altogether an unprofitable or useless servant to him; and if so unfortunate as to be questioned before any other tribunal, as such are now composed and possessed, all defence or justification would be lost, where the satisfaction must be no other than the ruin of a nation, at least the destruction of all of my profession, though never so deserving.

I received several letters from captain Willoughby, and from the mayor of Galway, both complaining against each other, the captain being very prodigal of his powder, bestowing his great shot very freely and frequently upon the town, without any considerable prejudice to them; and though they were insolent enough, yet I did not esteem it discretion to give them such continual provocation, when I was still labouring to keep their party divided, and to divert their forces from any attempts upon that place, and had laboured with both to forbear all acts of hostility, at least, until my return from Trim, by which time I hoped, either by sea or land, the state would provide for the safety of that place, of so considerable consequence to be preserved.

I received several letters full of thanks and profession of respect from my lord Castle-Stewart and Sir Arthur Blundell, now in the fort of Galway, and from the garrisons in the county of Roscommon; though by captain John Kelly, and others, I was informed of the great havock and spoil they made upon my estate and tenants, which I bore with patience rather than they should suffer want.

Upon the 17th of this month I received a long letter from my lord of Thomond, dated the 30th of January, complaining of his being debarred intelligence more than such as came from the Irish party, expressing; that he rejoiced at my happiness, having many faithful friends and followers adhering to me, but must bemoan himself, being generally deserted by such as should shew the like respect to him, having erected a new frame of government, and confederated themselves with the province of Munster; that they had tried all ways to bring them

Mar. 1642. them to obedience, but could not prevail; that they had profaned his majesty's sacred name, avouching their actions to be warranted by him; that he had represented the same to his majesty, and expected a return to disprove that rumour; but that such was the incredulity of our countrymen, that he conceived if the king were himself in person here to declare his detestation of their courses, they would not believe it.

About the end of this month Sir Charles Coote, Sir Michael Earnly, Sir Edward Povey, and some other officers, exhibiting seventy-four articles against the lord Ranelagh, lord president of Conaght, first preferred to the lord marquiss of Ormond, by his lordship brought to the council board, and after transmitted to the king; and his lordship repairing into England did fully clear himself of those aspersions cast upon him, as likewise in some particulars, wherein mention was made of me, that might have been subject to some misconstructions.

The bishop of Clonfert, his declaration concerning the oath of association, and the censure of excommunication thereupon, the 2d of March, 1642.

A strange
ratio, the
two capital
crimes of dis-
loyalty and
perjury must
be committed
upon pain of
mortal sin
and excom-
munication.

SOME of the gentry in the barony of Longford, in Clonfert diocese, presented my brother the reverend father Oliverus Burke, by me authorized for the spiritual government of the said diocese, during my own absence, a paper, importing a question thus stated: Whether gentlemen who took the oath of allegiance to the king, or an oath to be faithful in their service to his majesty, by direction of a nobleman, by royal patents their superior, be bound in conscience, under pain of mortal sin, and of incurring the censure of excommunication, if poured against them, to take the oath of association, by the said father Oliverus propounded and urged. The character and signature thereof I duly respect. And to the question I answer, that the said gentlemen, notwithstanding their oath of allegiance, or an oath taken to be faithful in their service to his majesty, by direction of the above mentioned nobleman, are bound, under pain of mortal sin, to take the said oath of association, thereupon required by their ordinary, and are, in their default, liable to the censure of excommunication fulminated against obstinate refusers of the oath, *ratio e.* because the emission of the oath, in itself both lawful and necessary, is commanded upon great deliberation by the church in a matter of weight, and approved by his holiness. I therefore pray all the gentry of Clonfert diocese, with the rest of the said diocese thereunto desired, or to be desired by my brother father Oliverus, or their parish priests, to conform themselves to the holy church's command in this behalf. In which, after this intreaty, and the several former admonitions they have had, as well from me as my substitute, if they be found refractory, disobedient and obstinate, I do hereby (as by former instruments I did) pray and require my said brother father Oliverus, and the parish priests by his direction, to proceed to a denunciation of such refractory persons, according to the tenor of the ecclesiastical statute provided in this behalf in the last national council held at Kilkenny, the 24th of October, 1642, and many days after continued. Dated at Kilkenny, the 2d of March, 1642.

Joannes Clonfertenfis.

The lords commissioners to the council at Kilkenny, the 1st of March.

WE received your letters of the 24th of February and the 27th of the same, and according to your desire therein expressed, we do agree that Trim be the place, and the 17th of this month the time, for the execution of our commission, at which time and place such a number of us as is required by the commission, if not more, will be there, to receive what shall be delivered in writing, under the hands of those whom you have named in your letter, or the hands of any three or more of them, as shall be then thought fit by them.

The

The safe conduct of the state you have already with you, and if it please you ^{Mar. 1642.} to send to the lord marquiss of Ormond, who will be with that party of our army which is now upon the march into their country, his lordship will provide a sufficient convoy to attend those you will send to Trim, you first sending a safe conduct to the convoy who shall be so employed, and certain word of the place to which they shall come to meet you. Your resolution herein, and the safe conduct for our convoy, we do expect by this our messenger. Dated the 1st of March, 1642.

Ormond. Roscommon.
Thomas Lucas. Mau. Eustace.

The council at Kilkenny, to the lords commissioners, the 6th of March.

Our very good LORDS,

WE have recived yours of the 1st of March the 5th of the same month, in answer to our letters of the 24th of February last, whereby, according to our desires, you do agree, that the 17th of this month at Trim, should be the time and place for the execution of his majesty's commission. The safe conduct whereof mention is made, and is in our hands, directs only that such as you, his majesty's commissioners, or any three or more of them, shall so appoint, their persons, servants, and whole retinue, shall be safe and free from all danger, molestation, restraint, or detention in their repair to Drogheda, abode there with his majesty's commissioners, and return to their former places of abode; so as now the place being altered, and in respect some doubt may arise concerning our agents, whereof some did not subsign that letter directed to the lord marquiss of Ormond, wherein the humble petition of the catholicks of Ireland was inclosed, it will be necessary we should have a safe conduct in which the place, and the names of our agents, which, by consent of all sides, are now made certain, should be inserted; and we desire that you his majesty's commissionets, who, by his majesty's special direction, are to be assisted and furthered by the lords justices, may both by that power wherewith they are intrusted, in pursuance of his majesty's pleasure and commands, which we rely upon, and by a special engagement upon your honours, assure us of the safety and free return of the lord viscount Gorman's-town, the lord baron of Upper Offory, Sir Lucas Dillon, knight, Sir Robert Talbot, baronet, Turlagh O Neile, and John Welsh, esquires, our agents, and every of them, their persons, servants, and retinue. These safe conducts our said agents will expect the 16th of this instant at Tecroghan, and that a convoy to Killyan be sent unto them, the 17th being the day of meeting, at ten o'clock in the forenoon of the said day, to whom we have sent our inclosed safe conduct.

Kilkenny, 8th of March, 1642.

Mount-Garret. Gorman's-town, &c.

Upon the 8th of this month I wrote unto my lord marquiss of Ormond, and inclosed sent this casement letter, in answer to his lordship's of the 4th of Feb.

My casement letter to my lord marquiss of Ormond, the 8th of March.

ICANNOT differ from you in opinion concerning most of the clergy; their power over the lives and fortunes of men begins to decline, and I hope will be no impediment to the good intended, and punishments of others. I likewise hold it an unseasonable ambition in my nephew to be named in the commission. I believe that there are some eminent persons about the king very faithful to his service, and fully knowing the bad dispositions of the adverse party if they get advantage by treaty; if one continue absent I hope the better. Lest sickness stay my journey, I desire to receive some intimation from you to guide my proceedings; and how far I am obliged to entertain all accidental forces that come

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without

Mar. 1642. without commission from the king. You may be fully confident of the secrecy of my servant James Davock, if any thing be imparted necessary for my knowledge.

My cousin John Barry, the 2d of March, received the 9th.

My very good LORD,

I AM extremely sorry you must receive the unfortunate news of your cousin Thomas Burke's death from me, who would be much more ambitious of being the messenger of glad tidings to you. He was lately come hither from court with a commission from his majesty to the lord marquiss of Ormond, your lordship, himself, and others, to hear and receive the grievances and propositions of our country. I much fear the commission will go to ground, or receive no effect now he is dead, by reason of many difficulties which are in the way; and the going out of this army now (which must of necessity be for want of necessaries to keep them here) if it be not followed and supported by your lordship, and the rest of the commissioners. There is a meeting appointed at Trim the 17th of this month, where your presence would (if you can possibly afford it) give much life and efficacy to the proceedings, and your lordship it may be receive such information from persons of credit, as you will not think your journey ill bestowed; your honour knows the consequence of this business. I shall need to say no more, but to assure you of this truth, that I am, my lord,

Your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

Dublin, the 2d of March, 1642.

JOHN BARRY.

P. S. My lord marquiss commands me to present his service to you, and that if he knows of your lordship's coming to Trim, it will be a great encouragement to him to come thither. Mr. Burke has left two trunks of books and papers in my hands, which shall be safe until I hear from your lordship, or his father, whom he has appointed executors of his will, as this bearer can inform you better.

The sudden loss of my young kinsman was a great misfortune and affliction to me at this time, both in regard of his own abilities, and his present employment; the light I might have received from him of the true state of affairs, being so lately come from court, and in his majesty's good opinion, as appeared in the trust reposed in him, and the favour shewed him by being appointed one of the commissioners, as likewise a farther authority to treat with, or persuade the rebels to their obedience.

CHARLES R.

WHEREAS our rebel subjects in our kingdom of Ireland have humbly petitioned us to receive certain propositions from them, to which request we have graciously condescended. And whereas our trusty and well beloved Thomas Burke, Esq; is by us employed into that kingdom upon that occasion; we having observed the good affection of the said Thomas Burke to our service, and, in confidence of his integrity, do hereby authorise him to persuade the said rebels by all good ways to conform themselves to our obedience according to their duty; and these our letters shall be to him a sufficient warrant in that behalf. Given at our court at Oxford, the 11th day of January, 1642.

The employment and endeavours of my nephew being thus prevented by his untimely death, it was no small addition of trouble to me, to find both by colonel Barry's letter, and the relation of my nephew's servant, that the farther proceedings in the commission was so doubtful, in regard my lord marquiss was himself

himself gone out with the army, and his return uncertain; and withal, I had ^{Mar. 1642.} been myself for many days so tormented with a violent fit of the stone, which taking away all rest from me, had put me into a very great distemper, and made it scarce possible for me to undertake so long a journey. Being in this perplexity, it pleased God to mitigate my pains, and I immediately dispatched unto my lord marquiss (giving order to the messenger to meet me upon the way) and informed his lordship in what condition I was in; but however, my desires were so strong to wait upon him, as that though very weak in body, I was resolved to undertake the journey; but that if I met any intelligence upon the way that his lordship could not be at Trim, I would most certainly return home and not go thither.

Upon the 12th of this month I received, by the conveyance of Sir George Hamilton the elder, a letter from Mrs. Elizabeth Butler, daughter of Sir George Simons in England, and here married to Mr. Edmond Butler, eldest son of my lord viscount Mount-Garret.

Mrs. Elizabeth Butler, the 10th of March.

MY LORD,

MY husband would not have had these lines addressed unto you from my hand but his own, had he been in place from whence with safety he might have conveyed them, but not being so at this time, he hath imposed the charge upon me, though he could not have picked out a person less for his advantage, having neither language, merit, nor so much as the honour of your acquaintance to presume on; but he believes your goodness needs no motive but itself, nor that his cause requires you should employ therein other of your virtues than your justice, if you be rightly informed of the truth and loyalty of his intention, which Sir George Hamilton is able to do, whom he hath made acquainted with it long since. Therefore if they should now grow to require conditions displeasing to his majesty, he humbly beseecheth you will take notice, he shall disavow them; and that you will be pleased to separate him in your opinion and information from such, if there be any so unfortunate; and if now things be not fairly composed, which he daily offers up his vows and prayers for, that you, who study virtue, and how to serve her, will endeavour to procure a pardon for his innocent offences, which will be an act becoming the greatness of your worth, and an eternal obligation unto, my lord,

Your most humble servant,

The 10th of March, 1642.

ELIZABETH BUTLER.

The contents of this letter were very pleasing to me, being hopeful it was a lucky beginning, and example for many others to imitate, he being a gentleman of prime quality, and large dependance. I returned answer, that with much cheerfulness I would employ my best endeavours to perform those commands she had honoured me with, though the remoteness of my residence, and the watches that were over all my actions, might make it a work of time and difficulty, and that I held it fittest to make my addresses therein to my lord marquiss, as by their direction, lest his lordship should take just exceptions both to them and me to pass him by, and trust to other immediate applications of my own, considering their near relation to his lordship.

The 14th of this month, and the first day I stirred out of my chamber, being the time I was to begin my journey, as I was ready to set forth in a very weak condition, my confessor father Dominick Burke received a command from his superior not only to quit my house, but particularly not to accompany me in my intended journey; a stranger nor greater act of malice and folly could hardly be invented, at a time when, with so much hazard of my health, I was going to assist
the

Mar. 1642. the executing of that commission from his majesty, which was the only possible or imaginable way upon earth to prevent the destruction and general ruin that hung over them. This being shewed him, I told father Dominick he must give me leave to answer for him; and thereupon I appointed one to go to his superior, and to let him know, that I was at the instant of my departure to Trim for the execution of his majesty's commission, and in so ill a state of health, that it was of necessity I should be accompanied as well with a spiritual as temporal physician; and that I was assured Fa. Dominick's faculties, or the exercise of his function, were not suspended; which being so, I would for that time and occasion be bold with one hundred horse to secure and enforce his person to go along with me, and leave this action, and the command of absenting himself from my house, to be disputed upon my return at better leisure. I thought fit to mention this particular, that the charitable disposition and intentions of some of the clergy towards me may be the better discerned, and the many strange difficulties several ways put upon me the more clearly observed.

Kilcolgan,
the 14th.

That night I reached to Mr. Terence Coghlan's in the King's county, about fourteen miles journey, a gentleman of very good parts and ability, and of a disposition and integrity suitable thereto. It is true, that after a long opposition, and avoiding of it, he was at last brought into the association, having no strength, nor means allowed him, either to preserve his person or estate; and though those might be powerful inducements to work upon frailty, yet, indeed, in my opinion and observation, there was another motive that wrought upon him equally, if not more prevalent than his particular interest, which was to be the better enabled, and with the more authority, to succour and relieve the distressed English in those parts, to whom he did all good offices within his power; for some he got relief, and some satisfaction, and for others he provided passes and safe conducts to bring them to places of safety; and so good an opinion was held of him, as that when some castles were besieged, and to be surrendered, he must be called upon, and the English would trust themselves into no other hands but his for their safe convoy, and performing conditions; and when the times were most dangerous for such exemplary justice, he caused three persons to be executed for a murder done upon some poor English.

15th.

The next night I went to Mr. Arte M^c Geoghegan's, an honest hospitable old gentleman, that kept himself quiet, though enforced to contribute and converse with others in action; and indeed the whole family and name of them were good people, and very well inclined towards the English, as far as they were able, and did preserve and restore much of their goods intrusted to them.

Brackland,
the 16th.

The third night I came to Mr. Nugent's of Brackland, a plain honest gentleman, most barbarously spoiled and pillaged both by English and Irish, having not stirred nor given offence to any, but free and hospitable to all the English forces passing that way. There I was certainly informed, that my lord marquiss of Ormond was before Ross, and would not be at Trim; and my old diseases of the stone and cholick renewing, I was almost resolved to return back, though within ten miles of Trim. Late that night, there came a gentleman to me from my lord of Gorman's-town and the rest employed by the confederate party, to let me know they were as far as Tecroghan, and desired to know my certain resolution whether I would be at the execution of the commission at Trim, if not, though so far advanced on their way, they were resolved to return back, in regard that they had seen a letter of mine, directed to my lord marquiss of Ormond, wherein I declared, that if his lordship were not there, wheresoever such intelligence came to me I would return, and if that I did apprehend such danger in that meeting, it must needs prove more disastrous to them. I returned answer, though I was much impaired in my health, and that my pains did grow upon me, yet being come so near, if I could possibly travel, I would be at Trim the next day; that my expressions to my lord marquiss were only to draw him thither, or, at least to provide for the discharging of the commission, if sickness should detain me; and

Mr. Nicholas Darcy of
Plattin.

and that I had met with his allowance of my return near home; that there was not ^{Mar. 1642.} the least cause or colour for me to think of any danger to myself, neither could I apprehend any to them, being most confidently assured, that my lord marquiss, though absent, was so careful and tender of the king's honour, and his own engagement, that he had sufficiently and securely provided for their safety.

The next morning, after a painful night, being at some ease I went to Trim, ^{Trim, 17th.} and was met upon the way by major Thomas Traford, then governor of the town, in the absence of Sir Richard Greenfield. There I found the earl of Roscommon, the lord viscount Moore, and Sir Maurice Eustace already arrived. Soon after my coming, the lord Gorman's-town and the rest came to town; and that night we ^{Lord Gorman's-town, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Robert Talbot, and John Walfsh, Esq;} only met, and saluted like to a dumb shew in an interlude, more than what was preparative to the execution of the commission, and appointed to fall upon it the next morning. There being informed, that my servant Thomas Webb was come to Dublin, whom I had employed to the king in October last, I sent two servants of mine to bring him to me, and wrote to my lord justice Parsons, informing him of my being there, and that I was very fearful the great pains that were upon me would not permit me to perform my resolution and earnest desire to wait upon his lordship before my return, and gave him an account of the state of affairs at home, and earnestly importuned speedy supplies for the fort, if no other assistance could be allowed me.

The next morning we sat upon the commission in my chamber, I being then ^{Trim, 18th.} in great extremity of pain; and after shewing the commissions on both sides, they read their remonstrance of grievances and propositions to us, which being since printed, I shall not need to mention here; then they delivered a duplicate of it to us, whereof we sealed up one directed to his majesty, to be sent by the way of Dublin, and the other to Ross, to my lord marquiss, to be that way conveyed to the king, and they promised to send us another copy for our own satisfactions only; and that night they returned back towards Kilkenny, very fully satisfied with the civility and kind usage of the governor; and the same night my lord Moore and Sir Maurice Eustace departed towards Tredagh, and that way to Dublin; my lord Roscommon having an estate thereabouts, stayed that night upon business, and the governor would needs have me stay to rest myself, and to accompany my lord Roscommon, whose noble and free discourse and information of several affairs, most necessary for my knowledge and observation, did afford me much comfort and content.

The next day, being Sunday, about noon, we parted, my lord Roscommon ^{From Trim towards Dublin, 19th.} towards Dublin, and carried with him, much to my grief and prejudice, my true faithful friend Mr. justice Donnellan, to whose careful assistance I must attribute much for the means of my preservation, and I went myself about ten miles to a manor of mine called Rathwire, wherein Mr. Justice Donnellan had been my tenant, and built a very good house there, but all was now burnt and destroyed there by the Irish, only a little gate house left that afforded one chamber for myself, and some few small cabins about it for my servants, under the care of a follower of mine Mr. Con. M^c Gohegan.

The next day, before noon, arrived my servant Thomas Webb, and brought me some letters from his majesty, my lord of Falkland, and several others of my friends, and himself much joyed to be safely come to me. ^{From Rathwire to Stream's-town, 20th.}

My lord viscount Falkland, secretary of state, the 19th of January, received the 20th of March, 1642.

MY LORD,

THOUGH I am humbly to ask your lordship's pardon for so long detaining your messenger, yet if your lordship compare the date of your letter with that of mine, you will suppose me to have detained him four months longer than I have done; but I hope your lordship will impute both this slowness,

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and

Mar. 1642. and blottedness of this, to my many busineses in so distracted and sad a time, and not to any want of respect to your lordship, to whom (both with reference to your lordship's person, and that title to a part in your blood, which your mention gives me leave to take notice of, and that favour you are pleased to profess to me) I should be very glad to be able to express my service. His majesty's letter and declaration, which your lordship will herewith receive, are so full an answer to all the parts of your lordship's letter which concern business, that I shall only join with your lordship in my prayers for a happy reconciliation here, that you may be speedily assisted with succours from hence; both which shall, upon all occasions, be endeavoured to the utmost of the power of, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

January the 19th, 1642.

FALKLAND.

P. S. His majesty, since the writing of this, commanded me to advertise your lordship, that he hath made you one of his commissioners to receive and convey to him such particular propositions, as the rebels hath expressed by a petition that they had a desire to make to him. This I did not know till his majesty gave this command. I suppose his intention is by this to leave it to your choice, whether you will think fit (if you can be spared at your government) to go up to Dublin to execute this commission, or come over according to your licence.

His majesty's letter, dated the 19th of January, received the 20th of March.

To our right trusty and right well beloved cousin, Ulick earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, our governor of our town and county of Galway in our kingdom of Ireland.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right well beloved cousin, we greet you well. As we are confident we never gave any authority to the lord Forbes to take any place into his hands out of the government intrusted to you by us, so we cannot but allow of your not delivering any such up to him without our consent, and we desire you to continue your utmost endeavours for the defence of our good subjects and suppression of the rebels in that government, to which you should long before now have received an assistance of forces from hence, if it had been in our power to have sent them to you: and the better to enable you, because you signify to us, that the policy of the chief rebels there hath so far seduced that unhappy nation, that many of them are yet persuaded that they serve us in rebelling against us, notwithstanding so many and so full declarations of our abhorring the odiousness of that rebellion; and they are the easier seduced into this belief by reason that no direction under our hand is come unto you concerning it; we have here inclosed and sent such a declaration and direction to this purpose, under our royal hand and signet, as we hope will be a good assistance to you to undeceive them; yet withal, we again give you licence to repair into England to us, if you find that neither our expressions, nor any forces that can be sent to you are sufficient to enable you, either to inform their understandings, or repress their power, and that your presence there is not of use to our service, of which we leave it to your own discretion to be judge, being made confident by the great care expressed by you in the defence and preservation of all the English in those parts, even beyond your government, and of furnishing our forts there with provisions at your own expence (particularly of Sir Arthur Blundell at Fort Falkland, for which we return you our royal thanks) that you will not desert that place in such a time, wherein your absence may be a weakening and prejudice

judice to our good subjects ; and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Oxford, the 19th of January, 1642. Mar. 1642.

His majesty's declaration, the 19th of January, received the 20th of March, 1642.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all our good subjects in our town and county of Galway, in our kingdom of Ireland, greeting. Whereas we are informed (notwithstanding our many full declarations and perpetual and cordial concurrence against the odious rebellion now raised in Ireland) that many of our subjects there do still pretend that they do really serve us in rebelling against us ; and that our right trusty and right well beloved cousin Ulick earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, governor of our town and county of Galway, adheres to those who stand in opposition against us, and that the rather for that he hath received so small succours from us, nor any instruction and declaration under our royal signature ; we do hereby declare our good opinion of the loyalty and fidelity of the aforesaid governor, and will and require all you our dutiful subjects of that our town and county to be obedient unto him as being appointed governor of the same by and under us, and command you, upon your allegiance, that you be to your power assisting in defending our good subjects, and in resisting, opposing, and suppressing the rebels in those parts ; and farther declare and assure you, that nothing but want of means (by reason of the present distractions in this kingdom, which we trust in God he will soon end) to furnish the aforesaid governor, hath withheld us from sending unto him sufficient forces for this end ; and that we had sooner published these our commands, if we had not conceived our sense of that rebellion to have been so notorious, and our commission under our great seal to the aforesaid governor (not being in so long a time revoked by us) to have been so sufficient an argument of his proceeding by our authority, that no art or malice could so far have infused the contrary into our people, as that any declaration of this kind could have been needful. Given under our sign manual and royal signet, this 19th day of January, in the 18th year of our reign, 1642.

My lord Justice Parsons, the 18th of March, received the 20th.

Most noble LORD,

I AM very glad of your safe being at Trim, and do wish you all happiness there, and elsewhere. I have been of late much troubled with the intelligences we received of the ill-temper of our countrymen, and specially that they were set in so evil a way towards you, who I know would give them no offence, except it were faith to your king and gracious master ; but you see God preserveth sincere affections wheresoever he findeth them. I am very sorry for your infirmity, which is many times durable, though seldom suddenly mortal ; if that do permit your travel, your friends will be glad to see you here, if not, I shall wish you a safe return, and good prosperity in all your actions. Your lordship's advertisements of the coming of our ship to Galway is welcome. I hope that comes in good time to preserve that peace which hath liberally found your good affections to his majesty's service. I hope that same shall die with you. I marvel your lordship writes, you have not heard from us since August ; we have since that time written several letters to you, and some by that ship you write of. I am glad of your lordship's being at Trim, that there is a man of so much wisdom and integrity present at that meeting, which may tend to much good, or much evil to this poor kingdom, which hath now so much need of moderate counsels ; and, I doubt not, what lieth in you shall be performed to the common

Mar. 1643 mon good. For my part I shall ever love the kingdom, though I cannot say I can like the late foul faults of many in it; but I hope God will amend them, and ever preserve your lordship, as is heartily wished by

Your lordship's most affectionate servant,

The 18th of March, 1642.

WILLIAM PARSONS.

Streamstown, the 20th.

The receipt of the king's letter and declaration gave me great encouragement, and good hopes it might be a good means to reduce this country to a settled obedience, all former pretences being fully confuted, and ample testimony given of his majesty's gracious acceptance of my endeavours to serve him, and his approbation with my proceedings with my lord Forbes, which was much to my comfort and satisfaction. And having read all my dispatches, I went that night to Streamstown to Mr. John Dillon's, the lawyer, a very honest, able, and well-disposed gentleman, a true lover of peace, affectionate to the English, and English government, a constant exclaimer against the mischiefs and cruelties done by many of the Irish, and calling upon severity of justice to be inflicted upon such offenders; but the violence of the times had inforced him for his present safety to contribute with the confederates, and to accept of some employment and civil offices amongst them.

Kilcolgan, the 21st.

Portumna, the 22d.

The next night I went to Mr. Terence Coghlan's, of whom I have formerly given a right and true character. And the 22d I arrived at my own castle of Portumna, where my wife and family resided. The next day after my return, I sent forth summons and safe conducts to the town of Galway, and to the gentlemen of the several baronies of this county, to repair to Loughreagh the 30th of March, where, by his majesty's command, I intended to publish some declarations from his majesty for the advancement of his service, and for their instruction and right information.

Mr. Edmond Butler, 28th of March, received the 29th.

MY LORD,

MY averfion to the title was given us in the late commission, hath been such, that I have endeavoured the freeing myself from it, though it should be but even after death, which made me, being then in service (which at that present I was not able to avoid) to send to my wife, to declare unto you the loyalty of my intentions, which would have been a satisfaction, whatsoever had befallen me, to have had such a witness of my fidelity. How I was drawn into this miserable condition would appear strange unto you; it is too tedious to relate. I erred with a multitude of others, and was, I confess, sufficiently zealous therein, holding it, at that time, a kind of treason to be otherwise, and I believe had longer continued in that blindness, had not the brightness of your actions contributed much to this change in me, which at that instant I gave notice of to a friend of yours, and since expected the issue only of our petition. Therefore I shall now humbly beseech you, what favours you intend me may not be delayed for the return of his majesty's answer, for I have an ambition the world should know you have been my preserver; and would have made my addresses in person, not in paper, but that I knew not how that course might be approved of by you; therefore shall expect and beg your commands, which, as a law, shall rule all the future actions of

Kilkenny, the 28th of March, 1642.

Your most affectionate kinsman and humble servant,

EDMOND BUTLER.

Mar. 1643.

Mrs. Elizabeth Butler, the 28th of March, received the 29th.

My LORD,

I SEE no changes, or roughness of times, can make you decline from being a courtier, or that the alterations of mens fortunes can alter you from being like yourself. You do well to follow your own steps, who needs not go out of them to find virtue and wisdom; which truth, though my husband maintains to all the world, he dares not write on that piece of paper that is come before your eyes, lest, his condition considered, it might be thought a flatterer's gift (if such it be to be accounted) he hath not been beholding to nature for, whose heart and tongue hath always gone together, though it were necessary to do otherwise among a people infinitely jealous. Let his petition I beseech you (since he is not in an estate of giving other than such troublesome testimonies) serve as an argument of the highest opinion he hath conceived of your worth, upon which he wholly relies in a matter of such great importance, and to you but of indifferency, did not the nobleness of your disposition interest you therein, which are favours of the highest and purest nature, and as such shall be acknowledged by,

My lord, your most humble servant,

ELIZABETH BUTLER.

Captain Richard Coote and captain Edward Ormsby, the 27th March, received the 29th.

Right Honourable,

THIS day we saw the copy of a summons from your lordship for some of the gentry of the county of Galway to appear at Loughreagh, which we heartily wish may take the good effect your lordship hath long laboured for; that copy came unto us, accompanied with a letter from Mr. William Donnellan, whereof the inclosed is a copy. And though we will not pretend to so much knowledge in the law as Mr. Donnellan, yet we are confident we are so well versed in the statutes of this kingdom, as doth enable us to distinguish betwixt subjects and traitors; and do likewise believe, that it will not be well taken of Mr. Donnellan, being (as he saith) his majesty's immediate officer, and as it seemeth by his letter of power to vindicate wrongs, to suffer so inconsiderable a force to remain undisturbed under the walls of his castle, who, upon all opportunities, make night incursions into this country, to the detriment of his majesty's service and good subjects. And, in regard your lordship hath in your summons, without limitation to your own government, required that all his majesty's commanders, officers, and loyal subjects, should take notice of the said summons, or rather (as we suppose) of your lordship's warrant for the safe conduct of the gentry of that county so summoned; and we having drawn to a head some forces, as well for our own defence, as also for the chastisement of the insolent cruelties used towards us by Sir Ulick Burke, Mr. Hubert Burke, and their accomplices, as also by several others of that county of Galway, who having already acted against us, and the rest of his majesty's good subjects in this county, the worst their malice could invent, and their power execute, may now conceive themselves in safety. We have thought it fit humbly to declare unto your lordship, that whatsoever shall happen hereafter, or hath already happened by any of us, we have been merely necessitated unto for our own safeties, which we had not so long suffered but for the respect we owe unto your lordship, and the hopes we had that your lordship would have contained the inhabitants of that county within the limits of their due obedience unto his majesty's laws. We likewise think it fit humbly to offer unto your lordship's consideration the

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state

Mar. 1643. state and condition of most of your lordship's tenants in this county, by whom we daily receive prejudice, and especially of the town of Althleage, the warders of that castle, and the adjoining rebels, being so daily conversant one with the other, the rebels coming thither at their pleasure, and the other intelligences we have lately had concurring, gives us just cause to believe that town and castle is or will soon be at the disposal of the rebels, their other quarter being lately fired. Wherefore we humbly desire your lordship will be pleased to put that castle into the hands of some person of integrity and worth, such as in whose fidelity your lordship and we may have cause to confide; assuring your lordship, that we are resolved to die with our swords in our hands, rather than suffer ourselves to be blocked up by Sir Ulick Burke his ragged regiment, or such others as we know are apt enough to join with him. To conclude, we humbly desire your lordship will be pleased to impart unto us such news as your lordship heard of our friends about Dublin, and the proceedings of our army about Ross; and if your lordship have heard the present condition of the affairs in England. We humbly kiss your lordship's hand, and remain

Your lordship's most humble servants,

Castle-Coote, the 27th of
March, 1643.

Richard Coote. Ed. Ormsby.

My speech to the assembly at Loughreagh, after the reading of his majesty's declaration and letter, the 30th of March.

BY his majesty's declaration and his royal letter you may apparently perceive how many of you have been mistaken and misled; and that if you had been guided by me, and continued your obedience to my authority, derived from his majesty, and now most graciously confirmed and made apparent to all capacities, you might have continued in a most happy condition.

The inconveniencies and calamities that have befallen you by those precipitate courses, your own present sufferings, the poverty and disorder of the country, and your own unsettled condition and proceedings, doth better and more fully inform you than any discourse of mine can deliver, besides the future danger drawn upon yourselves and your posterity, if the abundant mercy of a most royal and gracious king were not sent and conveyed unto you in a manner (I may say) against your wills, by reason of the aspersions cast upon the actions and proceedings of such as were most careful and tender of your safety and preservation, and the continued interruptions given to the messengers and dispatches sent and employed, next to the duty due to his majesty and his service, for your own benefit and advantage.

The consequences of what is this day offered to you is of the greatest importance that can befall you; and by his majesty's gracious mercy and favour, it is now in your own hands and power to obtain a lasting and settled happiness to yourselves and posterity, by paying an easy obedience to his majesty's just commands; who thus graciously offers to redeem and restore your understandings, insnared and captivated by wrong informations and sinister suggestions.

Or, on the other side (which God forbid) if you should persist in a wilful disobedience, which can now admit of no colour or pretence after so full and clear a declaration from his majesty, and particular confirmation and approbation of my proceedings in his service, nothing can be expected but the destructive effects of a most powerful and highly incensed prince, whose indignation will be justly and heartily poured upon you, when he shall find his mercy, thus timely offered, abused, and neglected by you.

The great distempers that happened lately in England, the difficulty of sending or hearing from his majesty, the impossibility of receiving forces or assistance from thence by his appointment, and the violent passions and humours that possessed

possessed many of you, hath inforced me to pass by many exorbitant actions that ^{Mar. 1648.} required present resistance, and deserved immediate punishment. But now that I am warranted by this late authority, which can be subject to no doubt or appeal, I must deal plainly with you ; it is not formal expressions, but an exact obedience I must now require of you, without relation to any other counsels or form of government than what shall proceed from me, and by my authority, as his majesty's governor in this county and town of Galway ; and if some shall be refractory herein, I doubt not to find a major part of able, loyal, and well-affected persons, that will assist me in the execution of his majesty's commands, and the due punishment of all wilful offenders. And whatsoever happens, I shall now enjoy that assured happiness, that I cannot be maligned or prosecuted for any other cause, but for being, through an hereditary right, and my own resolutions, a most constant, loyal, true subject and servant to the king my royal master.

I may not here omit to take some notice of the passionate proceedings of many of the clergy in these parts, who by setting forth excommunications and censures of the church, do affright and disturb most men in their loyalties, consciences, and judgment : and the chief ground of these censures (as I am informed) for not taking an oath of association, which carrieth a specious show of obedience and duty to his majesty, and his laws, but enjoins a strict observance of what hath, or shall be hereafter determined and commanded by other councils and jurisdictions ; and requireth a compulsory consent to all taxes and levies, how unsupportable soever, upon the fortunes and estates of free-born subjects ; which being so oppressive, and clearly repugnant to the king's present commands, for the settlement of this government, I know not how it can be any cause of excommunication, or ought to be a disturbance to the conscience of any that doth profess himself to be a true subject to the king, either to refuse it, or if taken (contrary to their allegiance) not to observe it ; and the knowledge of his majesty's declaration will, I am confident, induce such of the clergy as have been earnest therein, to recal those proceedings, finding them opposite to his majesty's pleasure and just commands ; or, if they shall still persist, however I may respect and reverence their calling, and be guided by them in the obligatory part of my religion, I shall not neglect, as his majesty's governor, to let them find there are punishments appointed by his majesty's laws for all persons whatsoever, that will be wilful disturbers of the king's service, and of the publick peace of this government.

The whole business now propounded to you is briefly thus ; whether you will take hold of his majesty's grace and mercy, continue and renew your loyal and dutiful affections to his service, be obedient to your native governor, undoubtedly established by his majesty's immediate power and authority, and by birth and descent your natural lord and true friend, and preserve yourselves in peace, plenty, and lasting security : Or, whether adhering to the advices and counsel of others, that do not bear that true natural affection to you, you will be branded with disloyalty to your prince, neglect of his grace and favour offered to you, disobedient to those that strive to preserve you, entertain poverty, disorder, danger, and all manner of confusions in present, and in future, destruction to yourselves and posterity.

If there be any thing that doth justly grieve or disturb your thoughts, that may be fitly and dutifully moved to his majesty for your relief and comfort, let it be freely imparted to me ; and be confidently assured I will be an earnest and careful solicitor in your behalfs ; and conforming yourselves to his majesty's pleasure, I doubt not but you will speedily receive the benefit of his majesty's gracious favour, and bounty towards you.

I shall now conclude, and desire you to appoint some short time for the returning of your answer to me in writing ; and God be your director, and bless the work to his glory, the king's service, and your own preservations.

After

Mar. 1643.

After one hour's debate amongst themselves, they desired time to answer to the 10th of April, which I granted to them. If I have erred in these my expressions to the assembly, I will only maintain the uprightness of my intention; and for the errors of my judgment, and defect of speech, can make no other defence or apology than I have formerly expressed.

My letter to captain Richard Coote and captain Edward Ormsby, the 31st of March.

Worthy Friends,

YOUR letter of the 27th I received on the 29th, wherein you take notice of having seen a summons of mine, which you conceive to be doubtfully expressed, or to mention more than belongs to my authority; but, upon farther perusal, and better consideration, I am confident you will find, that as my thoughts are free from assuming any power that belongs not to me, so my expressions were clear and plain, and imported no more than an ordinary safe conduct for the gentlemen of this county to repair unto me to Loughreagh to receive the king's commands, and to return in safety to their own dwellings, which certainly all officers, commanders, and all persons whomsoever are bound to observe within the limits of this county, whether residing here, or coming upon other service. And withal, it may not be improper to let you know, that by my patent, all forces coming into this county in the absence of the lord deputy and chief governors of this kingdom, are to be commanded by me in chief, and to receive their orders and directions from me for any service to be acted here, though I shall never make use of it as an impediment to divert the punishment of any ill-affected persons, or hinder you from prosecution of those you find have or may prove dangerous neighbours to you; but shall certainly, with my best endeavours, be assisting to you against such as I cannot speedily reclaim, and give you assurance of their future loyalty and friendly neighbourhood with you.

I have perused Mr. sheriff Donnellan's letter to you, and reproved him for part of his expressions therein; and though that error were committed by him, I am confident he cannot so far degenerate from all his other friends, or fail in so great a point of trust, as not to have fair and loyal intentions towards his majesty's service, though his ability is not answerable to his employment, by reason of the distraction and confusion of the times, and his remote residence from me, and my assistance. And if he work the remove of those that are oppressive both to you and him, or shall desire your aid therein, it will, I hope, give you that satisfaction as may invite the sparing of him, and my tenants in those parts. And until I receive the resolutions of the country upon my publishing of his majesty's declaration, and my speech unto them yesterday, of both which I send you copies, I could wish that all safe moderation were used so far as belongs to this county, it much concerning his majesty's service, that this government might be so settled, and reduced to obedience, that I might for a short time attend some other occasions of importance. And concerning the castle of Athleague, I shall endeavour to give you satisfaction, with as much expedition as may be; and I shall shortly impart my intentions and resolutions to you more clearly and fully than can now be fitly expressed by

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

About the end of this month I received letters from Mr. justice Donnellan from Dublin of ordinary intelligence, and inclosed a casement letter.

A casement

A casement letter from Mr. justice Donnellan, dated the 23d of March.

IL L offices done you before our coming hither. I wish you were in England. Your not coming to Dublin is not so well approved by some. No relief expected hither, nor to be hoped for there awhile. Those that were for an extirpation begin to alter their opinion. All that I confer with do much commend you for your care of the fort and English; if any have informed otherwise they are sorry for it. To my seeming, Sir Charles Coote is discontented. Much inquiry made what is delivered you upon the commission. There is a report that the army are upon their return, without any great success.

I received letters this month from my lord of Inchiquin, containing only some advertisements out of England, and expressions of respect and friendship to me.

I wrote about the beginning of this month unto my lord of Thomond, acknowledging his favour of the 30th of January, not received until the 17th of February; I gave him notice of his majesty's commission, and sent him copies of it, and of the summons of the commissioners, and safe conduct of the state, the exceptions taken at Kilkenny, and the satisfaction given them; and that Trim, and the 17th of this month, was the place and time appointed for the meeting, with my resolution to be there. I informed him of such intelligences as were then uncertainly discoursed both of England and this kingdom, and did second his complaint with my own of the disorders and disobedience increasing in this government.

The confederate forces raised here, and some drawn into these parts, did very much mischief this month upon several parts of my estate, stealing forth in small parties, and gathering contribution from the poor people; but they were sometimes met withal, and well knocked and disarmed; and they continued still divided and unsettled in their resolutions what design to undertake.

About the end of this month I received letters from Sir Ulick Burke and Mr. Hubert Burke of Dunamon, excusing their not appearing at the assembly at Loughreagh, according to my summons, in regard of the garrisons of Roscommon, who fell heavily upon them, without any provocation given; and that if I would provide for their safety by procuring a cessation between them and those garrisons, during the time of their attendance, they would wait upon me at any time I would appoint; and that now they had sent Mr. Edmund Burke, son to Sir Ulick, and Mr. Cormack Egan, to receive my commands.

My letter to captain Richard Coote and captain Edward Ormsby,
the 1st of April.

Worthy Friends,

BY a letter from Sir Ulick Burke and Mr. Hubert Burke, I am informed of their readiness and willingness to have attended at Loughreagh upon the publishing of the king's declaration; but that the incursions made by the garrisons of the county of Roscommon into this county, and particularly upon their estates, did enforce them to remain there for the safety of their families; and that they are desirous to repair unto me upon Monday come sevensnight, which is the time I have prefixed for the receiving the general answer both of the town and county, if they might be secured from invasions for some few days before and after, fit for a journey to me, and return home.

I hold it so necessary that gentlemen of their quality should be there at that meeting, that I shall desire, if it may be without danger to you, that a cessation for those few days may be agreed upon; and, I presume, they will not make use of this my request, if they do not intend to come with very fair, peaceable, and loyal intentions, otherwise they will but the more prejudice themselves by breach

Apr. 1643. of trust to me upon this occasion, which I leave to your careful consideration, and shall be ready still to express myself

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Ulick Burke, and Hubert Burke, Esq; the 1st of April.

S I R S,

I HAVE received your letter of the 18th of the last month, wherein you set forth your desire to repair to Loughreagh at the publishing of his majesty's declaration; but that the incursions of the garrisons of Roscommon did inforce your stay for the safeties of your families, and that the spoils made by them was without any provocation given. The excuse, as affairs stand, I may justly allow; but I do much wonder how it can be said that no offence was given, when, besides the spoils made long since by those borders on the other county, it hath been the common discourse of all men since Christmasts last, that Castle-Coote, Roscommon, and all these garrisons, should be speedily destroyed by forces raised amongst you, when a tribunal and councils have been set up by you, and offices and commands taken by that usurped authority, in disobedience to his majesty and his laws; and, as much as in you lay, to the dishonour and destruction of your native governor, and near kinsman, for whose sake you were long preserved. Certainly these were considerable occasions to incense and draw forces upon you. But now that his majesty hath sent his gracious declaration to inform your understandings, and to let you know how conformable my proceedings were to his royal pleasure, and the obedience that is required of you, I hope neither the art or malice of any shall prevail with you to run courses opposite to his majesty's pleasure, and so destructive to yourselves and friends, I having long since told you the only way of preservation, and making yourselves capable of his majesty's protection, to keep you from the dangers that are heavy upon you. Mr. Cormack Egan hath the copies of his majesty's declaration, and my expressions thereupon, and the substance of his majesty's letter unto me, which, when you have considered, and find yourselves well disposed to a fit conformity, you may, if you please, make use of this inclosed letter, and accordingly repair unto me at Loughreagh upon Monday come sevensnight at two o'clock, where, if it shall not be your own faults, you shall find me careful of your present and future safeties and preservation, as one that by birth and inclination was still desirous to appear

Your affectionate cousin,

The 1st of April, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to William Donnellan, high sheriff of the county, the 1st of April.

Mr. Sheriff,

* My letter
to them of
the last of
March, page
364.

I SEND you here inclosed a * dispatch to captain Richard Coote and Mr. Ormsby, with a flying seal for your perusal, which will save me a labour of any farther instruction than what you may observe and gather from thence, more than that if differences be reconciled betwixt you, which I must require on your part, you will either by conference, or some other safe way, know their resolutions, or what they shall think fit to desire or expect from me, to which I shall give a full and satisfactory answer upon your return from the meeting at Loughreagh; for if I can obtain my desires of a quiet settlement of the country in other parts, I shall not esteem it a labour ill bestowed to draw those borders to settle peace and amity with our neighbours. I have written to Sir Ulick Burke and Mr. Hubert Burke, with another inclosed to captain Coote and Mr. Ormsby, for a cessation

sation for a few days, if they shall resolve to come to Loughreagh with fair and dutiful intentions. This is as much as I know necessary to inform you of at present, more than to express myself

Your assured loving friend,

Portumna, the 1st of

April, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

About the 2d of this month I dispatched several letters to Dublin to my lord Roscommon, Sir Francis Willoughby, and others, my lord marquiss of Ormond being not then returned from Ross that I could hear; but the principal occasion was to Mr. Justice Donnellan, to receive some clearer knowledge of his expressions in a former casement letter, p. 365, as likewise to be advised by him in my proceedings upon the answer of the country to his majesty's declaration, to whom I wrote in a casement letter.

My casement letter to Mr. justice Donnellan, the 2d of April.

ENGLAND is not to be thought of without money, nor until the king do reply unto what is done by commission. The king's directions doth not warrant Galway's protection upon their conformity, but, if not intended, all that was sent useless, and must I venture upon it, until the king send further order. The doubt then will be, what power or command may be used to keep off the fort, and Sir Charles Coote's party; then for the church livings, whether it may be past by until Ireland be settled, or further order from the king, or must now be suspended into other hands, which will be a main difficulty; advice with Ormond being of great importance, as Galway stands affected. Friends of Oxford with no application to the justices; much is not intended, but respect must still be paid; they advise the moving for the fort, and wonder it was not moved in the last dispatch; I shall proceed to that as I shall find cause here. I desire to know more particularly what information was made of me, and to whom, though it is not much to be valued, as long as Ormond and Oxford are well satisfied. Inform, whether Ormond hath sent any with the commission, and what he conceives of it.

A copy of a letter from the confederate supreme council then at Clonmell, to the archbishop of Tuam, in the county of Galway, the last of March, and conveyed unto me about the 8th of this month by a private hand.

Our very good LORD,

WE have intelligence* that the earl of Clanricarde hath lately received (as we have good cause to believe by his own procurement) some directions from his majesty, to be published to the inhabitants of the county of Galway, and requiring them to lay down arms, and to be directed by the said earl their governor, otherwise that they should be out of his majesty's protection, and accounted as enemies to his crown and dignity; and we are informed, that the said earl hath summoned, or is about to summon, the gentry and principal inhabitants of the said county, to the end the said directions may be made known unto them. And although we are well satisfied that no real or well-meaning man in the said county will be so weak of understanding, short of memory, or so little apprehensive of the state or condition of the kingdom, as not to see the scope or end of these illusions, yet we held it our duty to put you in mind of some particulars, though too well known to you already.

The cause of our taking arms was for the establishment of our religion, to vindicate his majesty's honour, and defend our lives, estates, and liberties, which were threatened by our adversaries to be all destroyed at a blow. The truth of this is so notorious, that no man can pretend ignorance thereof. The said earl well

*I know not why it should be doubted.

Apr. 1643. well knoweth, that by the act of parliament made in England last summer, and another act called the explanation thereof, the estates of all born in this kingdom, as well ours as they that strive against us, are disposed and sold for money to puritans of England, Scotland, and Holland; and that the king by those acts, whereunto his royal consent was enforced, is bereaved of the power of pardoning us, or of granting any part of the lands of this kingdom; by those acts, all houses and edifices, all cities and towns, are past to the undertakers gratis. No man is so blind, but may exactly see that the utter extirpation of our nation and religion is contrived; my lord knows this as well as any, and knows likewise the tenets of our adversaries, not to perform faith or quarter with us, although promised. It is likewise to be observed, that his majesty hath been graciously pleased to grant a commission to the lord marquiss of Ormond, the said earl, and others, to receive and transmit to his majesty the grievances of the whole kingdom, which were presented accordingly at Trim on the 17th of this month of March, his lordship being there present; and that during the execution of the said commission, our enemy's army, with all their power, marched to the county of Wexford, besieged Ross, burnt, broke quarter, and committed all other cruelties in their march, and endeavoured, if they could have proceeded, to take Wexford and Kilkenny, and put the kingdom in such a condition, that might render them incapable of any mercy or justice; yet the praise be to the God of hosts, they missed of their ends, their ships were sunk and taken, and seven hundred of their men lost, together with Sir Thomas Lucas, commissary general of their horse, and the marshal of the field, and other commanders of note, were killed in this journey. All men not affected to wilful ignorance do know, that notwithstanding the pacification made by the said earl with the town of Galway, and with many gentlemen of quality in the county at large, and the king's word passed by his lordship, the town is laboured to be destroyed, traffick stopped, their goods taken by depredation, the country abroad burned, and all acts of hostility committed, and hostages of the town to this hour detained by his lordship.

A dangerous cause unfit to possess the people with, of no use but to nourish and increase a lasting rebellion.

They were somewhat mistaken in their intelligence.

By their own falsehood, and breaking promise with me; but Willoughby likewise to blame.

Somewhat a harsh construction, being done for their prefer-
vation.

In the grievances represented on the behalf of the whole kingdom, it is set down, that there is no mean to reduce the same to a quiet or happy estate, other than by the remove of all obstacles against the catholick religion, and the obtaining of a free parliament to be held before a just governor; therefore every real and knowing man may soon discern the evil and fatal consequence of division in this realm, which can be introduced by no other way more aptly and dangerously than by these particular applications, made for a part of the kingdom without the rest. We are confident his majesty was not thoroughly informed, nor our condition truly represented unto him, nor in them any mention made of our religion, or free parliament. We pray your lordship to communicate these our letters to such as you find useful for the present service, and to add hereunto your own strong and effectual reasons for remedies against this mischievous plot, which as we find it now set on foot by the lord Inchiquin, the earl of Thomond, and others, in several parts of the kingdom, as being hopeless of any other succours from the parliament to support their impious machinations against us. We wish your lordship all happiness, and remain

Clonmell, the 31st of
March, 1643.

Your loving friends,

Subscribed by the supreme council.

Lieutenant Dermot Daly from Terrellan, the 8th of April.

Right Honourable,

An honest plain letter from a very faithful stout officer.

Notwithstanding that I have been resolved, as in duty bound, to acquaint your lordship of all such intelligence worth your lordship's hearing, as I could learn or gather; yet I was lately enjoined by a dear friend of your lordship's,

ship's, as he professeth, to acquaint your lordship of the late proceedings in our ^{Apr. 1643.} parts; so it is, right honourable, that the mayor and recorder of Galway, together with Sir Valentine Blake and the rest of his crew, on Thursday last had a meeting with the lieutenant general Burke, and a considerable number of the country gentlemen, at Clare, where being in a consultation to make answer unto his majesty's declaration, and your lordship's propositions, notwithstanding that the mayor, Sir Robuck Lynch, as I am credibly informed, and the major part of the gentlemen then extant, were very desirous to conform themselves to your lordship's commands, and did freely deliver their several opinions, that to observe and follow your lordship's directions and instructions, had been the safest and securest way both for present preservation and future ends; yet the adverse part being more numerous, they could not only not compass their designs therein, but were also for the most part of opinion, that to send any agents, or as much as an answer to Loughreagh in the time limited, was needless, or to no purpose. Yet upon better consideration, they have unanimously consented to meet at Athunry on Monday morning, where they expect to have a meeting with the lord archbishop of Tuam, and the bishop of Elphin, and from thence upon a mature deliberation to return their answer to your lordship, that then the wicked endeavours of the spiteful and venomous faction here will be of no force; but if all be led by the firebrand commons in Galway, no peace or tranquility is to be expected, but rather ruin and destruction. This being all that I can say for the present, I shall in all humbleness take leave and remain

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Terrellan, the 8th of

April, 1643.

DER. DALY.

The answer and humble declaration of captain Richard Burke, and of all those whose names are hereunto subscribed, unto the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, lieutenant governor for the county and town of Galway, touching their loyalty and fidelity unto their natural and dread sovereign the king's most excellent majesty and the crown of England, and your lordship as our natural and most noble and just governor under him.

IN most humble obedience unto his most sacred majesty's declaration, bearing date the 19th of January, 1642, and published unto the town and county of Galway the 29th of March, 1643, by your lordship, and, in pursuance of your lordship's directions unto them, we his majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects do hereby declare and signify unto your lordship, that as we have hitherto since the general distemper grown in each corner of this whole kingdom, attended your lordship, and tendered our best power and affections for the advancement of his majesty's service, and defence of the country, in which course of obedience we do hereby intend, and declare unto your lordship, to walk to the end, and resolve to run the same fortune with your lordship in the advancement of his majesty's service, and defence of the country, as in nature and duty we are bound thereunto, without any relation or obedience to any other council or form of government than what shall immediately proceed from his sacred majesty, and your lordship, as our natural and just governor, though to the hazard of our lives, wives and estates, and all that is dear unto us. All which we do humbly signify, and hereby represent, in testimony of our full loyalty and fidelity unto his sacred majesty, and your lordship.

Well performed by most of them.

Loughreagh, the 10th of April.

This instrument was signed by divers gentlemen of quality, and others of the middle sort of stout able gentlemen, to the number of fifty-three, and most of

Apr. 1643. them did continue very resolutely within their obedience, and diligent in their attendance upon me, notwithstanding the threats of the clergy, and the spoils and depredations made upon them; but there appeared none from the town of Galway, nor many of the principal gentlemen of the country, as namely, Francis and John Bermingham, grandchild and son to my lord Bermingham, Sir Ulick Burke and Hubert Burke of Dunamon, my cousin Richard Burke and Thomas Burke of Derrymacloghny and Anbally, Redmond Burke of Killcornan, and the three Teige Kellys of Gallagher, Aghrim and Mullagmore, Dermot nor William Shaghnuddy, son and brother to Sir Roger Shaghnuddy, then in Munster, but ever faithful to the crown, and affectionate to me; Sir Robuck Lynch and Sir Valentine Blake of the Birth of Galway, but well estated in the country; Sir Richard Blake, who played off and on partly by some private permission of mine. The absence of so many prime leading men did very much trouble me; but that night captain John Kelly having taken Athunry in his way, to discover and inform me what were the designs and resolutions of those assembled there, after a long confused debate, wanting some of their associates, they drew up a dilatory instrument, and desired captain John Kelly to deliver it to me, who came to me with it.

From the assembly at Athunry, the 10th of April.

WHEREAS it is expected by the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, that the gentry of this county, and the town of Galway, should this day deliver their resolutions to certain propositions offered unto them by his lordship, which being of so great consequence and near concernment to their lives and fortunes, will require a longer time for deliberation. We therefore, in the behalf of ourselves and most of the rest of the said gentry, whose presence and concurrence we expect to the said consultation, have presumed to employ Mr. John Kelly to wait on his lordship, humbly to desire his lordship will be pleased to afford us respite for two or three days yet to come, to consider of those great affairs, by which time we will return unto his lordship our farther answer. Dated the 10th of April, 1643.

My reply to the assembly at Athunry, the 11th of April.

WHEREAS but last night there was an instrument delivered unto me by captain John Kelly, signed by divers gentlemen of this county, in the behalf of themselves and others, excusing their not then returning answer to his majesty's declaration, and what was thereupon propounded by me at the publishing thereof, and desiring two or three days more respite. These are to give them notice, that some occasions of consequence, and the present indisposition of my health, do call me to Portumna, where I shall expect their answer without any further delay than the time they have themselves desired; and in regard the time and place is altered for the return of their said answer, to avoid all scruples that may be pretended, I do hereby grant a safe conduct to such gentlemen of the town and county as shall be chosen and employed in that behalf, and their necessary attendants, for their repair to Portumna, their being there, and their return back to those by whom they were employed; of which all commanders, officers, and all others his majesty's loving subjects, are to take notice at their perils. Given at Loughreagh, the 11th of April, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Upon the 14th I received a letter from Mr. John Bermingham, and Mr. Hubert Burke of Dunamon, informing, that they, and others, were employed by those that assembled at Athunry to deliver me such instructions as they received from them,

them, in answer to my declarations and his majesty's letters; and observing the time expired granted in my former safe conduct, they desired two or three days more enlargement, and they would immediately wait upon me. Their request being granted, upon the 15th they repaired to me, and delivered me a letter and instructions sent by them. Apr. 1643.

A letter from the assembly at Athunry, received the 15th of April,

THE knights, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county and town of Galway, have, in obedience to your lordship's directions, returned their answers to your lordship's propositions in certain written instructions by John Bermingham, Esq; Sir Richard Blake, knight, Hubert Burke, Esq; and William Lynch, burgess, with directions to report their said answer to your lordship, and to leave a copy thereof with your lordship, if you shall think the same necessary; which being the sum of what we have to say for the present, we humbly take our leave, and remain your lordship's in all humbleness to be commanded.

Instructions to be observed by John Bermingham, Esq; Sir Richard Blake, knight, Hubert Burke, Esq; and William Lynch, burgess, in behalf of the knights, gentlemen, and freeholders, assembled at Athunry, the 10th of April.

1. **Y**OU shall present unto his lordship the best respects and humblest service of the said knights, gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants, and tell his lordship that they have still acknowledged him to be his majesty's lieutenant governor over the said town and county, and have done nothing to their knowledge contrary to their duty, if it be not a fault in them to prepare for their own natural defence against those of the fort of Galway, and of the neighbouring forces of Roscommon, who have entered into your government contrary to your directions, and there unlawfully murdered innocent men, women, and children, burned and pillaged towns and houses, forcibly drove away their cattle, interrupt trade and traffick between them and the said town of Galway, continually batter the town, and hinder their trade by sea, to the ruin and destruction of the said town and county.

2. You shall represent, that the gentlemen and freeholders of this government were driven to take arms to defend themselves against the malignancy and violence of captain Anthony Willoughby, and others under his command, and against several incursions made by malignant enemies out of the county of Roscommon into his government, who have committed many cruelties and spoils, no provocation being given, or any violence attempted upon the said county of Roscommon out of this government.

3. You shall remember, that to comply with his lordship a pacification was made in May last, that the said pacification was broken by the said captain, and others employed by him.

4. You shall not forget, that they have all petitioned to his lordship in August last for justice against them, and that yet he continues his depredations with impunity upon the country, stops the harbour, interrupts trade and traffick, to the unspeakable loss of the whole province; and since the 9th of February continues a furious battery against the town of Galway.

5. That the provocations aforesaid have enforced them now again to take defensive arms.

6. That they expected, that in his majesty's letters there should be expressed some power given his lordship to secure their religion, lives, and fortunes, which they do not find therein.

7. That the evil usage of them hath invited them to join with the rest of the confederate catholicks of this kingdom, without whose approbation they may not conclude upon any thing.

8. You

Apr. 1643.

8. You are to offer, that you protest against the odious crime of rebellion in that letter laid to their charge, they being conscious to themselves that they detest so foul a crime, and have the comfort to know themselves to be his majesty's most humble and faithful subjects, who cannot conceive themselves safe until the fort be in his majesty's hands, or in some other catholick and native governor's hands; that the same being effected, and their lives, religion, fortunes, and just liberties being secured to them, they will lay down arms: and, in the mean time, if his lordship give assurance to procure the government of the fort for himself before Whitsuntide, and that he will place therein an unsuspected garriſon, and procure the harbour forthwith to be freed, and to be so kept during that time; and for assurance, that Oran More be forthwith delivered, to be kept by such persons as the provincial council shall name, and deliver good pledges for the observance of what shall be agreed upon, and freeing us from all invasion, we shall labour, with the supreme council, to employ our forces somewhere else.

My answer to the assembly at Athunry, the 16th of April.

I Received yesterday an instrument of instructions, signed by the knights, gentlemen, and freeholders, assembled at Athunry, sent and delivered me by John Bermingham and Hubert Burke, esquires, and William Lynch, burgesses, in answer to his majesty's declaration, which is of that composition as requireth no further reply; but in discharge of my duty, I shall transmit it to his majesty, with such representations as shall be just and necessary for his service.

Portumna, the 16th of
April, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A letter from the confederate supreme council to the mayor of Galway, the 6th of April. The copy privately sent me, the 16th of April.

S I R,

YOURS of the third of this instant, directed to some of our council here, were shewn us late yesternight, together with a copy of a letter said to be from his majesty, bearing date the 19th of January last, and another paper of the same date, called an abstract of the king's letter to the earl of Clanricarde, &c. and a copy of the earl's letter to yourselves; and having had notice of the said earl's intentions before his lordship published these letters, to prevent any harm that might come thereof, we addressed our letters of the last of March to our very good lord the lord archbishop of Tuam, conveyed by Sir Lucas Dillon, one of our council, to be communicated unto you, and others whom they might concern; and lest those might miscarry, or come slowly to you, we send you here inclosed a copy of them.

The earl may pretend and labour to make you believe that those letters are the marks of particular favours done to that town and county, and for his lordship's sake, and that they may prove useful and effectual unto you; whereas we are most assured the like were procured by the lord Inchiquin and others in Munster, and the like in the province of Ulster, with a shew of more authority, all by persons who approve themselves deadly enemies to our nation and religion. We had notice of this a good while before his servant Webb came to the earl, and used timely prevention, although in truth we needed not; for just upon the receiving of such a commission, all the merchants of Corke, Youghall, and Kinsale, were robbed of the remains of what was left, being their hides, tallow, wool, and other commodities, and those shipped against their wills by the lord of Inchiquin, and the earl of Corke, to bring some return for the relief of their army, otherwise destitute and hopeless of other supplies; and at the same instant caused all the preys of all Barrymore, Imo Kelly, and other adjacent countries to Corke, Youghall,

Youghall, and other garrisons, who lived under protection, never offended those garrisons, and who supplied their markets constantly, to be brought into Corke, and there distributed among the soldiers. Apr. 1643.

For the use of those letters by two acts expressed in our said former, all power of pardon is taken from his said majesty for those who are rebels in this kingdom, as they term them; and all who took any oath of propagation of religion (which in the act is called popery) is declared in the act guilty of rebellion. The earl cannot have so bad intelligence as not to have long since received those acts in print, nor be so weak of understanding, but fully and thoroughly to apprehend the consequence of them; and yet in those great favours alledged to be procured by him, no mention is made of those main obstacles, nor any power mentioned to be given his lordship to pardon or protect. By these it appears, the earl is commanded upon his allegiance to be aiding to his majesty's good subjects against the rebels in those parts; as we call God to witness we never entertained a thought of rebellion, or disloyalty to his majesty, so we are very confident none of our association is guilty of so heinous of crime, or so base a stile; our actions will in due time declare us loyal, and demonstrate the right rebel to the world.

Is it not apparent, that captain Willoughby receives maintenance, men, and money, and what else he got (except his acquisition by open depredation) from the malignant party of the parliament in England, which by bloody battles, and all that art and malice can accomplish, do labour to dethrone his majesty, and destroy his posterity. The said captain's actions during your late pacification with the earl, and the earl's performance with you, and to whose hands the arms and other goods taken from you by plain robbery, and contrary to the law of nations, were come, and where uttered, and by whom, is best known to yourselves; but we find not by those copies that your wrongs thereby sustained were in any part represented to his majesty, or that his majesty doth resent the indignities and publick affronts cast by our enemies upon his lordship in his own government.

The grievances of all the catholicks of Ireland were represented to his majesty's commissioners at Trim on the 17th day of this last March, and since that time conveyed by two severall ways to his majesty, the said Sir Lucas Dillon being one of them intrusted by us to present the said grievances; he hath a copy of them, and we pray you in our names to call for it, and make that use thereof as you may find available for the service, whereby you will discern the clearness of our intentions to God, his majesty, and our country; therein all the catholicks of Ireland are concerned; the earl was one of those commissioners in that publick work. Our general assembly meets on the 20th of May next, therefore we are fully satisfied, that the making of any private pacification with the earl for any part, stands in direct opposition to the general good and peace of this whole kingdom; and those peculiar ways were contrived and procured of purpose, either for particular ends, or to possess his majesty's most faithful subjects with a belief of security, that upon the receiving the return of their grievances, they may not be found considerable, and may be rendered despicable. We therefore pray and advise you, when you are necessitated to return an answer to his lordship, that you let him know you expect reparation for the insupportable damages you sustained by captain Willoughby, and others, contrary to the late pacification; the particulars whereof, as we are informed, you delivered to his lordship long since, and his lordship promised you to present them to his majesty, and yet in the said copies you find no mention made of them; and that you expect the removal of Willoughby for his said misdemeanors from the fort, and that you expect the event of the publick commission, which is for the good of the whole kingdom, and go along with it. We are right sorry to find by the earl's letters, and by his other proceedings and actions, how he stands devoted to the religion he openly professeth, and how affected to his nation, kindred and dependents; God direct him, and preserve you from him and others. You shall herewith receive two letters, one to

Apr. 1643. the lord archbishop, and the other to lieutenant general Burke, in prevention of sudden injury; and for your further relief, we are very confident we shall be able to annoy the most potent of your adversaries by armies from the other provinces, if there you be not righted; we desire to hear of you in this particular with all possible haste. We have in some measure taken a course for your relief by sea, which Mr. Sheriff Bermingham hath imparted to you ere now. We shall be, doubt not, very soon in capacity to afford you further and speedy helps that way; and we assure you, that none will study your preservation more, nor can wish you greater happiness than

Your loving friends,

Joannes Clonfertensis.
Tor. O Neile.
Pat. Darcy.

Gerald Fennell.
Rich. Lombarde.
Geffry Browne.

Rich. Bealing.
Ever M^c Gennis.

A letter from the archbishop of Tuam, the bishop of Elphin, and Fa. Oliverus Burke, the 13th of April, received the 16th.

Our very good LORD,

WE have not, by your lordship's favour, been led or guided by passion in the setting forth of our ecclesiastical censures, intending thereby a conformity in professed catholicks to the advancement of a just war approved by his holiness, concurring with the general votes of the best divines, and all the prime clergy of this kingdom. We intend not a disturbance to any one's loyalty to his majesty, as was lately set forth in some expressions, wherein we are deeply concerned, by one whom we little thought to harbour a design to intrench on our ecclesiastical immunities with threats, not becoming a professed catholick. We intended to vindicate his majesty's prerogative, and a settlement of the consciences of all our flocks, to approve themselves his majesty's loyal subjects, to which our union and association, desired and urged, is, and ever was bent; if for that we deserve a censure from him, from whose integrity we might justly expect a more favourable and pious construction of our proceedings, being really for God, our king and country; we here declare it to be our constant resolution. Censures of the church have ever been a terror to religious and tender consciences; and those infringed, being lawfully poured against contumacious persons, deserve God's immediate vengeance, not only upon the infringers or contemners of them, but also upon those that converse or entertain discourse with them, which we find to take footing in some that have common access to your lordship, relying in their disobedience more on your declarations, contrary to solid doctrine, than on the authority of the church.

In this, my lord, we cannot but express a pastoral feeling; and our natural affections and desires to preserve your lordship's honour leading us from pouring censures against you for not conforming yourself like a zealous catholick to the rest of the confederates of this our native kingdom, have begotten in them an opinion of partiality in us, whereof the supreme council taking notice, and of other proceedings of your lordship's, contrary to the designs in hand, have of late directed us to give your lordship this admonition, that if within ten days after the receipt hereof, you conform not yourself to the association of those of your religion, and obey the command of the church, we will proceed to the heaviest of censures, which is an excommunication major against your person, and with all the ceremonies accustomed by the church in pouring out and publishing the said censure, denounce your honour unto the world with that character; a thing we most detest and abhor, were we not most unwillingly driven thereunto by open breaches of obedience unto the authorities conferred upon us by God's providence and the apostolical see of Rome; to whose obedience we invite your lordship hereby, and pray the Almighty to direct your actions to what will

will be most conducing to his glory, splendor of his church, and good of your ^{Apr. 1643.} country, which will be the constant prayer of

Your lordship's most affectionate friends,

Athunry, the 13th of
April, 1643.

Malachias arpus. Tuamen. Boetius Elphin.
Fr. Oliverus de Burgo.

My answer to the archbishop of Tuam, the bishop of Elphin, and father Oliverus Burke, the 17th of April.

Reverend Fathers,

IF my expressions of passion in the proceedings of some of the clergy may not be allowed without offence, I shall only adventure to term it an earnest zeal that I have not observed, practised, or paralleled in our age, nor recorded in the histories of former times. The copies that I have seen of the oath of association and excommunication thereupon, and the inforcement of them upon all persons, did, in my apprehension, imply much of passion, and trenched very far both upon the just power and authority of the temporal government, for which I am to be accountable to his majesty, and likewise upon the private fortunes and estates of free-born subjects, with greater pressure than the power of any prince hath exacted from them, and to be obliged thereto by oath and discretion of others, without limitation, or else excommunicated. If refused in these particulars, I did conceive I could not be denied the capacity of making a just defence, obliged thereto by oath, and duty to his majesty, and for preservation of our estates and liberties from violation, not knowing how this could be drawn to consequence to be any incroachment upon the ecclesiastical immunities; and lest misinformation might have put me into error or mistake, I shall desire copies under your hands, both of the oath and excommunication, to inform my understanding upon sure grounds.

As to the threats that have fallen from me, I presume that none of the clergy will avow themselves to be concerned therein, being only against such as shall appear wilful disturbers of the king's service, and of the publick peace of this government; and if any such there be, I know not how to discharge my duty in more moderate expressions; and Fa. Oliverus that procured to be the penner of that letter, that it might have the more acerbity (as doctor Walter Lynch reports) knows very well the frequent practices of all catholick countries, when there is not a due conformity to the laws and authority of the temporal magistrate, and might have spared the charging me to affirm what was not becoming a professed catholick.

I shall farther desire to know what is that just war approved by his holiness, and what are the grounds and causes that are set forth for the granting of that approbation, and what are the conditions and limitations thereof, and the instructions for proceeding therein, and wherefore it is not published; for certainly where princes are so highly concerned, and subjects of what quality, employment, or estate soever, so deeply engaged and diverted from the usual and settled rules of duty and allegiance, there cannot be denied a free and publick knowledge thereof, under clear and authentick testimony.

If the war be, as is alledged, for God, king, and country; and that no disturbance is intended to any one's loyalty to his majesty; I have produced the king's late and undoubted authority, approving and directing my proceedings in his service, and his majesty hath required no more than a quiet obedience to me, a native and catholick governor; where then lies the cause of excommunication against such as adhere to me? Though I cannot pretend to much learning, nor to have proceeded in any schools of divinity, it ought not, under favour, be charged upon me as a crime, or a disobedience to the church, if having so great
a charge

Apr. 1643. a charge intrusted to me by his majesty, and a considerable honour and fortune not to be slightly regarded, I do somewhat study these cases for the quiet settling of my conscience and duty towards God, and his majesty's service, and for the preservation and justification of myself, and those I am to be accountable for; and that it may not be accounted presumption in me, if I be hereafter driven to such arguments as shall not be mine, but such whose authorities have been ever highly revered in the church.

For the excommunication major, with all the ceremonies threatened to be denounced against me, if I do not suddenly join in the association; certainly you are fully assured of the impossibility thereof, having not engaged myself when the times seemed doubtful, and his majesty's pleasure pretended to be unknown, though my experience did give me full satisfaction therein. Can it be imagined that upon his majesty's letter and full declaration of his commands unto me, I should run a contrary course to his known pleasure immediately directed to myself, the command I hold, my hereditary resolutions, and other most powerful reasons besides, obliging both my conscience and duty to a constancy therein? and though whatsoever is powerful with me may give you no satisfaction, yet in your own way and proceedings you cannot expect it, I being one of the commissioners appointed by his majesty for the receiving of the grievances and propositions of the country, upon which the hopes and expectations of the kingdom do very much depend, and by that employment likely to be a means to convoy his majesty's mercy and favour to them; shall that trust be broken, and I make myself a party?

If these censures come upon me, my servants and followers, and those that pay obedience to his majesty's commands; whosoever writ the excommunication for this diocese (of which I saw a copy) I believe will find that his censures are not above all courts, or himself so supreme a judge over them, as to forbid a just appeal to higher authority, or to make that course idle, frustratorious, or unreasonable. And for any ill character to be put upon my honour, with a clear and settled conscience I will not doubt to give such testimony of my sincerity in the religion I profess, and my conformity in all just obligations of my constant duty and loyalty to the king, and of my natural affection to my country, that I am confident in all places to find both power and friends to vindicate my honour and integrity from all aspersions that can be cast upon it.

I assure you that neither by practice or inclination have I ever willingly entertained disputes or contestation with any, and am much troubled to begin now upon this subject with persons of your callings and abilities, and shall study all ways to avoid it; but when it is enforced upon me, to endeavour a just defence I presume will never be denied.

Your most humble servant,

Portumna, the 17th of
April, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to captain Richard Coote, and captain Edward Ormsby, the 17th of
April, 1643.

Worthy Friends,

AFTER a long expectation I have now received the several answers of the town and county. Many of the gentlemen and freeholders that kept the first appointment with me, did cheerfully and readily sign an instrument of exact obedience and conformity; many other gentlemen of quality, and the town, who desired respite, have returned an answer nothing to my satisfaction, and far from that obedience I expected: what their designs are is yet unknown, but that which is most threatened is to fall upon me, and those that adhere to me; which if it should happen, and their power be too strong for my resistance, I desire
to

to know in certain what assistance you can give me, and whether without pre-^{Apr. 1643.}judice to your garrisons, and the other service of that county, you can remain with considerable forces here, to perform what I shall find necessary for my own defence, and the advancement of the king's service in these parts; otherwise, if you can only make inroads to burn and spoil the country, and suddenly return, what security and satisfaction it may give you, I know not, but I cannot esteem it any assistance to me, or furtherance of the service here, but the exposing of me to imminent danger, leaving me alone amongst a people that will be much exasperated, who may likewise draw forces upon you and me from other neighbouring counties. These particulars ought to be truly weighed before any violent course be undertaken; for it may probably fall out that this division of the county may keep them so unsettled, that they will not attempt any thing considerable before we shall be better assisted to resist them. And in these particulars, I shall expect the advice and approbation of Sir Robert Newcomen and Sir George St. George, who are to be consulted with therein, they being intrusted, as I am informed, with that government. And when you may with conveniency send unto me, I shall expect your answer; and be still ready to express myself

Portumna, the 17th of
April, 1643.

Your assured true friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

A prosecution of the excommunication by the metropolitan of Conaght, and ordinaries hereunto subscribing, the 19th of April.

IF a pastoral resentment of the corde, and unexcusable proceedings of some titular catholicks in our several dioceses, in concurring with approved enemies to the many pressures we generally groan under, contrived against our religion, king and country, as by us several times sensibly expressed, for prevention of future puritanical machinations, forged and coined for our total destruction, could work upon christian consciences, we might justly expect, upon so serious intimations, a catholick conformity not yet appearing to us to our undecible sorrows, after (though most unwillingly) the unsheathing of the heaviest of swords, with an excommunication major, published and poured most on the obdurate hearts of some diocefants within the bishoprick of Clonfert, whose aversion from so approved a cause can meet with no precedent among obedient christians; which taken into consideration, and reflecting upon so notorious a dulness, we think it high time to perclose the last of our resolutions, by requiring by our metropolitan ordinary, and apostolical authorities, as hereby we require and authorize all the vicars, foreigners of the diocese of Clonfert, forthwith, under pain of suspension, *ipso facto*, to be incurred, to call before them, and each of them, such pastors as have charge of souls in their several deaneries, and from them to require and receive an exact return of the names of as many freeholders, prime gentlemen, captains, other officers and soldiers, with their adherents, as are within the said deaneries, and several parishes, that are refractory, or have denied to swear the oath of association; and them, and each of them, in their proper names, without exception of persons, the next ensuing holy day in their several parochial assemblies, and in the oratories of regulars within the said diocese, to denounce and declare actually excommunicated, as hereby we declare and authorize them, and either of them, with all the penalties and burthens, spiritual or temporal, by law or custom annexed or subsequent to an excommunication major; and the said diocefants, and each of them, nominated to be so declared, persisting in their contumacious disobedience to God's church in pursuance of their wilful errors. We also require all clergymen within the said diocese, not only to abstain from the exercise of their functions amongst such refractories, *qui ecclesiam non audiunt sed contemnunt*, but also to abandon and forsake the whole territories wherein they live, leaving only there the marks of malediction, and march towards us as Christ's soldiers in a

Apr. 1643. proceffional body, *tanquam in exitu Ifrael de Egypto, et domus Jacob de populo barbaro*, to the metropolitan fee of Tuam, by the eighth day of the next month, where fuch a courfe fhall be taken for the relief and accommodation of God's exiled minifters as fhall be thought fit, intending not hereby to prejudice any way the truly and well-affected to our catholick caufe in that diocefe. In further ftrengh of thefe our requifitions, authorities, and declarations, we have hereunto put our hands and feals, the 9th of April, 1643.

About this time I received feveral difpatches from Dublin, fome of a very old date, from the lords juftices, that had long lain neglected by, and their commands now very impoffible to be performed.

My lord juftice Parsons, the 20th of January, received the 20th of April.

Moft noble LORD,

I HAVE received your kind letter, and therein one from my unhappy kinfman; unhappy I call him, not that he hath failed himfelf, or the caufe, in any thing that could be within his power, but his unhappinefs hath been that we were never able to help him; we fent out two parties of ftrengh to relieve him, neither of which, through crofs accidents, could reach him. We hear the enemy is fitting down about him with fuch ordnance as they have, which I much fear will endanger him; he is now in the hands of God, who, I hope, will yet protect him; we are in hand, if it be poffible to raife them, though it be a very hard thing for us to do it, the way being fo long and ill. Touching James Coghlan, though by that name I know not the man, yet I know fome of his name are willing to fhew love to him; and for that man, I can do no lefs than thank him, which I heartily do, and if ever it come in my way I will not fail to requite him, which you may please to let him know with affurance from me.

I am very forry your lordfhip hath caufe to complain fo much of your want of force and fupplies; I hope your lordfhip doth not conceive this place hath willingly neglected you; I affure you, my lord, we are as ardently affected to furnifh you with all requifites as any men could be, but our ability is kept fo fhort by the nonperformance with us out of England, as we never had power to do more than we have done; yet I cannot fay it is their fault, their diftempers there hath both difabled them, and put us to the uttermoft hazards. We muft, though with great fuffering, await God's leifure, who, I hope, will look on them and us mercifully in good time, by giving them peace at home, and then, doubtlefs, we fhall be remembered to our comfort; when that comes, you may be affured we will do our parts towards you in true effects. In the mean time you have our prayers for your fafety, and our defires as much to furnifh you as you can defire. Your fervant and friend are gone into England with all the furtherance I could give them, which fhall be ever done to all yours, by

Your lordfhip's truly affectionate fervant,

The 20th of January, 1642.

WILLIAM PARSONS.

The Lords Juftices and Council, the 26th of January, received the 20th of April.

MY LORD,

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordfhip, we have received your lordfhip's letters of the 28th of October, in answer to ours of the 21ft and 25th of Auguft, whereby we find that the arms are reftored to the foldiers of the fort, and the bulwark abated; and howfoever the proceedings of the fort and fhip (as your lordfhip writes) were fuch as gave you not leave to ufe your power for gaining into the fort the powder which was in the town at the pacification,

pacification, nor the arms nor ammunition brought in by Francis Darcy some ^{Apr. 1643.} two or three days before the pacification, which, by your letters of the 13th of June, we recommended to your lordship to be gotten into the fort if you could, yet we remaining still constant in those reasons, which induced us to recommend those particulars to your lordship, do again recommend them to you, that if by your lordship's industry it may yet be wrought, it may be yet done, as that which we conceive will conduce to the advantage of his majesty's service. And concerning the ordnance taken out of Clarke's ship, altho', as your lordship writes, captain Willoughby, when your lordship propounded it to him that it might be part of the articles of pacification, omitted it; yet if they could be had into the fort, as by our letters to your lordship the 13th of June we desired, it were an acceptable service, and therefore we do again recommend that particular also to your lordship.

Concerning the changing of the hostages, seeing your lordship now certifies (which before we knew not) that it is done according to the first agreement, we are well satisfied therein.

Touching Francis Darcy's protection, your lordship's letters do satisfy us fully therein, and therefore we leave it to your lordship to release, or not release him, as you find cause.

Concerning the fort, we must still acknowledge to your lordship, with special thanks, your constant care thereof, which also we are well assured your lordship will always continue with all your power and industry, that so that place may be preserved for the honour and service of his majesty; and if any money of his majesty's remain in the hands of John Bermingham of Galway, we think fit that your lordship do cause him to pay two hundred pounds thereof to captain Willoughby for the use of the fort, which sum is to be allowed to the said Bermingham on account.

We observe your lordship very sensible, as indeed we are, of your want of force there, which it seems takes so deep impression with your lordship, as you interpret it proceeds from neglect towards you, or suspicion had of you from this state; but we assure your lordship, as the merits of your good endeavours there for advancing his majesty's service, and the great testimonies you have many ways given us of your ready and forward affections, and concurrence with us in the publick service of his majesty, and this his kingdom, may justly challenge from us better returns to you than willingly to neglect you, or to retain any opinion of jealousy or suspicion of you; so we assure your lordship it doth very much trouble us, that your sense of want of forces there (which we know occasions those mistaken jealousies on your lordship's part) should beget in your lordship an undeserved opinion or doubt of us, as by your lordship's letters we find; for we assure your lordship, we take in very good part your good endeavours there, and concurrence with us in all things for the publick service, and we have done you the right to value it for your honour and advantage into England. And we have so good assurance of your lordship's faithfulness to his majesty, and this his kingdom, as we cannot descend to so mean a thought of your lordship as to hold you guilty of any neglect of duty, or liable to any just suspicion from us, which we let you know, to the end to remove those mistaken apprehensions, which by your lordship's letters you seem to have taken up. We have laboured with all our power to obtain such supplies forth of England, as might enable us to furnish your lordship with competent forces; although we have not yet been so happy as to obtain from thence the means to enable us so to furnish you; and we have fresh hopes that we shall in short time be so supplied from thence, as we may strengthen your lordship as we desire, which we assure you we shall do as speedily and plentifully as possible we may, as being well assured they will be with your lordship in safe hands. In the mean time we hope that good judgment wherewith your lordship hath hitherto managed the affairs there, even in the hard condition wherein you stand, will still guide you in the good conduct of those affairs, so as may be for the furtherance of his majesty's service, and the honour

Apr. 1643. honour of your lordship ; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell.
From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 26th of January, 1642.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

William Parsons.	John Borlace.	Moore.
Ad. Loftus.	Gerald Lowther.	John Temple.
Thomas Rotheram.	Francis Willoughby.	Thomas Lucas.
James Ware.	George Wentworth.	Robert Meredith.

My lord marquiss of Ormond, the of April, received the 20th.

MY LORD,

IT added much to the trouble I was fain to undergo in my journey into the county of Wexford, when I understood by your letters given me when I was before Ross, that your lordship was to be at Trim, and that I could not have the good fortune to wait upon you there, where I might with freedom have discharged myself of the great anxieties these disastrous times have filled my thoughts with ; nor was I altogether out of hope, but that meeting with a person so full of honour, so zealous for the king's service, and so sensible of the near approaching destruction of this unfortunate kingdom, something might have been thought of for the vindication of his majesty's honour and rights, without the promiscuous ruin of all sorts of people. But since it pleased God to appoint it otherwise, I am much satisfied that your lordship met his majesty's letters and declaration, which serve to disabuse all those who wilfully shut not their eyes against the clear light they may have of their deviation, and of the way laid open for their return into the paths of due subjection. I wish they may lay hold of the present occasion and grace that is offered, which, if refused, will certainly aggravate their crimes, and in conclusion add to the weight of their punishment.

The last easterly winds brought me no letters, so that I can write nothing that is certain, or is not vulgar ; but in the general, I gather by all hands the distractions do yet continue, or rather increase ; particulars, if there be any worth your knowledge, I am sure Mr. justice Donnellan will send your lordship. It is here confidently reported, and I have seen letters for it, that my lord of Northampton was lately killed in a fight with Sir William Brereton and one Gill, as I take it, about Stafford ; I fear it is true, which hath abated the joy of that victory ; for so, notwithstanding his death, it was confessed to be. I know your lordship's relation to that gallant man will make this unwelcome news ; but your judgment will tell you he could not die in a truer cause, nor in a braver manner. His eldest son was then in the field, and carried himself like the son of so noble a father. It is given out by some of the contrary party that he was hurt, but I believe it not. I had forgot to tell you, that a great part of the nobility and gentry of Scotland are declared for the king, and amongst them the marquiss of Hamilton, who with divers others is now with the queen at York ; the marquiss of Argyle is head to the other party, and continues at Edinburgh. When I receive letters from any certain hand, which I daily expect, I will immediately impart to your lordship what is of consequence in them. In the mean time I wish you all the happiness imaginable, as one that very constantly am resolved to be

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble servant,

ORMOND.

P. S. By the assistance of justice Donnellan, I have found out the person mentioned in yours ; I am glad to find his inclinations, but am not yet able to do him the service he desires. I wish there were many more of his temper.

From

Apr. 1643.

From the Lords Justices and Council, the 13th of April, received the 20th.

MY LORD,

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, forasmuch as we find that letters and other dispatches from this state to your lordship, and letters and other dispatches from your lordship hither, cannot, in these times, pass with that freedom which were necessary for advancing his majesty's service, unless your lordship may hold intelligence with some of the rebels, as well within as without the limits of your lordship's government, by whose help you may procure passage between us and your lordship, for such correspondency and intelligence as may be needful for furtherance of the general service from time to time; we therefore for that purpose think fit hereby to authorize your lordship (as often as you shall find it necessary) to parley with, and direct your letters to, and receive letters and intelligence from any of the rebels, not only within the limits of your lordship's government, but also without your government, in the way between Dublin and the place of your residence, whereby intelligence may the better be held between this state and your lordship; and that you gain passes and safe conduct from the rebels, when and as often as you think fit, for your messenger to be employed hither, or from hence to your lordship. And we pray and require your lordship to advertise us as frequently as you may, as well of all occurrences there which relate to the publick, as of such intelligence as you shall any way gain from the rebels, that may be any way necessary for us to understand, for making use thereof for his majesty's advantage, as occasion may be offered. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 13th of April, 1643. We remain

Your lordship's very loving friends,

William Parsons.

John Borlace.

Moore.

Edward Brabazon.

Ad. Loftus.

Gerald Lowther.

John Temple.

Francis Willoughby. James Ware.

Robert Meredith.

I received large letters of ordinary intelligence from Mr. justice Donnellan, and inclosed the following casement letter.

IT was the great man, in whose company you saw me last, that told me of ill offices done; but Ormond, and others, assure me no such thing done by the justices and council, but a glance on occasion of the pacification, which by most now is conceived a wise act. If any private pens have walked indiscreetly, all deny it, and I cannot yet find it out. All like to be ill in England. Great want of all things here; no money, and little victuals; many disorderly men, who pillage some shops, and fain would rifle all under colour of one sort. The faction holds, and thwarts each other here and in England. A letter from Chester that reported, that the justices, or the first, are to be altered, the king being angry with both, or the first, and that Sir Henry Titchbourn is to be one. Others write, that though the king was angry with the lord lieutenant, yet by means of the earl of Northumberland, he is come to favour, and is come over; he sent a letter to be paid all his arrears. The commission sent by Sir Charles Coote, who hastened to the king the one part, not yet gone; Ormond knows not what hopes thereof, and hath received no letters yet. The clergy will be powerful yet, you must not provoke them till more cause appear. The fort and Sir Charles Coote's party will be advised by you, to whom write. Do not pardon Galway, nor others, until more news and direction. The round heads are very strong, yet the king prevails in most places. Much blood spilt the last month. The lord Brooke killed for certain. You may not with safety to

Apr. 1643. you, or any there, grant any pardon without warrant from the king, at least as things stand. Prevent any hurt to the fort and the English, and that, I hope, you may do on this occasion. Use your endeavours now, and do good hereafter. The king's army in the north are strong, and called the popish army. The term of extirpation is worn out here, and the intention not acknowledged to me by the prime authors therein, with whom I have been plain after my blunt way. I set those of the faction opposite to each other in my other letter, and the neutrals after.

My lord justice Parsons, the 11th of April, received the 20th.

Most noble LORD,

YOU have in a good part performed your promise in sending hither the good man justice Donnellan; I would your health had permitted the performance of the other part, of your own coming, you would have been welcome here for many respects. The justice hath shewed me the copies of the king's letter to your lordship, and his manifesto to the country, both which are very gracious like himself. I wish they may work the supposed effects; but I doubt they have at this time a presumptuous and fraudulent people to work upon; I have known them long, and therefore can say so much of them, and, I doubt not, your discovering judgment will in short time find them far different from your countrymen of England, from whence you bring so much nobleness and fidelity, as I doubt not will give you honour in all your actions. I heartily wish these were as good as nature and grace could make them, for I protest I was ever inclined to love them as well as my own nation, and better, if that could be, because my livelihood and long abode hath been prosperous amongst them; and, I must confess, I did well hope they had been so well recovered and fixed in their loyalty to their prince, and love to the English nation, and the Irish affections and barbarous inclinations had been so fretted out, as nothing could have reversed them to that I now see. All I can say is, to pray to God to guide his majesty into a right way of reducing them, to the comfort of him and all good men.

Justice Donnellan told me, your lordship desired authority from hence to parley and gain passes from the rebels for safe conveyance of your lordship's letters hither. I must confess, as I have formerly written, we have had much more correspondence from your lordship than from any, either nobleman or gentry, from whom we might expect it; and therefore we have good reason to correspond with you in all the means we may for your accommodation. Accordingly we now send you such an authority as you desire. You see the good king professeth he could not help you as he desires; and therefore, I hope, your lordship will judge the more mildly of us, who were as willing to supply you as you had reason to desire; but our means hath been hitherto short, which I hope will enlarge, and then your lordship shall find that I am

Your lordship's unfeigned servant,

The 11th of April, 1643.

WILLIAM PARSONS.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 23d of April.

MY LORDS,

YOUR dispatch written in January last I have now received, having missed some former conveyance intended for it, which mentioning particulars long since in agitation, are not now in my power to be here treated of. Mr. justice Donnellan, if occasion be, can give your lordships a clear account of those proceedings; and, I presume, he hath informed your lordships of the perplexed condition I have lived in ever since the beginning of these unfortunate troubles, the vast

vast expences I have been at, the affronts and disgraces put on me, the great ^{Apr. 1643.} losses I have sustained, and, until of late, the being debarred of any ordinary intelligence in any seasonable time; by all which your lordships may judge I might be easily invited to express some feeling sense of my misfortunes: yet I could with patience have borne these afflictions, if they had not been accompanied with so much prejudice and hazard both to my duty and honour, being not made capable of acting any considerable service, and in danger to be accountable for any ill accident that might befall his majesty's fort, or other service here, which hath been hitherto prevented, much more by private industry than any publick force I could draw together; and I beseech your lordships be pleased to take that important place into your special care and consideration, the passages being so fortified against me, that it is not possible for me to supply it, or, if they were open, I am brought into that low condition, that I take God to witness I know not how to subsist or provide for the maintenance of my own private family.

Your lordships, I am confident, have seen copies of his majesty's gracious letter and declaration directed to me, the which I published at Loughreagh the last of March, and the 10th of this present appointed for the general answer of the town and county, at which there appeared only such as had continued firm, and some few others not far engaged in confederacy with the rest. The town, and many gentlemen of the most powerful quality, desired some few days respite more, and, in conclusion, sent me a very insolent and ridiculous answer. Since I am informed, that some of the gentlemen have a mind to recant, and do pretend inforcement from some in eminent authority amongst them; and some propositions have been made unto me of an acceptable service to be undertaken to redeem former errors, of which, I hope, ere long to give your lordships a good account.

It is not possible for me to frame any judgment upon their intentions, their own resolution being so unsettled. It hath been at least in their threats, if not in their design, ever since Christmas, first to assault and make an easy conquest of the fort, and then fall upon the garrisons of Roscommon, and leave a strong party to keep me in exercise; but now, I conceive, they find difficulties in the undertaking of either, and are rather inclined to make their whole attempt upon me, for which I am preparing the best defence I can, being already fiercely invaded both by spiritual and temporal threats, and withal, that two thousand of Preston's forces shall come down to Fort Falkland to fall that way upon me; but I hope the English armies that are abroad will keep him employed, and prevent invasion on that side.

The garrisons of the county of Roscommon have drawn into a body, and keep the field, being, as I am informed, seven hundred foot and one hundred and sixty horse, and think themselves able to encounter any forces yet raised in the province.

There are about five hundred of the county of Mayo come into this county, with expectation of many more, and quarter about Clare; there often cometh one thousand or fifteen hundred of them as far as my castle of Shreull, and still return back, by what diversion I cannot certainly tell; they have made a shift to waste and destroy their own country, without any other enemy than their own divisions, which makes me reflect upon an old dispatch I long time since sent your lordships from my lord of Mayo.

There is likewise drawn in hither from the county of Mayo, about two hundred northern men, who are said to be kinsmen or followers to John Burke, intitled general of Connaght, whose mother was a Scotch woman, and it is expected they shall work wonders.

I received letters yesterday from the earl of Thomond, and conceiving your lordships may thereby receive more intelligence of the condition of those parts, than by any other conveyance, I hold it necessary to send his lordship's letter here inclosed.

Apr. 1643.

Give me leave humbly and earnestly to desire your lordships to take some speedy course that I may be paid those monies I stand engaged for, and have disbursed for the relief and supply of his majesty's fort, as likewise for my own personal entertainments and my foot company, about three years behindhand, as they were fifty, and a year and half for the addition of fifty more. There is so much land lies waste, and the distractions so great, that I could raise little above two hundred pounds of the king's composition and exchequer rents, as appeareth by the sheriff's accounts for the same. If your lordships please to appoint Mr. vice-treasurer to undertake payment when money comes in to such as I shall assign it to, I may perhaps find some that will furnish me in present. I assure your lordships, and Mr. justice Donnellan can truly inform you of it, I have constantly paid both my own company, and some others, out of my own purse in ready money, and now, upon a small arrear, they begin to mutiny, and some ready to forsake me. Rents I can get none considerable; and if I fail of my entertainments too, your lordships may easily judge what is like to become of me, and the service here.

I give your lordships humble thanks for the authority you lately sent me, which I will make use of as occasion shall be offered, the better to enable me to give your lordships free and frequent intelligence of what I shall observe most conducing to his majesty's service; and wishing your lordships all increase of happiness, I shall still remain

Your lordships most humble and assured servant,

Portumna, the 23d of
April, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to my lord marquiss of Ormond, the 23d of April.

MY LORD,

A GREATER affliction could hardly fall upon me than the killing of that noble person mentioned in your letter; and when it shall be imparted to his poor sister here, I fear it will hazard the loss of the chief comfort this world can afford me; but the certain hopes of Sir Thomas Lucas, and others, being killed, invites me still to retain some faint hopes that this may also be otherwise.

I know not how to express the value I should have put upon my happiness if I had met your lordship, as I once expected; that, by your judgment and observation, I might have been guided to a capacity of contributing somewhat to your lordship's noble intentions, and high regard of his majesty's service and honour, with some compassion upon the miserable condition of this afflicted kingdom, who will not be made sensible of any ways of moderate preservation.

Though I did believe it might exasperate other parts of the kingdom as a great invasion upon their union, yet I was confident that his majesty's gracious letter and declaration would have been joyfully received here, the mercy offered readily embraced, and dutifully and thankfully acknowledged; but upon trial, I find they have so captivated their understandings to the will and power of their late erected supreme council, and their consciences are so terrified with the censures of some zealous in the cause, that the town of Galway, and most of quality, are resolved to attend the success of the general fate of this unfortunate kingdom, and refuse an easy obedience, to entertain most laborious confusions, when they apparently perceive their own disability to prosecute their designs against the fort, or the garrisons of Roscommon, both which have been in agitation since Christmas, and in my observation little forwarder than in the beginning; but now as being the weaker party, I am the mark at which their malice aims, and I am threatened that general Preston shall send two thousand men to come in upon me at Fort Falkland; but I hope, though you leave us to destroy one another within this province, you will keep other forces employed from falling upon us.

I have

I have sent this bearer rather to receive intelligence from thence than for any advertisement of importance I have now to send, more than to intreat your lordship's favour for the conveyance of this inclosed to his majesty in your next dispatch; and I send your lordship a letter which I received from a lady, to whom I owe that respect as to recommend the request to your lordship's noble care, and I am confident there would be many of that kind if they were directed or encouraged how to make application. I have nothing more in present, but to continue the assurance of my constant being

Your lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,

Portumna, the 23d of
April, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My casement letter to my lord marquis of Ormond at the same time.

YOUR servant earnestly desires your advice whether he had best with his family remove to Dublin, or stay here shut up, which must be the best he can expect after these excommunications, which will take all people from him. If the fort should be besieged and taken, it will draw disgrace and danger upon him either going or staying; and yet it is not possible to prevent it, unless you send forces speedily hither, then many will shew themselves on his side that dare not now appear. He is unfortunate always, having no means to subsist any where else, and the injuries done him are most unsufferable here by rude and most unworthy people, or else go over into England and leave his family here well guarded.

My letter to the King's majesty, the 23d of April.

May it please your Majesty,

YOUR royal and gracious letter and declaration of the 19th of January I received on the 20th of March, not far from Trim, where I attended the execution of your majesty's commission, and upon my return with all possible diligence I published your majesty's letter and declaration upon the 29th of March; which tho' in all fortunes it must make me happy by the testimony of your favour, yet I doubt it will not produce the wished effects I expected, for the advancement of your service and settlement of this county, many persons of quality, and most of the town of Galway, having so captivated their understandings to the will and power of new erected councils, one of which hath the title of supreme, and their obedience so enthralled to the passionate zeal of some of the clergy, who do terrify their consciences with heavy censures, that they will not entertain those mercies which your majesty's infinite goodness hath offered to them, but will attend the general state of this unfortunate kingdom.

I have hitherto found means to stir up such divisions amongst them here, that they have not been able to attempt your majesty's fort by Galway, or fall upon the English garrisons in the county of Roscommon, both which designs have been in agitation ever since Christmas, and still diverted by his private industry who hath no power to resist them, and who is now the principal mark at which their malice aims.

I render your majesty most humble thanks for confirming your former licence for my repair into England, if I found it not prejudicial to your service, of which you were graciously pleased to make myself the judge; and upon contemplation of your majesty's abundant mercy and favour therein, I have resolved to pronounce judgment against myself, and to abide (unless compelled by inevitable necessity) the calamities that must certainly fall upon me if I be not speedily relieved, rather than have my unspotted fidelity and loyalty to your majesty sub-

Apr. 1643. ject to any future question, or my honour or resolution brought to any martial trial.

If it had been agreeable to your pleasure, and might have sorted with your affairs in other places, to have honoured and trusted me with the command of your majesty's fort, which did and doth properly belong to this government, and for which I was long since an humble suitor, I am confident the confusion and disorders not only of this county, but it may be of the province, had been stifled in their first birth; for having so secure a residence for my family, and retreat for myself and forces, I should have made the most insolent repent their rash and disobedient undertakings. And to inform your majesty truly, these parts have been much exasperated by the humorous and unadvised proceedings of the commander there; for his disrespect to me, I have been so many ways abused and neglected by others, that I will not complain of him alone; but I may upon good grounds affirm, that your majesty will hardly be well served here, until the command be as formerly united; yet in regard of the insolent demands of some of the clergy, I shall presume humbly to deliver my opinion, that it will not stand with your majesty's honour at this present to confer that command upon me, but your majesty may be pleased to make choice of some other fit person; or if captain Willoughby must be still continued, as an argument of your favour and trust in me, to lay your commands upon any of them, that, for any service to be acted within my government, they shall receive their instructions and directions from me; and that I may command the receiving of myself, wife, and children, and some few necessary attendants, upon any urgent occasion or necessity.

I did never imagine the natives of this kingdom would have raised a persecution against their own religion, and yet many are, and myself to be debarred the private exercise of our devotions, which by a copy of a letter, amongst others which I humbly present herewith, your majesty may observe, and thereby discern in what a hard condition I am in, by neglects of the one side, and violence of the other.

By letters this day from the earl of Thomond I am informed, that your majesty's late letters and declaration into those parts cannot work upon their obstinate dispositions there.

I have been informed, that there have been private consultations held by some of the confederates, to invite the emperor's brother to be their protector. Whether it were rejected by themselves, or how far it hath been in agitation abroad, or the probability of it, is far beyond my knowledge. To your majesty's clear discerning judgment I humbly submit it, holding it my duty to give you a right information of what is delivered to me, how improbable soever, not knowing how to judge thereof in the obscure condition I am in, debarred even of ordinary intelligence; but this I am sure of, they have very busy and stirring agents abroad.

I presume your majesty hath been long since informed of Preston's coming down upon Fort Falkland with the forces of Leinster, and that it was surrendered to him, there being no power in these parts of the kingdom able to look towards him. I am confident the commanders of that fort have given that testimony of me, as that I was not failing to them in any thing, as long as it could be preserved by any power or diligence of mine.

In the conclusion, I have three humble apologies to make. First, for my presumption, by the frequency of my immediate addresses to your majesty, for which I claim your justice to acquit me, being hitherto encouraged by your majesty's accepting and receiving them with favour. The second, the largeness of my applications, and the papers that accompany them, for which I plead necessity, and the humours of the times; those here, though guilty of high disobedience, I conceive hold it a sacrilege to violate any thing directed to your majesty, which would suffer under any other superscription. The third is, the errors of my expressions, which, if guilty of any crime, was far from intention, and hath this advantage,

vantage, that they are directed to your majesty, free from concealment or alteration by the gloss of any others explanation; and upon your censure, and royal judgment, solely depends the like fortune and happiness of

Your majesty's most humble, obedient, and faithful subject and servant,

Portumna, the 23d of
April, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 25th of April.

MY LORDS,

SINCE the finishing of my dispatch I have received private intelligence out of Galway, that their general John Burke, with some of his officers, are come into the town, and are preparing to lay a present siege to the fort. I must confess I should much admire the attempt, knowing the confusion and disorder that is amongst them; but the party informs, that they have newly discovered a mortar piece which was then to be tried, which they expect should shoot a bullet of seventy pounds weight, and that they have gotten a skilful engineer for mineing. To this I have likewise received an addition of discomfort, that myself, and those that adhere to me for his majesty's service, and all my officers and soldiers, were yesterday excommunicated, and that many say they will leave me, and must not forsake their religion for the world. For my own particular, I am so fully satisfied in my conscience of the unjustice of that course, that I do not value it at all; and if I could persuade others into the same confidence, and make them rightly understand the practice of all other parts of the world, and the erroneousness of this course, I should hope to make a reasonable party against them, but as they stand wilfully affected, I am in a very sad distraction. And though, I thank God, captain Willoughby is in a good strong posture of defence, yet if your lordships cannot send forces speedily hither the fort may be in danger, and myself certainly ruined if I stay long here, without hope of doing good, which invites me to seek the preservation of myself and family by a removal from hence, if they proceed in their intended attempts; and that if I receive no other comforts from your lordships, I shall presume to make use of the authority your lordships sent me for my own journey to Dublin; and expecting your lordships speedy answer, I shall still remain

Your lordships humble servant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P. S. If captain Willoughby had but two hundred men more, I should nothing fear their attempts. I have about fifty English in my company, but cannot possibly convey them to him. His present number is, as I conceive, about two hundred, besides the assistance of the ships.

My letters of the first of this month to captains Coote and Ormsby, Sir Ulick Burke, Hubert Burke, and sheriff Donnellan, expresseth my desire, that those gentlemen of quality should not be disturbed in their repair to me upon the publishing of the king's declaration, yet with a tender regard that it might be no prejudice to any of those garrisons, and so written as they would make no use of my request, having taken up other resolutions.

By the letters from the confederate supreme council to the archbishop of Tuam, may be observed their violent malicious inclinations towards me, and more especially by their letter to the mayor of Galway; and by them, and the answers returned to me by the mayor, and other gentlemen of the country, may be

Apr. 1643. be discerned the reasons of their delay, being to receive directions and instructions from their supreme council, though, indeed, their first return to me was much more absurd and insolent than could be taken out of the pattern they wrought upon. And though it may be excusable in that council to seek the diversion of particular applications, which would weaken the frame of their new erected government; yet it must needs be a great folly and ill nature in those of this county, not only to scorn and slight the preservation I had procured for them, but to grow into a high malice and hatred against me, for that which must certainly have been a great happiness and safety to their particular. And I should have wondered much how such expressions could pass under the hands of Sir Lucas Dillon and the mayor of Galway, but that I observed they were awed and charmed by the predominant power of some of the clergy, chief in authority amongst them, who had neither the inclination, nor judgment, to make a moderate or plausible answer, but so far from it, after the granting all they could desire, changing the government of the fort, delivering up of castles and hostages to them, and much more of that kind, they would move their supreme council to change the place of action, but resolved they were still to continue their rebellion, after they had shewed their favour and respect to me in this particular.

By my letters to Coote and Ormsby may be observed my care and diligence; the very same day I received the answer of the country concerning his majesty's declaration, giving them notice of it, that they might be at liberty to proceed in the present service as they thought fit, and likewise to provide timely to know their power and resolutions, to assist me as occasion should be offered.

Concerning the letters and passages between me and the clergy, though I might perhaps trespass somewhat upon the strict rules of the law, yet my good and loyal intentions I conceive were fully expressed, the people very much satisfied thereby, and the clergy enforced to silence, not being able to return any satisfactory reply, but continuing their violence without ground or reason.

The letters from Dublin, and my dispatches thither, needs no comment upon them, it being apparent that I used all possible diligence to give a right information of all passages here, and earnestly pressed for speedy supplies and relief for the fort.

My letter to his majesty gives a clear account of all affairs here, and expresses my zealous and tender care of his honour, valuing it far above all safety or interest of my own, by declining and delivering my opinion freely against the conferring the command of the fort upon me, though the only means of preservation I could expect, in regard that the town and country had made it one of their insolent and peremptory commands. There passed from and to Dublin, several very kind and respective letters between me and the earl of Roscommon, the lord Lambert, Sir Francis Willoughby, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Mr. William Parsons of Birr, which I forbear to insert, not containing any considerable business or intelligence. I likewise received very respective letters from Sir Robert Newcomen at Athlone, being one of the commanders in chief left by my lord president for the command of the province of Conaght, informing me of several flying reports spread abroad, desiring to receive more right intelligence from me, which I at large performed as far as I durst trust to the danger of interception, all passages that way being narrowly watched.

This month the enemy's strength increasing, they did commit much spoil upon my particular estate, and those that adhered to me, and many hot alarms I received from several parts, that they were resolved to defer other designs, and assault me with their whole strength; and many times they would appear within two or three miles of Loughreagh, my principal house in the heart of the county; and sometimes they did pretend to that strength and power to besiege the fort, assault the garrisons of Roscommon, and leave a considerable party at
Athunry

Athunry within six miles of Loughreagh, to attend all motions of mine, which ^{May 1643.} went nearest to truth. For towards the end of this month they did begin afar off to besiege the fort, and to fortify some passages towards the sea; they did leave forces at Athunry, that if I did attempt to raise their siege, they might fall upon my rear, and inclose me between them and their army, there being many dangerous passages of advantage for them to hinder any retreat. And though they did not attempt the Roscommon garrisons, yet they sent some forces to those borders, to guard the streights and passages into this county.

With much difficulty there passed some letters between me and captain Wilmoughby, I giving him information how affairs went abroad, and he expressing much chearfulness and resolutions if he should be besieged, and not complaining of much want, which I was likewise confident of (though I pressed the state for supply) he having several ways (as I thought) plentifully furnished himself in those parts by several right and wrong ways, besides a constant trading with the ships; and that a ship of provision came to him the last month from Dublin.

But upon the 30th of this month he wrote to me in general terms, that he should be necessitated, upon urgent occasions, to send the ship that came from the fort to Dublin, the only ship then in the harbour. He likewise informed me of the disaster his men had in Irrconnaght; sending fifty of them by boat thither to seek for cattle, they so dispersed themselves, being greedy of pillage, that the town sent out greater forces, met them in their return, killed eight, and took thirteen prisoners.

This unlucky accident did very much animate the town and their party, and greatly discourage the soldiers of the fort, having never had any disaster before, but still meeting with good booty, and prosperous success.

Captain Richard Coote to captain John Kelly, the 3d of May.

SIR,

LAST night I wrote you an answer concerning the particulars wherein you were desirous to be satisfied, as touching serjeant Oliver. Truly there is no man living more unwilling to prejudice any that have relation to my deservedly honoured lord and friend the earl of Clanricarde than myself, if cruel necessity, an ancient out-law, did not compel me to it. How, at other times, serjeant Oliver has demeaned himself, I am a stranger to; but sure I am, that if he have miscarried himself, it was contrary to my brother's desire, being here, or mine in his absence. Now he had my direction for what he did, I confess, not with an intention that it should light on any of my lord's tenants, as it fell out; my directions were general; however, what is done, I doubt not to repair in a convenient time. I have imparted my mind freely to you already concerning Hugh Mageraghty; more than I have said I cannot say for the present; at better convenience I shall not fail to give you ample satisfaction concerning what is to be laid to his charge. It does not a little perplex me that I am not able to contribute, according to my desires, to any employment that shall be achieved by so honourable a chieftain, as is my ever honoured friend the earl of Clanricarde. Truly believe me, Sir, I would wish no greater happiness than to sacrifice my life under his lordship's banners. Since I cannot do what I would, yet I will not be neglective in what I may, which is humbly to desire him which is able, and of power sufficient, to grant him in all his designs and enterprises his heart's desire against all antagonists. This, Sir, shall be the prayer of his lordship's poor, &c.

Your affectionate servant,

RICHARD COOTE.

May 1643.

Captain Willoughby to lieutenant Dermot Daly, the 4th of May.

SIR,

I DID much wonder I could not hear from you. I should be glad to have received a letter from you, that so I might know how business goes with you thereabouts, and how Mrs. Darcy does, to whom pray present my love. I hear my soldiers go out that are there in prison; that I have not above two weeks meat in the fort: I rather believe it is given out amongst themselves, that could wish it were so. I assure you that I have a quarter of a year's provision in the fort at full allowance, and, if necessity requires, I shall make it serve these four months, and before that time, I hope in God, we shall receive supply. I hear Sir Richard Blake is going to the earl, to whom I would have wrote, but that interception of letters is so frequent, that I desire my humble service unto his lordship by Sir Richard Blake, to whom I pray present my service. I shall be glad to hear how my men are used there. God hath justly punished them, for they ran contrary to the command that was given them by their officers, astray, pillaging, and I did write unto the mayor concerning them, but as yet received no answer. So I rest in haste

Your assured loving friend,

From the fort, the 4th of
May, 1643.

FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY.

A letter from the mayor of Galway and divers gentlemen of the town and county concerning his majesty's declaration, the 28th of April, received the 5th of May.

Right Honourable,

WE have seen his majesty's letters of declaration touching your government. We conceive that we have never failed in our duty to his majesty, or obedience to your lordship, as his governor; and we have resolved to live and die his majesty's most humble, faithful, and loving subjects, and to give your lordship all fitting obedience.

Your lordship well knows the depredations and hostilities committed in your government by captain Willoughby, and the forces of Roscommon, both before and after the pacification, and their several violations of publick faith, without respect unto your lordship, or unto the good of his majesty's service. Our very good lord, those violences are still continued, men, women, and children murdered, towns and villages burnt and depopulated. His majesty's declared rebels of the malignant party in England are daily received to the fort of Galway, as into a safe harbour for them; and his majesty's faithful town of Galway continues battered since the 9th of February last; their harbour continues blocked up, their market is stopped, their trade and traffick hindered, to the universal loss of this province, and great loss of his majesty in point of revenue; and whether in such a condition, failing of lawful protection, it be not necessary for us to continue our defensive arms, we leave unto your lordship's more grave consideration; wherein we likewise pray you to think how safe it is for us, perceiving our faith to the king, to entertain any intercourse with those that keep correspondence with them that apply themselves to the malignant party in England, and, as far as in them lieth, do endeavour to decline his authority here.

May it please your lordship, the depredations committed upon us with impunity, have made us to join with the rest of the kingdom in a desire of redress. The whole kingdom's grievances were transmitted unto his majesty upon the execution of his majesty's late commission at Trim. We are all equally concerned in the good of the kingdom. We cannot make any particular application until his

his majesty's pleasure be farther known. Which being all we have to say, we will conclude with our continued real and faithful professions, ever to remain his majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, and

The 28th of April, 1643.

Your lordship's loving friends and servants,

Richard Martin, mayor.

John Bermingham.

Dom. Browne.

Robert Lynch.

Ulick Burke.

My answer to the mayor of Galway, the 6th of May.

Mr. Mayor,

I HAVE newly received a letter signed by divers gentlemen of quality of the country, and by yourself, and others of quality of the town; but what may be your intentions, or the use to be made thereof, after so long a time of deliberation, I cannot imagine, your former answer being transmitted to his majesty; and I can observe no difference, more than that the first made some shew of submission upon peremptory and unreasonable demands, and this is an absolute denial of present obedience, with some more rational appearance, if it had been precedent to the former.

For the spoils committed upon this government by the garrisons of Roscommon, when it shall appear that they made any invasion upon it before those that complain cast off their obedience to me, his majesty's governor here, and adhered to new erected councils, and other forms of government, I shall then charge the garrisons with crime; myself being concerned in honour, and accountable for breach of trust between his majesty and his people. For not affording them justice and preservation, for the proceedings between the fort and town, as I do not take upon me to defend all the actions of the commander there, so I know not how to acquit the town for being the occasion of their own misfortunes; and I am sorry I may truly affirm, there are too many recent examples of more unwarrantable depredations than have been acted here, and if they now want lawful protection, it can be attributed to nothing but their own wilful persistence, which likewise debars me from expressing myself as formerly

Portumna, the 6th of
May, 1643.

Your loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 9th of May.

MY LORDS,

SOON after my last dispatch by James Dallaghan, I was informed by captain Willoughby, that in hopes of gaining a prey of cattle, he sent fifty of his men by boat into Irrconaght, who going far into the country for booty, contrary to direction, the town having discovered them, sent some companies to lie between them and their boats, and, upon their return, in the encounter thirteen of the fort were taken prisoners, and eight killed, as the captain informs me; but the town reports sixteen killed, and more drowned. The continual battery against the town since the middle of February last, this last disaster, and the information of the prisoners, who affirm that the fort is in great want, hath been so much of provocation and encouragement to them, that they do now lay siege thereto, and have fortified the point beyond our Lady's Church in the west called Ronitmane, and the other point on this side called Ronimore, in hopes to bar all relief by sea. The importance of those places for that design, your lordships may be much better informed of by Sir Francis Willoughby, than by any relation that my knowledge or experience can attain unto. They lie with one thousand men before the fort, but make not any approaches to it, nor the town doth not shoot; they have other forces at Athunry to attend any motion

To the Lords Justices. This letter missed the first conveyance, and was not sent till the 15th.

May 1643. tion of mine, and they have sent others to the borders of the county of Roscommon; and besides the Mayo and northern men, they speak of forces coming out of the county of Longford to fall upon them of Roscommon. If your lordships cannot send forces by land to assist me here, though I must suffer thereby, I presume you have by this time sent plentiful relief by sea to the fort, otherwise it will be certainly endangered, though I hope he is well furnished, or would not have given so much provocation by battery; and his letter to my lieutenant at Terrellan, of which I send your lordships a copy, gives me some good assurance of it. About a month since one captain Constable, and two or three other ships, were in the harbour, but they are all departed, and have left it unguarded, upon what occasion I cannot learn, only the last, the captain wrote me word, he had dispatched unto your lordships. The unhappy condition I am in I have frequently informed your lordships with fruitless success, through the distraction of the times, or my own ill fate. And to set forth the present state thereof, your lordships may be pleased to know, I cannot stir out of this place, but accompanied with imminent danger, much shame, and no hopes of any good success; my commands and orders disobeyed, my tenants most destroyed, my revenue lost, my charge and family very great; the rest of the poor English, under my care and protection, ready to famish, and myself altogether unable to relieve them, and most petitioning me to procure some safe conduct for their departure; my officers and soldiers all excommunicated, which together with want of pay, which I am not able longer to continue, and the little hopes of assistance, or preferment, doth so discourage and unsettle all mens resolutions, that I had rather venture upon any hazard or danger than converse with my own followers, hearing their exclamations, and not knowing how to help them. I was in hopes that my messenger would have returned before this time with some comfortable tidings from your lordships. I have not been failing to the best of my power to give your lordships true and timely intelligence, to prevent ill accidents that might happen here, the only ability that hath hitherto been allowed

Your lordships most humble and assured servant,

Portumna, the 9th of
May, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Captain Anthony Willoughby, the 12th of May, received the 13th.

Right Honourable,

I SHOULD be glad to hear from you by the first opportunity. Here is no news stirring, but what I believe your lordship has heard already, touching the town's proceedings, and their new fortification on Irrconaght point; they think thereby to hinder relief to come to us by water. I do daily expect shipping, and then I make no doubt but to have the passage soon open after. Here is some exchange of great and small shot daily between the town and us. So having nothing else to present, but desire your honour to impart unto me what news you hear out of England, or elsewhere, I rest

The 12th of May, 1643.

Your honour's most humble servant,

ANTHONY WILLOUGHBY.

Captain Willoughby's second letter, the 12th of May, received the 13th.

Right Honourable,

I Received yours of the 4th of May this morning, and should be glad, as the case stands, that your lordship could work some agreement with the enemy, the town having fortified themselves on Irrconaght point to keep off boats, or
any

any other relief from us. I was enforced to send my lieutenant away with the ship to my lord Inchiquin for present relief, or else shipping to carry us and the arms away. All the intercourse betwixt the town and me is exchange of some great and small shot. We are much endangered by that unresistible enemy famine, for unless we have speedy help by land or sea within this month at farthest, we shall not be able to subsist. So having nothing more at the present, but the presentment of my humble service to your lordship, I rest

From the fort, the 12th of
May, 1643.

Your honour's most humble servant,

ANTHONY WILLOUGHBY.

The receipt of these two letters did much perplex me, being confident, that captain Willoughby had at least three months provisions according to his letter to lieutenant Daly of the 4th of this month. What course to take for his relief I could not imagine, having neither provisions sufficient for him, nor forces to convey them, all passages being so stopped, as nothing but a powerful army could force through them. To send to Dublin, and expect supplies and forces from thence, they could hardly come seasonably to relieve it: to treat with the confederates, without direction or instructions, being assured they would be high and peremptory in their demands, was altogether unsafe for me to venture upon, my actions having been ever subject to the worst constructions. Being in this perplexity and distraction, I at last resolved to send my steward James Davock to Dublin, with captain Willoughby's two small letters, sowed up in his cloaths for fear of interception; and to write publick letters of credence only by him to the lords justices, to my lord marquiss, my lord Roscommon, and justice Donnellan; he had in charge to press them earnestly for forces by land, and supplies by sea; that captain Willoughby had not expressed his particular wants, I did conceive a general scarcity, and most especially malt and fresh meat; that supply of fresh meat was not possible without English land forces; that if their lordships could not supply speedily, either by land or sea, or indeed both ways, the fort, ordnance, and arms, would be all certainly lost. I gave him farther instructions, that if he saw no hopes of supplies, that he should move justice Donnellan to offer it to my lord marquiss's consideration, whether it might not be fitly moved at the council table, that power should be immediately sent me to treat with the confederates to have the fort delivered into my hands, it being possible that the removal of Willoughby might be of satisfaction to them. And that the following instructions should be shewed first only to Mr. justice Donnellan, and after to my lord marquiss, if he did approve thereof.

Instructions to James Davock, the 15th of May.

IF the lords justices find no other way to prevent the loss of the fort, but by laying their commands upon me to take that charge upon me.

1. To send a command to captain Willoughby drawn for publick view, requiring him to deliver up the fort to my hands, with the ordnance, arms, and all other things belonging to the defence thereof.

2. That their lordships write a letter of the same kind to me, desiring and requiring me to take the command upon me, and that they will write unto his majesty for a confirmation of it.

3. I am assured they will not permitt my passage thither, nor am I able to subsist there but by treaty; for the better effecting thereof, I conceive it will be necessary that their lordships may be pleased to send me a full discretionary power and authority to treat with the enemy, and to grant what I shall find necessary (pardon excepted) for the present, until his majesty's pleasure be further declared, without other restriction.

5 H

4. That

May 1643.

4. That instructions, or restrictions, such as their lordships think necessary, either to captain Willoughby or myself, be sent apart from the commands or authorities.

5. I humbly desire to know whether I may grant for the present, with limitation to the king's farther pleasure, free traffick by sea to the town of Galway, or to some particular persons of it, with my special licence, and upon such conditions as I shall consent unto; without such agreement, I doubt they will not permit my passage to the fort.

6. That if their lordships consent to this last article, or part of it, I conceive it will be necessary, that a particular authority be sent me to grant such licence; an authentick copy whereof I am to send in the ships employed abroad.

7. The granting of protections upon fit occasions, I presume their lordships will allow, but I desire to know with what limitations.

8. Their lordships to consider the weakness of my power, and the unfettled and turbulent dispositions I have to deal withal, who must be somewhat humour'd for the present, until a course can be settled for securing that most important place.

9. That their lordships will settle a course for means and provision for it by a convenient time, and be pleas'd in present to secure such money or provisions as I shall take up for it, as likewise my former engagements.

10. That if their lordships do not give me full power and clear instructions to guide my proceedings with security, and take a course for future means and supplies, I must crave their pardon not to accept of that charge, well knowing the danger and dishonour that belongs unto the loss of such a place, being once intrusted to me.

11. That I am so far from any ambition to that employment, more than the necessity of the king's service will require, that I shall desire captain Willoughby may continue therein if he can get relief any way, by which he may assuredly subsist until their lordships greater powers shall be ready to secure us here.

12. That their lordships resolutions be sudden. The proceedings here will take up some time after the receipt of their lordships commands, and the warning is much shorter than I could imagine.

13. That I conceive it unsafe to treat with the enemy, though captain Willoughby seems to desire it, lest it should discover his wants, which they are too apt to believe already; but when it proceeds from their lordships commands, it may be taken as arguments of their lordships favour and confidence in me, and no necessity of his; besides, I find they do so far presume on their own strength, and the wants of the fort, by the relation of their own prisoners, that it were in vain for me to treat with them without good authority, and full and clear direction.

From the Lords Justices and Council, the 11th of May, received the 17th.

MY LORD,

AFTER our hearty commendations to your lordship, we have received your lordship's letters of the 23d and 24th of April, and do still acknowledge to your lordship with special thanks your continued care of the fort of Galway, whereof we also are not unmindful, but shall (with as much speed as conveniently we may) comply with your lordship's desires, touching it and the other parts of that province; and in the mean time we are well assured that your lordship will use your best endeavours in guiding aright his majesty's affairs there, and particularly in rendering the best help and furtherance you can in all things to the fort.

We are now sending to his majesty the copies of your lordship's letters to us, and of the papers which Mr. justice Donnellan delivered to us from your lordship, as also the letters your lordship received from the earl of Thomond. Your
lordship

lordship makes a right judgment of the excommunications wherewith the popish ^{May 1643.} clergy desire to amuse your lordship and those that adhere to you; and we cannot but highly commend your lordship's nobleness and resolution to persuade others into the same confidence and right belief with your lordship in that particular, of the unexampledness of such practice, and unlawfulness of such proceedings; and although some have been so unhappy to themselves and their posterity, as wilfully to suffer themselves to be seduced, yet as your lordship with good judgment placed a right understanding in divers others who still adhere to you, so we hope you will still prevail with them to continue their duty and loyalty to his majesty, in joining chearfully with your lordship in the publick services, which in the end will return to themselves advantage and contentment; as the neglect thereof will bring upon others that have not so done, deserved ruin and destruction; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 11th of May, 1643.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

John Borlace.

Henry Tichborne.

La. Dublin.

Ormond.

Roscommon.

Ant. Midenfis.

Charles Lambert.

William Parsons.

Gerald Lowther.

John Temple.

Francis Willoughby.

Robert Meredith.

George Wentworth.

My lord marquiss of Ormond, the 11th of May, received the 17th.

MY LORD,

WHEN you shall peruse these and the letters from the state, you will have reason to judge your servant might have been sooner dispatched; but the increase of business, that always attends the alteration of government, and the general distractions of these times, may not only excuse the delay, but the small satisfaction this dispatch will bring you. The latest news out of England is, as far as I know it truth, communicated to justice Donnellan, who hath undertaken to advertise your lordship of it; sure I am there can no certain judgment be grounded thereon of the success of these great distempers by me, and therefore I shall not offer at any, which the coming of your lordship's letters unopened would otherwise incline me. The town of Reading was lately given up to the parliament forces, his majesty's army being then not far off with intention, and I think power to relieve it; Sir Arthur Aston, governor of that place, had received a dangerous hurt not long before, so that the defence and treaty was managed by colonel Richard Fielding, who rendered, or rather betrayed it; for since I hear he is condemned to death by a martial court, whereat his majesty was. Hereford hath run the same fortune with Reading, as Sir Richard Cane is like to do with Fielding for the same treachery, as it is said. This success hath advanced the insolency of that party to a height beyond expression, but not above the justice, which, I hope, will one day reach them. This, though I believe it publick, and written to you by the justice, yet having not told him of it, I venture to lose my labour, rather than your lordship should want this accident, worth your observation, regard being had to the persons of the men failing in their trust and loyalty. The wind hath been so long easterly that your dispatch to court is still in my hands, but shall be sent by the next that goes. I have adventured upon your pardon, for putting some letters under your lordship's cover, in hopes they may so escape a search for what in truth is not in them, and arrive to those they are directed; one of them is to the gentleman, so commendably important with you and me; I heartily wish there were many of

May 1643. of his mind, then should I have some hope, with more freedom, and at a nearer distance, to profess to you my being, as most really I am

Your most faithful humble servant,

ORMOND.

P. S. My own letter to the gentleman mentioned above, I have stayed, hoping shortly to have a more free correspondence with * him, without danger to either of us; but if my hopes fail in that, my industry shall be set on work for his satisfaction another way.

* Mr. Edmund Butler.

My lord marquiss's casement letter at the same time.

BY another letter wrote this way, you will find the last offer is made to this nation. If it take effect, the question is answered; if not, I am confident you may safely come hither, and depart hence. But what security your family will be in here, or your own person in England, I am not able to judge; but if things go on in the height they are in, there is so little hopes you can have succours hence, and your disgrace is so apparent if you stay, that I am for your coming away. The business of England is so doubtful, both parties resolved, and I think able to maintain the war, until the kingdom be as desolate as this. The king lately had the worse, but not much.

A casement letter from Mr. justice Donnellan, the same time.

THE papers I shewed to the state as you directed, which I would not have done otherwise as things now stand. The messenger, as he useth, delivered your letters at the board, and to others, and came to me at nine at night on Sunday; he is an useful man, but I cannot keep him from too much foolish talk; let him be advised to be more wary. Copies are taken of all, and a dispatch into England thereupon, but to whom, or what end, I cannot learn. Your lordship is much applauded by all tongues where I am here. The president is under a cloud at court, but Sir Charles Coote hath effected nothing against him, but hath brought direction hither to have his horse made up a troop, and his men a regiment. He hath direction for three thousand men to be sent to Conaght, I see not how they will be got here; it is reported they will be Scots out of the North, it is not yet resolved; if you hear of his going to the North, believe they come thence. The round heads are strong, and begin to plunder, and take many places. The king hath many men of rank, but wants money, arms, and ammunition. The loss of Reading troubles him, and heartens them. Many hard shifts made to supply the army here, who threaten to depart, and are discontent. It is written to me from court, that the old man was removed for displeasure, and that the rest, supposed to be of the faction here, will be shortly removed, or much blamed, of whom the master of the rolls and vice treasurer are most blamed. The king is not pleased with the requests in the commission, but there is a party at court that labour for Ireland. There is a power come to Ormond, to conclude a cessation for a year here. The king would have it carried with secrecy, I and one more only are acquainted with it yet. There is a course taken to see how the motion would relish, if it might be obtained before it be made known that it is come. Ormond would have me acquaint you with it, that you may with all motives incline that foolish people to desire it. If they of Kilkenny would seem to desire it with safety, and without high demands, it would gain much upon the king. If it may be effected, it may do much good without disadvantage to either side, but I fear we are not worthy to be so happy. The king had no time (by reason of the late siege) to send

send any answer concerning the commission to any; but I conceive the other power is a preparation thereunto, if people would apprehend it. May 1643.

Ormond wished me to let you know, that when there is need for your removal, he will, without direction, march with all the army to conduct you; but would have you lose no footing yet. It is written to me, the humours at court incline to peace here.

Another casement letter from Mr. justice Donnellan, the same time.

ON Wednesday last there came in letters, that the parliament forces much prevail. There is a second letter then come to Ormond from the king, to hasten a cessation I spoke of; and a large power come to him, and others, to examine the abuses complained of by the commanders of the army, and the causes of the prorogation of the parliament, contrary to the lords desires.

Upon advice and instruction from some friends about Dublin, I caused several papers to be spread, being motives to invite the people to move for a cessation of arms in this kingdom, and found means to have them put into the hands of many that were going to a general assembly of the confederates, appointed to begin about the 20th of this month at Kilkenny.

Motives for a cessation of arms.

THOUGH this war in Ireland hath been undertaken under pretence to serve his majesty and his prerogatives, yet his majesty, upon all occasions, hath declared his hatred against it. And albeit that by issuing the late commission to be informed of the causes thereof, and of the grievances of his people, he hath given full evidence of his tenderness of them in general, and of his desire to give them all fitting satisfaction; yet it is well known, that his many great engagements for the present do not give him leave to take that consideration, upon the return of that commission, that so important a matter would require. And therefore until his majesty may have leisure to examine the grievances and requests of the subjects here, it were necessary for the preservation of the kingdom, much depopulated already, and prevention of the further sad effects of war, that a cessation for a competent time should be sued for unto his majesty, which undoubtedly will produce these good effects.

1. If that it can be obtained, a good opportunity will be thereby gained by them, to send agents into England to his majesty to make their grievances known, and to seek for redress, without which they will never be thoroughly understood; and without a cessation this cannot be done.

2. There can be no settlement without a parliament, which must set straight this kingdom, so much distracted and disjointed; and without a cessation there can be no preparation made for this, nor as much as a motion made to his majesty for it; for, in such times as these are, a parliament cannot have a free course here, nor his majesty, nor council, time or leisure to contrive a frame fit for the peace and settlement thereof.

3. The troubles of England being at the height, cannot, in all likelihood, hold very long; and it were a fit season for this nation to seek unto his majesty for mercy, unto which a cessation may now prepare a way, this being the likeliest time to obtain it, when those who are most like to interpose against it, are in such opposition to his majesty.

4. The kingdom will doubtless (if the cessation be for any long time, as it must if any be) by this means be freed of the Scotch army, there being no occasion to use them during the cessation, which is the greatest blessing, next peace, which can happen to this nation; but if a cessation be not yielded unto, then, doubtless, the Scotch army will be increased, and the whole work here

will

May 1643. will be trusted by the parliament to them, in regard of their difference of the English army; and they, doubtless, will most willingly undergo the war, so they may have land in this kingdom, which is the thing they so much gape after.

5. The whole kingdom will in present receive very great advantage thereby; for the war going on in England, if there be a cessation here for any considerable time, much of the wealth of England will be brought hither, and very many of the nation will likewise come hither for security.

6. The people of both sides will by the cessation have opportunity and freedom to converse together, and by that means understand the grievances of each other, which now they do not; and it is not to be doubted, but that they will find so much security and content by the cessation, as that there will be little fear of breaking out again into arms; and that all differences will be composed and settled to the content of all.

7. His majesty being by the cessation freed, during that time, of the thought of this kingdom, will be the better enabled to pursue his own rights in England, which is the main reason now declared by those who are in arms for the taking of arms; and if their declaration in this be real, they cannot but cooperate with his majesty in all things which do conduce unto that end.

If this course be neglected, and no motion made to his majesty for a cessation, these mischiefs will inevitably ensue.

1. Much effusion of christian blood, and the utter desolation of the kingdom by sword and famine.

2. It will be construed, that by their taking up of arms, his majesty's service, as hitherto hath been given forth, was not at first, notwithstanding all their specious shows, intended by them; but that there is a resolution taken to work upon his majesty's present necessities and troubles, daily multiplied upon him by his professed enemies in England, and to wrest unreasonable conditions from him, which he may resent so tenderly, considering his good inclinations, that he may rather make choice to yield to hard conditions in England than from hence; and then what can be justly expected, but that the whole strength of England and Scotland being incensed, shall be at once violently poured on this kingdom.

3. All the ill that hath been acted in this kingdom by some, upon the first breaking out of this insurrection, will be believed to be the act of all the natives, and others, that at last appeared in this cause, and all the proceedings ensuing, to be a countenancing, justifying, and defending thereof; and then it must be inferred, that all the natives that have entered into this confederacy had a full purpose, and did their uttermost endeavours to murder and destroy, or, at least, to banish and root all his majesty's British protestant subjects out of this kingdom, which will make it a national quarrel, and a war of religion; whereas if there be a cessation, and time given to his majesty to weigh their grievances by the examples of England and Scotland, and the subjects of other kingdoms, and those cruel and inhuman acts committed at first, before any councils or meetings of the better sort, may be said to be the acts of particular men, and most of them by the worst sort of people, over whom there was no controul.

4. His majesty may hereupon, in a most just indignation, join with the parliament in England against this nation, for looking more to their own private ends than to his honour and crown, both which are now at the stake.

First objection. The loss of the advantage which now they have by the distractions in England, which hereafter may be irrecoverable.

Answer. 1. Consider the little service which hath been done by them hitherto, notwithstanding the distractions of England, which have almost kept back all relief from this kingdom; and yet how few places of importance, or great acts have been performed by them these nineteen months past.

2. It is well known to all of them, that the Irish are not able to continue any long siege to any place, as the kingdom is now composed, to gain any port towns or places of importance, until the end of the next harvest; and what can be done in the field is but destruction, and daily shedding of christian blood.

3. If that it should be admitted that they had some advantage, sure to make use of it against the king, being in those streights wherein he is, would be most ignoble, and contrary to all their professions.

4. It is in his majesty's power when he pleases to come out of those streights by closing with the parliament, which, if by their obstinacy he should be forced to do, the preparations which are now on both sides in the field may be wholly turned against them, and then nothing can be expected but inevitable destruction.

5. If they should forego any advantage (which doth not yet appear that they have any) the greater obligation would be laid on his majesty to do for them.

6. No prejudice can grow to the natives by a cessation, in regard that all their commanders are of their own nation; no foreigners in pay with them, all the soldiers of their own, who have residence in the kingdom, so as they may be as well ready at any time as now.

Second objection. That it is not in the king's power to shew any grace or favour unto them, without the consent of the parliament in England, by reason of the late act past there, &c.

Answer. 1. It must not be admitted that the parliament in England can make laws to bind this kingdom.

2. If it were admitted that the late act past there should be binding, yet the king may pardon, &c. with a non obstante.

3. The king hath assumed unto himself the care of this kingdom, which hitherto he trusted to the parliament, for so much he hath declared by his letters, and therefore no doubt to be made of his power, if it be not suppressed by the malignant party, which by all lawful ways and means ought to be supported.

From my lord justice Parsons, the 6th of May, received the 17th

Most noble LORD,

I HAVE seen your letters to Mr. justice Donnellan, who hath also shewed me the copies of letters from Kilkenny to several parties, and the answer from the loyal town of Galway to your lordship, upon tendering them his majesty's gracious favour. I believe by this time your lordship finds cause to judge otherwise of that people, than perhaps in your more green experience you saw reason to do. By this time your lordship may see the pride, avarice, and malice of that clergy, pride and avarice in their own behalf, and malice to the English, who they think only do stand in their way. I am sorry your countrymen are so apt to be seduced out of their own safety, and the good and felicity of their country, which they enjoyed, and might have enjoyed by the English government. In the mean time I am much grieved with your hard condition, whose affections I adjudge to be right to your king and country; and I am no less grieved to see that we are not yet in a case to help you; but I hope that God, who hath hitherto preserved you and us through dangerous difficulties, will still hold that merciful hand over you, which he hath hitherto done, till better times may put you and us into a better security, which I hope is not far off; though the troubles of England do yet lie very heavy upon us, which now I believe are near a change. I doubt not justice Donnellan doth send you such occurrents here as this place hath, and therefore I will abstain your trouble, but never cease to be

Your lordship's most affectionate servant,

The 6th of May, 1643.

WILLIAM PARSONS.

May 1643.

My lord Taaffe, the 14th of May, received the 17th.

MY LORD,

THE king was pleased to allow of my coming into this kingdom; and during the small time of my continuance here, I hope to procure the licence of this state to communicate with such of the Irish as may render me an account of the occasion of the continuance of this war; there being some likelihood that if there be no impossibilities proposed on either side, things may be accorded, to the great joy and contentment of us all. I have a letter to your lordship from his majesty, which I omit sending in expectation of waiting on you very soon, being intended to be at Kilkenny the 20th of this month, where I hear the Irish have a general meeting, when I shall expect to know where your lordship is; and that in the mean time, you will either by this bearer, or some other, advertise such of the king's friends as be in Galway, that their being near that place may be necessary. The relation of all things I refer to this gentleman, but beg the favour of being esteemed,

My lord, the humblest of all your servants,

Dublin, the 14th of
May, 1643.

TAAFFE.

My letter to my lord viscount Taaffe, the 18th of May.

MY LORD,

IN the distracted condition I am in, it did afford me much content to receive assurance of your safe arrival into this kingdom, and that your lordship came accompanied with some hopes and overtures of pacification, thereby to apply timely remedies to the deep wounds that civil war hath made in this unhappy kingdom; though I much fear your lordship will meet with dispositions here, differing much from your expectation, and that any moderation, or reasons tending that way, which might produce good effects, will be esteemed deceit and circumvention, especially by those whose office it should be to persuade peace and obedience. I have endeavoured, as far as so short a warning would permit, to contribute my service to those ends your lordship hath proposed; but I am so unfortunate in all things that come propounded from me, that I know not what success it will have, or how I may advantage your lordship's proceedings thereby.

I make no question your lordship will find me much traduced in many places, which your lordship's judgment, I presume, will soon discern to be idle and ill grounded surmises to their own prejudice; and that upon conference with your lordship, if I may be so happy, I can better inform you of the state and condition of this kingdom, without particular or private interest, than it may be you will receive from others that have more plausible ways to work their ends, or cover their imperfections.

In this poor place I shall attend your lordship's further commands, being the verge of this government towards Kilkenny, and farther I may not adventure without express directions from his majesty, or licence from the state, especially in the present confused condition this county stands in, and my daily expectation to receive commands of consequence that will require my best attendance and endeavours. By means of this bearer, my cousin Garret Moore, I hope to receive speedy intelligence from you, whereby to guide the actions of

Your lordship's affectionate friend to serve you,

Portumna, the 18th of
May, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

the Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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My lord Taaffe, the 26th of May, received the 28th.

May 1643.

MY LORD,

I WOULD have waited on you long before now, had I not been daily assured of my dispatch hence, which after many interruptions and long debates is now come to that issue, as I am confident the success will prove according to our expectations; the assembly having for the most part condescended to a twelve-month's cessation, the articles whereof I send my lord of Ormond to-morrow, who is to appoint a place for the meeting a select number chosen here to confirm and ratify what is agreed upon. What disputes my propositions admitted of, I must leave to the relation of this bearer my cousin Moore, and beg your lordship's pardon for not sending you this sooner inclosed; and if your lordship have any service to command me, appoint any place, and I shall not fail to wait upon you; being in nothing more ambitious than to confirm myself in your estimation,

The humblest of your lordship's servants,

Kilkenny, the 26th of
May, 1643.

TAAFFE.

From the King his majesty, the 6th of May, received the 28th, in his own hand.

CLANRICARDE,

HAVING this occasion, I cannot but assure you, that I am sensible of your sufferings, and when time shall serve, remember them to your advantage, referring the rest to this * bearer, whom you may trust, for I have found him ^{Ld. Taaffe.} hearty and faithful in my service. So I rest

Your most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

From the Lords Justices and Council, the 24th of May, received the 29th.

MY LORD,

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, yours of the 9th and 15th of May we received on the 20th, by the hands of your steward James Davock. In answer whereof, we must still continue to acknowledge to your lordship with hearty thanks, your constant care of the fort of Galway, and your ready and faithful concurrence in all things with this board, for his majesty's service.

We have even now received advertisements from captain Swanly, the admiral appointed for the fleet designed to guard the coasts of this kingdom, that he hath already (upon the advertisement given him by the lord of Inchiquin of the condition wherein the fort stands) sent away some provisions by shipping for relief of the fort, and we have now appointed him to send two ships to lie before Galway, and to render to that fort all the help he possibly may. And we hope by the provisions already in the fort, and those sent thither from captain Swanly, and by the countenance and strength of the two ships designed to lye before Galway, and by your lordship's assistance and furtherance to all, the fort may be enabled to hold out until we shall send thither plentiful supplies, which we shall not fail to do as soon as possible we may; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 24th of May, 1643.

Your lordship's loving friends,

John Borlace.

Henry Tichborne.

Ormond.

Roscommon.

Ad. Loftus.

William Parsons.

John Temple.

Thomas Rotheram

Fr. Willoughby.

James Ware.

May 1643.

From Sir William Parsons, the 23d of May, received the 29th.

Most honourable LORD,

THIS bearer, your honest servant, returns unto you with such answer to the several parts of your letter as this state can give, not certainly as they would give, if they had means to answer your just desires. One thing I dare confidently say to your lordship, that no one man of this country-birth stands so clear in the opinion of this state (whether he be papist or protestant) as your lordship doth, neither do they more inwardly condole any man that I hear of than your lordship; nor when alteration of times may concur with their desires, will they strive to relieve any man before your lordship; they understand your sufferings to be great, for your mere loyalty to his majesty, and are as sensible of them as you can desire. For my part, now that it hath pleased his majesty to take the sword out of my hands, which I acknowledge for a great ease and favour, I can do no more than solicit, which I shall never fail to do, as one that ever honoured you, and loveth you, the rather because I find many ways that you do cordially abhor the supine wickedness of your countrymen. I beseech your lordship spare me not in any thing that lieth, or shall lie in my power to do you service, and therein you shall assuredly find me

Your lordship's most unfeignedly at command,

The 23d of May, 1643.

WILLIAM PARSONS.

My lord marquiss of Ormond, the 23d of May, received the 29th.

MY LORD,

ACCORDING to the trust you have reposed in this bearer, I have delivered unto him my apprehensions upon all he conceives fittest for your knowledge and present condition, the state we are in, and the rumours out of England; and since the taking of Reading, there hath nothing of certainty arrived. I presume he is likewise sufficiently intrusted. When there shall come any thing worthy the writing, I shall endeavour to find means to convey it to your knowledge. I am

Dublin, the 23d of
May, 1643.

Your lordship's very faithful and humble servant,

ORMOND.

By captain Richard Coote's letter to captain John Kelly, may be observed his professions of extraordinary respects to me, and his friendship and good opinion of captain Kelly, and his acknowledging his disability of giving me any assistance; and this was all the return made to my letter of the 17th of April, directed to captain Coote and Richard Ormsby, desiring to know what assistance they could give me.

Captain Willoughby's letter to my lieutenant Dermot Daly of the 4th of this month, assuring him of having three or four months provision, was a very great comfort to me, though it proved but of very short continuance.

The letter from the gentlemen assembled at Galway, and my answer to them, needs no other note than the observance of their folly and disobedience joined together.

My letter of the 9th to the lords justices, sets forth truly my perplexed condition; gives their lordships information of the proceedings against the fort; acquaints them with captain Willoughby's own relation of the state he was in; my disability to relieve him, and the real grounds of it; the extreme wants of the poor English that remained with me; their lordships continual neglects of me;

me ; and my constant care and endeavours by all possible industry here, and timely informations and importunities thither, to provide for the safety of the fort ; the preserving the poor English ; and the enabling me to serve his majesty in a better and more powerful condition. May 1643.

My perplexity upon the receipt of captain Willoughby's two letters of the 12th of this month, my resolutions thereupon, the expedition I used to give the lords justices notice of his distress, and my knowledge and apprehension in this extremity, and the grounds and motives for the instructions I then sent by my steward James Davock, and the clearness of my intentions therein, is formerly related at large.

The lords justices letters of the 11th, received the 17th, in answer to my letters of the 23d and 25th of April, is only a continuation of their compliments, applauding my intentions and good endeavours, but still leaving me to my own destruction, without applying any remedy, but only a formal expression of hope of ability hereafter, very often repeated, not making any return concerning my arrears, or the motion I made for Mr. Vice treasurer to undertake payments to such as I should borrow money of, which I conceived a request so reasonable, as I could not imagine it should be denied, or not regarded in effect the same. The papers their lordships mentioned, were the copies of the answers returned by the country upon the publishing of his majesty's declaration, delivered to their lordships through mistake, being sent to Mr. justice Donnellan, to be shewed only to my lord marquis, and some few others of the council, to be disposed of as they thought fit, and not to satisfy and advantage the malice of those who were violently led up by the spirit of revenge to labour an utter extirpation, without any regard to the condition of the king's affairs. The fitness, and indeed the necessity of a speedy accommodation and settlement here, and the provisions that might be made therein for justice and severity of punishment to be inflicted upon malicious and capital offenders, which was the labours and desires of all good men, without such a promiscuous destruction intended by them. But I was somewhat satisfied to observe Sir Henry Tichborne's name advanced into Sir William Parsons's place, who, tho' he professed much friendship to me, yet I could never find it by any effects ; and it was generally believed, and in many things appeared, that he was grown to be one of those that most maliciously hated the nation, without distinction of any ; and most industrious to advance the parliament's designs, in opposition to his majesty, that had raised him from nothing.

In my lord marquis of Ormond's letter, and Mr. justice Donnellan's by his direction, received at the same time, truth appeared without dissembling circumstances ; noble and gallant inclinations, and resolutions might be discerned for the advancement of the king's service, with a fit and moderate consideration of the miserable condition of this poor kingdom. Great testimonies of friendship and respect to my own particular, by brief, but solid advices, to encourage me to support and bear my afflictions for a time, and undoubted assurances to fetch me off, when disturbances and danger should grow above my strength to suppress or prevent them.

At the same time I received a letter from my lord Taaffe, by my kinsman young Mr. Garret Moore, who came over with his lordship, having served in the king's army in England, bearing date the 14th, affording me extraordinary comfort, in hope those overtures he brought might produce some good alteration, and free me from the wretched condition I was in ; and accordingly, to the intimation his lordship gave me, I did endeavour to infuse it into all moderate well-disposed men, of what great concernment it was for the king's service, and the preservation of the kingdom, that they should speedily repair to Kilkenny to labour the cessation, and to prepare their minds, by the motives drawn to that effect, and all other ways that might further so happy a design, which I did somewhat briefly mention in my answer to his lordship of the 18th, by

May 1643. by the same messenger, though with some diffidence of the people's inclinations being wrought upon and over-awed by the powerful working of some ambitious and covetous churchmen, though many of them were well-disposed, but they had least voice or power in this great work.

Upon the 28th I received letters likewise from my lord Taaffe, giving me confident assurances, that the treaty of cessation would hold, and like to succeed successfully. But that which was to be valued above all other comforts, and a reward beyond all my troubles and sufferings, was his conveying his majesty's short but gracious letter in his own royal hand, inclosed in his letter of the 26th from Kilkenny.

Upon the 29th, my steward James Davock arrived from Dublin, with the hearty commendations of the lords justices and council, and a formal story of supplies sent by sea, and great expectation of safety to the fort by that means; and yet by the relations of those, I speak largest, the most was a month's provision, and, by a more exact information, found it no more than for fifteen days; and yet notwithstanding their disability to supply it that way, or to send land forces to assist me to force a passage to relieve it, and the knowledge they had of the inveterate hatred the country bore to Willoughby, which was one of the greatest occasions of my weakness, the people falling from me for my earnest endeavours to support and preserve him; yet they would not have the least thought of giving me power to treat with the besiegers, though one of Willoughby's letters to me, which I sent unto them, did intimate so much, and desire the same; and such was the doubt of the malice and spleen of many of the state, as that my lord marquis, upon advice with some of those instructions I sent, durst not propose unto the council, that, in case of extremity, I might have an authority sent me to treat for the fort to be delivered unto me, lest it might draw him, or rather myself, into their suspicion, that all was done upon design for my gaining the possession of it. But some little doubtful touches of encouragement I received from friends there, that if all other remedies failed, I might make some trial of treaty with them, without moving for such an authority.

Sir William Parsons' letter of the 23d, received at the same time, may be produced as a very great testimony of my careful and dutiful deportment in this distracted time, since it could gain such good opinion from him, and the state, as he affirmed; and may be a strong argument in my behalf, if his great masters, the parliament, should charge me with any crimes in my former proceedings, when their careful solicitor hath given such good approbation of them; and he said right, that such of my countrymen as were supinely wicked, none could hate more than myself. But I was far from what I believe was his opinion, that the whole nation were to be so esteemed, and to be so proceeded against as such, with all extremity.

Several letters of friendship and great respect this month passed between me and my lord Roscommon, my lord Brabazon, Sir Francis Willoughby, Sir Charles Coote, and Sir Maurice Eustace, too long to be here inserted.

This month the violence and malice of the confederates against me, not only in other parts, but likewise in this county, did so increase upon me, that I could not have much longer subsisted, but must have made use of my lord marquis's favour for the conveyance of us away, if my lord Taaffe had not so happily arrived; to whose employment and good offices, and noble carriage towards me, I must chiefly attribute the means of my present preservation.

My letter to my lord Taaffe, the 2d of June.

MY LORD,

I WAS much joyed at the notice your lordship gave me by your letter of the 26th of May, that your treaty at Kilkenny did meet with such good success, and was so far advanced, as that I may hope it is by this time brought to perfection,

perfection, which will certainly be of no small advantage to the king's service ^{June 1643.} and affairs, and a good step towards the removing the miseries and calamities that threaten ruin to this poor kingdom; but the difficulties and disputes then arising, and the reports of greater opposition since, will fully inform you, that there were some ground for my former expressions, though I should be very glad to be deceived in those observations.

Unless your lordship will be pleased to honour this poor place with your presence, I know not how it will be possible for me to enjoy the happiness to see you; and I shall presume to affirm, that it will be very necessary I should have some conference with your lordship before your return into England, whatsoever may be the success of affairs where you are. In the mean time, I have given way to my cousin captain Richard Burke and his brother to wait upon your lordship, and receive your commands, of whom your lordship may be assured, that they will give their best assistance to the advancement of his majesty's service, and observe your lordship's advice and directions in what may best conduce to that end. And so with some confidence that your lordship will make me happy by your speedy repair hither, I will add nothing more, but that, upon all occasions, your lordship shall be sure to find me

Your lordship's most affectionate friend to serve you,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS..

P. S. His majesty's most gracious favour I received safely inclosed in your lordship's letter, for which I return your lordship humble thanks.

My letter to Mr. George Nowlan, the 2d of June.

SIR,

I HAVE newly received your letter, and the observation I have made of your fair carriage in the publick, and your private respects to me, doth readily invite me to give you the best assistance I am able. Your own knowledge and experience I am confident doth fully instruct, that according to the strict letter of the law, neither can I advise you, nor you undertake the employment you mention; but, according to the present state of affairs, it will not, I conceive, be any ways prejudicial to the king's service, but likely to be advantageous to the preservation of this unfortunate kingdom, that persons of your ability and moderation should be now employed there, rather than others that might make unnecessary disturbances to those ways of accommodation, to be generally desired by all good men; and therefore, though I may not absolutely advise it, yet I shall use my best endeavours to free you from any prejudice thereby; and if you went as a private person, I should not make much scruple to desire it of you. And this is as much as this present occasion offers me to deliver unto you, from him that shall be still ready to express himself

Portumna, the 2d of
June, 1643.

Your assured friend,
CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to William Donnellan, Esq; high sheriff, the 10th of June, 1643.

Mr. Sheriff,

YOUR long letter found me engaged in many affairs of importance that would not permit my return any sooner; and after deliberation, tho' I am very sorry for your sufferings, I can afford you but small present comfort. As you are the king's immediate officer, I conceive it is without question, you can neither take employment for any of them, nor seek redress but by power; if you

June 1643. be discharged of your office, as the distracted condition of affairs are, as a private person, I might never advise your applications to others; in such cases of extremity something may perhaps be ventured upon by some, which is not warranted by the strict letter of the law. In that doubtful state I must leave you to your best considerations, being in hopes that a speedy cessation of arms will ease your trouble, and somewhat advantage the affairs and proceedings of

Portumna, the 10th of
June, 1643.

Your assured and loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

From captain William Brooke, the 8th of June, received the 11th.

Right Honourable,

AFTER my humble service these may acquaint you, that being appointed rear admiral for this coast in his majesty's ship the Providence, I was ordered to this place by the admiral, who with some of his fleet are now in Limerick coming hither, and bringing myself fair by the castle, displaying his majesty's colours, I was shot at from the bulwarks lately made, being now three at the least, near Mutton Island; they brought their best town gun in our fight with help of many men, so that they all three played upon me, and I was not idle with them; although like a bear in a stake, not able to come under fail, having spent thirty whole culverin of brass on them, I was forced to swing away some further distance. I have sent away the small vessels that came with me to Limerick, for our admiral to come hither himself with the rest of the ships there, certifying that I did not doubt but your lordship would meet him here with some land forces, which would extreemly conduce for the good of the service, which I am confident your lordship is most tender of. Humbly desiring your lordship's answer, I take leave and rest

Your lordship's to be commanded,

From his majesty's ship the Providence,
at Mutton Island road near Galway,
this 8th of June, 1643.

WILLIAM BROOKE.

P. S. I am sorry the wind is now come contrary that the bark cannot yet go, I hope God will send another shortly.

My answer to captain William Brooke, the 11th of June.

SIR,

YOUR letter of the 8th I have newly received, which gives me hope that by your arrival, and the rest of the fleet coming in, his majesty's fort will receive comfort and relief; having some cause to doubt that they are in present wants, and not to be supplied but by boats from your ships, the land passages being all stopt, and the fort streightly besieged by some forces of this county, and the county of Mayo, under the command of their lieutenant general for the province of Conaght, and forces of theirs near me at Athunry, to attend any motion of mine. And I am in that hard condition, that I dare not stir abroad, having not any forces upon whom I can rely scarce for the defence of Loughreagh and this place. I have given the state at Dublin full and timely notice how affairs stand here, and have received no other comfort than a confidence that your ships will relieve the fort. If I be enabled with any fitting supplies, none shall adventure farther in his majesty's service, than

Portumna, the 11th of
June, 1643.

Your very loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P. S. I desire to know whether you have any land forces in your fleet.

Soon after the dispatch of this letter, I was informed that the ships by their long ^{June 1643.} boats had endeavoured in the night to put in supplies, but were repulsed and enforced to retire back, being met by some of the town boats and played upon from the bulwarks upon the points, and besides they had chained the channel; and that not long after finding no other means to send unto me, captain Willoughby had sent to the lieutenant general to desire leave that he might send to me, to treat of delivering of the fort into my hands, by which I assured myself he was in much distress, and that there was as little probability of relieving him, by that means the lords justices expected, as by the power they allowed me; whereupon I resolved to venture upon a treaty with them, if possible to keep that important place out of their power, and to deal with them in that language which I conceived most powerful to win upon them, though perhaps not so safe for me if confined by any strict construction, and immediately dispatched away to their lieutenant general the following letter.

My letter to the lieutenant general of the confederates of Conaght, the 13th of June.

SIR,

BEING informed that captain Willoughby, either through some present wants, or the difficulty of being frequently supplied, or his observation of the hard opinion held of his proceedings, which hinders his enjoying of that command with any quiet or safety, hath lately desired to treat with me concerning the delivery of his majesty's fort into my hands; the which having been not long since the earnest petition and request of the whole county, and, as I conceive, with your allowance and consent, I hold it now fit to send unto you, to know whether you and they do continue that resolution; and whether I may send to captain Willoughby concerning the same, and a fit course to be taken for resigning of it to me; otherwise it will appear but a formal deluding of me, and no real intention, as supposing the captain would not deliver it, I having no warrant to require it of him; but now proceeding from his own offer, I hold it of that importance for his majesty's service, so much conducing to the good and preservation of the whole country, and my honour and safety so concerned therein, that, if it be now refused, I cannot but very much resent it from any of this county, and from yourself shall have cause to believe that your former professions of respect were not fairly intended, you having obtained the principal part, the honour of reducing it to this condition.

I have made choice of captain John Kelly, John Donnellan, Esq; and my steward James Davock, in whose ability and good affections to the king's service, and the good of the country, I do repose much confidence, and have thereupon given them full power and authority to treat with you, and the mayor and corporation of Galway, and captain Willoughby, and, in my name, to conclude with you and them for the delivery of the said fort into my hands, upon such terms and conditions as shall be justly and fitly desired, and which they in their directions shall think reasonable to consent unto, and shall confirm the same upon the return of what they shall conclude therein; and likewise I have intrusted them with some other particulars concerning the present affairs in this time. And by this bearer, with expedition, I shall expect your safe conduct for their repair unto you. And I do hope the fair carriage of this business will be a means, upon the concluding of the general cessation now in treaty, that I may freely converse with you, and be able with safety to express myself

Your friend to serve you,

Portumna, the 13th of
June, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

June 1643.

The next morning I wrote to the mayor of Galway, almost verbatim; and not knowing how to send otherwise to captain Willoughby, I sent a letter unto him, inclosed to the mayor, hoping he would send it to him when he saw what was the contents of it.

My letter to captain Willoughby, the 14th of June.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

HAVING some intimation given me, which you had lately sent to the town of Galway, desiring that you might write unto me, or they send to invite me into those parts, to confer with you concerning the surrendering of his majesty's fort into my hands, for so runs the information come to me. The town having given me no notice of it, but considering thereof, not knowing the occasion of that request, being no other ways able to assist you, lest any prejudice might befall you, or that important place in your present charge, I dispatched with expedition to the lieutenant general and to the mayor, to know whether they did hold to their former resolutions, having not long since been earnest and importunate with me to obtain that command from his majesty. I have now sent and made choice of captain John Kelly, John Donnellan, Esq; and my steward James Davock, to treat with you and them concerning that particular, and have given them full power, authority, and instruction, to conclude therein in my name upon such conditions as shall be justly and fitly required, and which they, in their discretions, shall think fit to consent unto; and, upon return thereof, I will be ready to confirm the same, my own repair thither being now altogether unfit and unsafe; besides my want of health, having been much tormented with violent fits of the stone. When I am better, and more certainly informed of the proceedings there, I will omit no care or industry, that may still best express me

Your assured true friend,

Portumna, the 14th of
June, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The authority to my commissioners, the 14th of June.

By the lieutenant governor of the county of Galway, and county of the town of Galway.

WHEREAS I am informed, that captain Willoughby hath lately desired to treat with me concerning the delivery of his majesty's fort into my hands, and that the same hath been not long since the earnest desire and request of this whole county, in their answer to my propositions to them, in pursuance of his majesty's late declaration of the 19th of January last, for their conformity and obedience to me, his majesty's governor in these counties; which offer of captain Willoughby's having taken into consideration, and conceiving it of great importance for his majesty's service, and much conducing to the preservation and safety of the country, for the better expediting and effecting of the said treaty I do hereby give full power and authority to my well beloved captain John Kelly, John Donnellan, Esq; and James Davock (in whose abilities and good affection to the king's service, and the good of the country, I do repose much confidence) to treat with John Burke, lieutenant general of the confederate forces for this province of Conaght, the mayor and corporation of Galway, the said captain Willoughby, and all others concerned therein, and in my name to conclude with them for the delivery of the said fort into my hands, upon such terms and conditions as shall be justly and fitly desired, and which the said captain John Kelly, John Donnellan, Esq; and James Davock, or any two of them, in their discretions shall think reasonable to consent unto; and I do hereby assume and promise to ratify and confirm

confirm what they shall agree upon, and conclude therein, upon the return thereof unto me; and for their so doing, this shall be their authority. Given at Portumna under my hand and seal at arms, the 14th of June, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My instructions to the commissioners, the 14th of June.

1. **T**HAT if captain Willoughby have not desired to treat with me concerning the surrender of the fort, I shall not press to meddle with the quarter that shall be given, being confident the lieutenant general will not be guided therein by the passions of other men, or distaste to the person, but according to the respect due to the commander of such a place, who, if faulty, ought to be left to his majesty's future justice; only if the fort shall, upon fit conditions, be delivered into my hands, I shall expect all the ordnance to be left there, and all the arms, more than what shall be allowed him to depart withal, according to his quality and former employment.

2. That the quarter being agreed upon, and captain Willoughby ready to resign the place, I do expect to receive the same myself, or such as I shall appoint, immediately from himself.

3. That, with all expedition, I will apply myself to his majesty for his approbation, and confirmation of that command upon me, to be united to the government of the town and county.

4. That the garrison to be placed therein without question ought to be his majesty's company under my command; the company and commander under me being of the old standing army of this kingdom, and, in other respects, agreeable to their own proposition. And to make up a greater number, I will chuse them of the natives of this county, or others, to whom no just exceptions can be taken, and such as I must be answerable for.

5. That if exceptions be taken to the English in the company, you must not article for any thing that may cause a national distinction; they are but few in number, and if they desire to remain with me, they shall be sworn to be faithful to the king, and obedient to my command. They employ English themselves.

6. That I will not invite, encourage, or entertain any ships to come into that harbour, that have not his majesty's commission, unless it be ordinary barks of provision for supply of the fort, such as shall come by direction from the lords justices.

7. That I will give no impediment to their trade and traffick abroad, they performing that duty and respect to his majesty's fort that is usual, and likewise pay or secure his majesty's customs; and will intercede to his majesty for his allowance of their free traffick; and, until that be obtained, I expect that none should trade abroad without my special licence, both in regard of their own safety and advantage abroad in their voyage, and my own security for the allowing of traffick; and in that case, and with such licence, I shall assist and defend them the best I can from prejudice or violence.

8. That a present course may be taken for maintenance of two hundred men for six months in garrison there, upon the charge of the town and county, until they may be otherwise provided for.

9. That for the sixth proposition, you avoid any engagement upon me by way of article as much as possible you can; in regard that though there be a division between his majesty and his parliament in England, yet by all relations both printed and otherwise, I do observe it a principal charge of his majesty upon the parliament, that they do not send supplies of men and money into this kingdom; and therefore, as near as I can in my proceedings, I am to pursue, at least not contradict, his majesty's publick declarations by any publick act of mine, though the occasion be urgent; in case of this kind, it ought to be left unto me, according as duty, honour, justice, and discretion shall direct me, to behave myself between

June 1643. his majesty and his people intrusted to my charge, as will prove of most advantage to them, and safety to me, in this and many other particulars.

10. That for the hostages in my custody, though it be apparent what is the course should be taken with them upon the proceedings of those that sent them, yet out of compassion of their long sufferings, and that I conceive them not guilty of the crimes of others, and that publick faith hath been broken to them by not changing them monthly according to agreement, I will adventure to return them back upon the delivery of the fort into my custody; and that my castles of Aghnenewre and Clare be restored back unto me, and good assurance given not to attempt any other castles of mine.

11. That for other particulars that shall be propounded to you, or the alteration of those, wherein you observe no great difficulty, you may conclude upon them, without any farther special direction from me.

12. That if the fort be not immediately delivered me by captain Willoughby, but delayed until it be in the possession of others, and that the consent of the general assembly, or council of Kilkenny, be required on their part, then you are not to conclude any thing on mine; but as it shall be with the allowance and approbation first had of the lords justices, and the lord marquiss of Ormond, lieutenant general of his majesty forces in this kingdom.

13. That in those and all other things that shall be propounded and agreed upon, they are not to be binding on either side in any thing contradictory to what shall be concluded upon the general cessation, now in treaty for the whole kingdom, more than what a fair and dutiful proceeding on their side shall invite me to intercede for in some particular favour to these parts.

Portumna, the 14th of
June, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Some queries of my commissioners, and my answers, the 14th of June.

Query 1. **W**HETHER we shall intermeddle in the quarter to be given, and how far?

Answer. If it be left wholly to me, which you should endeavour, I can treat no otherwise with him than as a friend, to leave the place, ordnance, and arms, in my charge and custody; if the treaty be between him and the general, you can only demand what is above expressed, and to interpose your best interests and persuasions for a fair and friendly quarter.

Query 2. If restitution is required for the goods taken by the fort, and other damage, may we give way thereunto out of the captain's goods, or money, if any be?

Answer. I see no ground or colour for any restitution, unless the English estates and goods throughout the country be restored likewise; and I believe the lieutenant general and officers of the army will take that business into their care.

Query 3. Whether upon any occasion any of the pieces of the king's ordnance may be trusted to the confederates out of the fort, yea, and in case those English of the county of Roscommon should refuse to join in the cessation recommended by his majesty?

Answer. I cannot article for the removal of any ordnance out of his majesty's fort, left for the safeguard of it; but duty and discretion will guide and direct me how to proceed with those that shall be disobedient to his majesty's commands.

Query 4. In case they may except against captain Levester, who shall we name to command there?

Answer. I know no cause of exceptions can be taken against him, nor any other in present that can be employed therein, being an immediate officer of his majesty's

majesty's standing army in this kingdom, and, in other respects, conformable to June 1643.
their own desires from birth and belief.

Query 5. Whether your lordship will give way, that no English, though never so long in your company, if it shall be insisted upon, be put into the fort?

Answer. I cannot by any means admit that as an article; but, in case of necessity, it may be otherwise provided for.

Query 6. If necessity shall force so sudden a surrender, as that your lordship, nor your company, can be there, who will receive the place, and how shall it be manned?

Answer. My own company is nearest to the fort of any under my command, and I cannot nominate any of theirs, but shall be ready to receive it from any that will be ready to deliver it, of which they will be careful to nominate a discreet person, if they mean fairly.

Query 7. How far your lordship will keep correspondence with English ships, who are generally reputed to be the parliament's?

Answer. That is answered in the fourth instruction, and the explication of it.

Query 8. In case Willoughby, by his own or other mens goods, should prove rich, ought not your lordship in the first place to be satisfied both for your engagements for him, and the debt due to yourself upon him, considering that, as the case is like to stand, the king cannot, and the parliament will not discharge the same?

Answer. If his majesty cannot discharge my engagements, nor otherwise recompense me, I must be content to be his poor subject, as I am his faithful servant; and however, the officers of the army will end that dispute.

Query 9. If it be necessary (as it needs must, if the surrender be made at leisure) that your lordship come thither, shall we make any doubt of your going into the town, or capitulate thereupon?

Answer. Without doubt, I may not repair to the town until a general settlement of former obedience, or some good effects of the general cessation shall invite me to it; but if there be occasion, I may treat in some indifferent place.

Query 10. Whether any stoppage or search shall be made of any ships coming to the town.

Answer. That is answered in the seventh instruction.

Query 11. How far your lordship will comply with the state at Dublin, if they shall command any thing to the prejudice of the confederates?

Answer. As far as shall be agreeable to my duty to his majesty, and my well wishes and natural affection to my country.

From the confederate lieutenant general of Conaght, the 15th of June.

Right Honourable,

IT is true, that necessity, and no other respect, hath driven captain Willoughby to treat with me for surrendering the fort to my hands, upon conditions, as he writes, almost agreed upon, wherein he makes no other mention of your lordship than a desire that your lordship might be a witness, and be made acquainted with the conditions; and, I believe, if his wants had not driven him to it, he would not have surrendered it to your lordship, or to me. When he had his will, I am informed he gave your lordship but very little obedience.

It is likewise certain, that the gentry of the country and corporation of Galway, out of their love and respects to your lordship, did agree not to begin this work, so you had got the fort into your hands, and had placed a catholic native, and unsuspected garrison therein; since which time, they have been at five thousand or six thousand pound charge, and lost some of their men, which doth much alter the case from what it was. Nevertheless, if your lordship take the oath of union or association, or, at least, an oath not to give or surrender, upon any command whatsoever, the said fort to any, without the consent of There wanted no counsel at Galway, to make his bargain secure from being accepted.
the

June 1643. the corporation of Galway, and of the gentlemen undernamed; and that you will not suffer any enemy to the catholick cause to ride in this harbour, until a general course be settled; and that your lordship shall encourage, and not interrupt trade and traffick to this town of Galway, nor hinder exportation of any native commodity, nor importation of any commodity, arms, ordnance, or ammunition, nor the exposing thereof to sale to any of the catholick confederacy; and that you will place in that fort none but a native catholick, that will take this oath, and shall not be justly suspected, and that with my approbation and allowance; and that you deliver forthwith the hostages of Galway and Mr. John Burke; I presume the corporation and gentry will continue their consents to have the fort delivered to your hands, so the general assembly, or supreme council, consent. And for your lordship's satisfaction, I send herein inclosed the safe conduct desired for captain Kelly, Mr. Donnellan, and Mr. Davock, to meet our commissioners at Athunry, and not here, at such time as your lordship will appoint; which being all, with the presentation of the love and service of him that is

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Galway, the 15th of
June, 1643.

JOHN BURKE.

The names of those, without whose consent the earl of Clanricarde may not dispose of the fort.

A hard obedience to serve so many masters. I believed as a brag of their great power and forces at that time.

Lord archbishop of Tuam, lieut. general lord of Mayo, colonel Bermingham, colonel Burke, lieutenant colonel Burke, lieutenant colonel Flaherty, serjeant major Shaghnessy, serjeant major Burke, Richard Burke Fitz John, Thomas Burke of Anbally, John Bermingham, Hubert Burke, captain Teige Kelly of Aghrim, captain Teige Kelly of Gallagher, captain Teige Kelly Fitz William, captain Murrough ne Marte O Flaherty, captain Anthony Brabazon, captain Ulick Carragh Burke, captain Ulick Burke of Castle-Hacket, captain Jonack M^c Thomas, captain Edmund O Flaherty, captain John Madden, captain John Browne, captain John Garvy, captain William Burke Fitz John, captain William Burke of Cloghan, captain Walter Fitz Morris, captain Richard Bitagh.

My reply to the lieutenant general, the 17th of June.

S I R,

I HAVE received your letter of the 15th, and if the case be much altered since the town and county desired that his majesty's fort should be in my hands by reason of their charge, and the present siege, I believe none hath so sensibly felt the alteration as myself, by the spoiling of my tenants, and the loss of the main part of my revenue. In the next place, you have offered several propositions to be consented unto upon the delivery of the fort into my custody; and by what you required, in the behalf of divers persons of quality, and of the corporation of Galway, I do conceive, that most of the principal of them there were made acquainted with your reply; and I am sorry to observe, that the hopes of speedy gaining the fort, and they having some present advantages, hath put by all memory of his majesty, insomuch that it is required of me, I should change myself from being a subject to the king, and the governor of the town and county under him, to be a servant to the corporation of Galway, and some others, and to swear allegiance to them against whomsoever; an article which, I believe, the most engaged will hardly sign unto.

If propositions had been laid aside until the commissioners had met, it should have appeared, that as far as my duty to the king would possibly permit, I should have proposed or consented unto such propositions as would have given good satisfaction,

satisfaction, and means of preservation to all persons both of town and county, ^{June 1643} that are well disposed to the service of the king, and love of their country, without division, or particular ends. I can now only say, that if yourself and they are settled in those resolutions and expressions, there can be no farther treaty; but if there be fair and moderate intentions, with unprejudicate opinions, such as may compose or qualify those distractions, then my commissioners shall be at Athunry upon Monday next by noon. I know no farther occasion of discourse at this present, but to make use of the frequent ceremony, when friendship is in question, to stile myself

Your servant,

Portumna, the 17th of
June, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 17th of June.

Mr. Mayor,

TH E inclosed letters should have been conveyed unto you soon after the delivery of my former letter unto the lieutenant general, if his answer had not given diversion to those that were to repair unto you; and though somewhat long delayed, I do still conceive them necessary to be sent unto you, that the inclosed to captain Willoughby may by your means be conveyed unto him, wherein I hold myself much concerned, and the matter indifferent, and no ways prejudicial to you, as upon perusal you may discern. I make no question but you were, or may soon be made acquainted with my letter to the lieutenant general, and his answer to me. I do now send you the copy of my present reply, lest, upon some occasion, he should be absent from thence, wherein I could not avoid to be very sensible of some part of his expressions; what return I shall receive I know not; but this I am confident of, that if you join your fair professed intentions to your known abilities, there will be no impossibility so to settle these distractions, as might much advantage the king's service, and secure and preserve the country, which was the pretence, and ought to be the endeavour of all sides. And if commissioners meet, I could wish your being there, and that there may be such happy alterations of these sad times, as again to permit me to declare myself

Your very loving friend,

Portumna, the 17th of
June, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

From the confederate lieutenant general of Conaght, the 18th of June.

Right Honourable,

IN conformity to your lordship's pleasure, signified by your last letter, the camp and town have made choice of Sir Dominick Browne, serjeant major Shagh-nuffy, Thomas Burke of Anbally, Edmund Skerret, and captain John Browne, to meet yours at Athunry, at ten of the clock in the morning, upon Wednesday next, instructed in that measure as may stand with our respects to your lordship, faith to the king, and safety of this distracted country; which is all I have to say, but to subscribe myself

Your most assured friend,

Galway, the 18th of
June, 1643.

JOHN BURKE.

Upon receipt of this letter, tho' nothing well pleased with the choice of the commissioners they had made, yet I took no exceptions to any, but Thomas Burke of Anbally, who had treacherously surprized my castle of Clare, and him I absolutely refused to treat withal; whereupon answer was returned, as followeth.

May 1643.

From the confederate lieutenant general, the 20th of June.

Right Honourable,

TO comply with your lordship's desires, instead of captain Thomas Burke Fitz Richard, I send captain Hubert Burke; and captain John Browne being taken up with another pressing occasion, I send for him captain John Garvy. All the committees of this place will meet your commissioners in Athunry at twelve of the clock to-morrow, being the 21st of June; which is all I have to say, save my continued professions ever to remain

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Galway, the 20th of
June, 1643.

JOHN BURKE.

My letter to my lord marquiss of Ormond, the 20th of June.

MY LORD,

THE siege against the fort continues in the same manner as I formerly gave advertisement to your lordship and the state; and as it is impossible for me to relieve it by land in the condition I am in, so I believe it is almost as difficult to supply it by sea, unless by a great fleet, and land forces in it. The rear admiral that came thither attempted their works, but was beaten off, and likewise his boats, that fought to get in by night. Captain Willoughby hath been upon treaty above a week, and I fear it is upon the point of surrender. I have likewise adventured to treat with their lieutenant general, and the town of Galway, for the fort to be put into my hands; but by their choice of agents to meet with my commissioners, and some other circumstances, I do apprehend they have no intention to leave it in my custody upon any conditions, though I should have proceeded far, and run the hazard of a censure, rather than that place should remain in their power, which I conceive to be of as dangerous consequence as any thing in this kingdom, and do much wonder there was no more care to preserve it by force, or to have given me commission to treat when they were more doubtful of their success. If the fort be taken, and not recovered by my treaty, and that the cessation should not hold, I am like to run a very strange and sad fortune here, and yet I know not whither else to go, or how to maintain myself. I should have been very glad, if your lordship had taken some occasion to lay your commands upon me, to attend you at this meeting, which might have been a means to have conveyed me thither with safety. Now the danger of the passage, and the treaty I am upon, diverts that course, and makes me unfortunate therein; but if your lordship's proceedings there meet with good success, I will then very speedily wait upon you, and in all places endeavour to give testimony of my constant being

Your lordship's most faithful and affectionate servant,

Portumna, the 20th of
June, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P. S. If your lordship observe the treaty of cessation protracted on their part, you may be assured it is to gain time for the surrender of the fort, and the taking of some castles of mine upon this coast, which they have in present design.

Upon the 21st, the commissioners of both sides met very late at Athunry, and the next morning those from Galway sent the following propositions to my commissioners, being the 22d of June.

1. THAT

June 1643.

1. **T**HAT his lordship be pleased to join in the catholick union, and to swear the oath of association.
2. That if his lordship be not pleased to take that oath, that he may be pleased to take an oath to the effect following:
3. That his lordship shall not place in the fort but a catholick governor, and a garrison of natives, approved of by the lieutenant general, and not excepted against by the corporation of Galway, or the persons named in a late letter sent by the lieutenant general unto his lordship; and that his lordship shall not deliver up the fort to any, upon any pretence or command whatsoever, until a general peace be settled in this kingdom, without the consent of the said persons and corporation.
4. That he will suffer no enemies to the catholick confederates to ride in the harbour of Galway; and that he shall admit the exportation of all native commodities to all christian countries, and the importation of all foreign commodities, arms, ordnance, and ammunition, and the vending of the same to all and every of the confederate catholicks; and that the captain and garrison to be in the fort placed, shall swear the same oath. And then the catholick confederates of the town and county will be suitors, that his lordship may have the government of the fort.

The return of my commissioners to those propositions, the 22d of June.

1. **T**HAT his lordship, as he hath already expressed in his letter to the lieutenant general, will give no consent in the least circumstance to any thing that may be construed to be an opposition to his majesty, as to be tied by oath not to deliver the king's fort to any, upon any pretence or command whatsoever, wherein neither the king, nor his commands, are excepted; that if this be insisted upon, we may not proceed farther.
2. That for his lordship's zeal for the king's service, for the present and future safety and advantage both of town and country, and to prevent that the fort be not in the hands of any, not so well affected to his majesty as his lordship is, he will receive the same into his custody, and will keep it to the best of his power for the king's use and service, and defence of the town and country, against any that shall oppose it.
3. We expect your present resolution herein, that we may be the better able to expedite the treaty.

Soon after my commissioners had sent me this account of their first entrance into the business, they prevented my sending for them by coming away, finding neither power in those employed to conclude any thing, nor any appearance of fair intentions in those that sent them, having, during the treaty, concluded with captain Willoughby for the delivering of the fort to them; and I was not well pleased with my commissioners for their reply to them, when they found no alteration from their first unreasonable propositions, mentioned in their lieutenant general's first letter to me.

Captain Willoughby, the 21st, received the 24th of June.

My very good LORD,

I COULD not hitherto procure liberty by all the possible means I could use to send unto you, for, without that, I find it still impossible. Lieutenant general Burke is pleased to send this messenger from himself to do my message. The straits I am reduced into are so coercive, that you may be pleased to understand, that for divers weighty causes me thereunto moving, I entertained parley with lieutenant general Burke concerning the surrender of this fort. After di-

vers

June 1643. vers interchangeable motions on both sides, we have at last fixed upon certain irrevocable conditions, and articles, of giving up of this place, which accordingly I am ready to perform, as soon as our contracts and agreements are completely perfected, which, I conceive, will be very speedily effected. It is not the least part of my comfort in these high disasters, that seeing I was destined to fall, I fell into the hands of a noble enemy, for I have found him a gentleman of greater performance than undertakings, and every way more addicted to advance himself by generous courses, than to imbrue his honour in inglorious practices. I humbly pray your lordship to do me the honour as to grace me with your speediest answer, for my ambition is still continued to do you service. If there be any English at Loughreagh who may desire, and your honour spare to go along with us, they may obtain it, if they neither neglect nor protract the time by their own delay. If I may do your lordship any service either in carrying your letters for Dublin, or his majesty, or any other ways, I shall effect the same with as much faithfulness and alacrity, as may be expected from

From his majesty's fort near
Galway, the 21st of June,
1643.

Your lordship's most assured friend,
and humble servant,

ANTHONY WILLOUGHBY.

My answer to captain Willoughby, the 25th of June.

Captain WILLOUGHBY,

BY your letter of the 21st, I am informed, that some occasions did invite you to treat with lieutenant general Burke concerning the surrender of his majesty's fort into his hands; and that you had made an absolute conclusion upon certain conditions, wherein you found him respective to you in all his proceeding; and that you had been hitherto debarred writing to me. To all which I can only answer by this conveyance, that as it was impossible to come to your relief by any forces I could command; so was the means kept from me of sending any letters or intelligence to you, only by a former of the 14th, which I sent open to Mr. Mayor, to be conveyed unto you; if you have received it, you will find I was not unmindful of you. Such of the poor English, under my protection, as are willing to depart, and likely to live in a starving condition here by the distraction of the time, will be ready to repair unto you, when they shall have notice of the time of your departure. And as the lieutenant general hath dealt nobly with you, so I doubt not he will appoint a convoy to meet and receive these poor people for their better safety. Such dispatches as I shall have occasion to send, will, I presume, arrive at Dublin before you; and there, and in all places, I shall still be ready to express myself

Portumna, the 25th of
June, 1643.

Your assured loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to the mayor of Galway, the 26th of June.

Mr. Mayor,

IAM now preparing a dispatch unto his majesty, to give him an account of the late proceedings of these parts, and fully to manifest how clear and forward my intentions were for the good and preservation both of town and county. Before I perfect that dispatch, I thought fit to send you the instructions which I gave my commissioners going to Athunry, and the propositions of your agents, and the answer of mine to their first proposition; and

and not finding by any information I can receive from those I employed, that ^{June 1643.} yours had any instruction or authority to give satisfaction in that particular, or any other part of the treaty, there could be no farther proceeding therein. And if you have nothing more to alledge in the behalf of the town and county for their opposition to my desires, I am to transmit those propositions of yours, together with my instructions, and other proceedings, to his majesty. I am sorry there is such diversion given to the expressing of myself

Portumna, the 26th of
June, 1643.

Your loving friend,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

P. S. I conceive it a courtesy, without prejudice to you, to send me an exact copy of the articles upon surrender of the fort.

From the confederate lieutenant general of Conaght, the 30th of June.

Right Honourable,

I KNOW your lordship is informed already of the surrender made by captain Willoughby of the fort of Galway to my hands, and of his voyage taken to England in the parliament ships. Your lordship best knows of the injuries done by them, with impunity, to town and country, before any resolutions taken against them, and what his continued violations of publick faith have been, and his frequent depredations by sea and land; his burnings of towns and villages; his murders committed upon his majesty's innocent subjects, without respect of either age or sex; his blocking up of the harbour and market of Galway, to his majesty's prejudice in point of revenue, and destruction to his loyal subjects in town and country; and how he causelessly battered the town with sixteen pieces of ordnance continually since the 9th of February; and how he made that fort the safe harbour and refuge of all deriving authority from the malignant party in England. The cries raised by these extremities, incited the supreme council of his majesty's catholick subjects in Ireland, to require and authorise me to discharge that enemy to God, our king, and this country, which, with God's assisting grace, is effected. The gentry and inhabitants of the country and town do all wish no other government under his majesty than yours, whom, of all his subjects, they love and honour most and best; they desire the continuance of your government in civil causes, and in the martial too, as soon as his majesty, being rightly informed of our sufferings, will settle a course for our preservation against their power, who sometimes by fraud, and when they may by power, do endeavour to procure surrepted orders from his majesty for our destruction, which had been long since effected, if his paternal care of us his loving and faithful people, and his great piety and goodness, had not prevented it. The propositions they last sent your lordship they stand upon, without variation or declination from them. Captain Willoughby at his departing complained, that your lordship's answer to his letter was intercepted, which was not, for aught known to me, if any was sent. And this, my lord, being all I have to say, I rest

Your lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,

Galway, the last of
June, 1643.

JOHN BURKE.

From the mayor of Galway, the 30th of June.

Right Honourable,

UNDERSTANDING by your lordship's letters of the dispatch which your lordship is to make into England, I have acquainted the town council, the gentry of the country that were here, and the lieutenant general, with

June 1643. your desires. They all vow and protest an immoveable faith to the king, from whose allegiance no consideration can or will divert them; they have taken arms, and continue in that posture, with a real intention to preserve his person and authority royal, and in that constant resolution they are ready to spend their estates and bloods. Their affection to your lordship is and shall be ever found in them the same that nature binds them unto; their service and respects shall never fail. And the difficulty which they make in one of the conditions propounded to your lordship for delivering the fort unto you, proceeds not from any disobedience to his majesty, or disaffection to your lordship, but out of a desire to preserve themselves, they fearing that such as oppose his majesty, and declare a resolution to extirpate this nation and catholick religion, might by force or fraud surrept some order for their ruin and destruction; but their answer they have instructed the lieutenant general Burke to send you. The letters sent me before this I received in the church-yard here, in the view of divers of the town, and county council, who necessarily procured a sight of them. They would not admit the sending of your letter to captain Willoughby, though there was nothing in it that could move offence; and the truth of it is, I did not press it, lest the sending of it at that time, after the articles for the surrender were agreed upon, should give the malevolent and disaffected some colour of distrust, from which as I hear your lordship was not free in the fort.

It was reported to your lordship, that captain Willoughby desired to surrender the fort to be delivered to your hands; I assure your lordship he desired no more, but that you might be intreated to be a witness of the treaty, which was not conceived here to be a fit office for you.

I send your lordship a copy of captain Willoughby's propositions, and of the articles agreed upon for the surrender. His quarter was fully kept, and to full content, until order came from Kilkenny. The fort is kept by six half companies, chosen out of the three counties; the town made choice of two, viz. captain Maurice Lynch, and captain William Martin; the county of Mayo, of captain John Browne, and captain John Garvy; and the county of Galway, of captain Thomas Burke Fitz Edmund, and of Mr. Morrogh ne doe. They are in town and country ready to answer his majesty's revenue, and to pay it to any authorised. Which is all I have to say, save my continued professions ever to remain

Your honour's most humble servant,

Galway, the 30th of
June, 1643.

RICHARD MARTIN:

P. S. Captain Willoughby set sail from hence in the Bonadventure and the Providence, the 25th day of June about noon; they had two pinnaces, and the town lent them a bark.

Articles propounded unto lieutenant general Burke, by captain Willoughby, for the surrendering up of his majesty's fort near Galway.

1. I DEMAND the great and small attillery or ordnance, with all the ammunition and bullets, as well great as small, as also all shovels, spades and pickaxes, and all other things whatsoever, charged upon the clerk of the stores.

2. Item, I contract for licence of safe transportation with my own and the ships boats, of all such goods and chattles, as either now are, or before our departure shall be in our custody and possession, and that without the least molestation or violence.

3. Item, I covenant that all such persons as are now present under my command, either here, or at Oran More, for I look not after those that are departed, shall have such goods presently restored unto them, as they voluntarily deposited,
or

or were violently intercepted, and unjustly detained from them, with and by the June 1643.
inhabitants of Galway.

4. Item, That I, and every officer of this place respectively, with our several companies, and every particular member of the same, and any under my command, shall have free liberty to march away to the water-side in complete arms, with our drums beating, colours flying, matches cock'd, bullets in mouth, our muskets charged, and match lighted, and all other usual postures in a noble quarter, and so to continue till we be all safely shipped, without any disturbance and molestation whatsoever.

5. Item, There shall be no aggravation, or questioning of any former matter, by either townsmen or others, against any here; or under my command, whether it be for debt, tythes, trepasses, hurt, or damages whatsoever, either depending, or by them or any of them formerly committed, excepting such debts as shall appear to be justly due upon such person or persons, as shall expect from them restitution of any goods or chattles.

6. Item, That all such soldiers of mine, as are now in restraint amongst you, the fugitives only excepted; whom I bequeath to the justice of your own men, for their unnatural and perfidious treachery, shall forthwith, upon our agreement, be released, and freely dismissed, with such arms as were taken with them, to their proper colours, only Mr. Loghlin, who belongs neither to your town or camp, I demand for my continued prisoner, assuring you, that your men shall have here an equal and no less loving quarter.

7. Item, That all such of our friends and acquaintance as are now resident in Galway, Oran More, or Kilcolgan, and shall desire to go along with us, may be admitted and allowed the full benefit of all and every the aforesaid articles, so far forth as may concern them, and in as ample manner as we expect them.

8. Item, That the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans may be earnestly importuned by you, as submissively prayed by me, to be present at our agreement, and performance of all articles; and that sufficient and approved pledges be deposited in his lordship's hands, until they be all faithfully and fully compleated and accomplished.

9. Item, That the captain of the ship shall have free egress and regress during the parley to come ashore to witness our proceedings; it will induce much to my justification, and it can no way redound to your prejudice; for he shall not transport any thing with him, but his presence, that may strengthen our service, or weaken your purpose.

From his majesty's fort near Galway,
the 13th of June, 1643.

ANTHONY WILLOUGHBY.

The capitulations and indented articles of agreement, had, made, and concluded upon the 20th day of June, 1643, by and between John Burke, lieutenant general of the confederate forces of Conaght, of the one side, and captain Anthony Willoughby, Esq; governor of his majesty's St. Augustin's fort near Galway, on the other side.

1. **I**T is agreed upon by and between the said parties; and the said captain Willoughby, on the faith and honour of a soldier and gentleman, doth covenant and grant, to and with the said lieutenant general John Burke, to deliver unto him the said fort, together with all the ordnance and ammunition of war therein being, excepting two pieces of ordnance granted to the said captain Anthony Willoughby to carry with him, together with sufficient match, powder, and bullets, to serve unto the port whereunto the said captain Anthony Willoughby shall first apply himself after his departure from this port; and such ordnance as the said captain Anthony Willoughby shall make appear upon oath to have been brought by himself, and were not sent unto him by the king or state.

2. It

June 1643.

2. It is granted and agreed upon by and between the said parties, that the said captain Anthony Willoughby, his officers, and foldiers, shall and may quietly and peaceably, without interruption, carry away all the goods and chattles wherein they have gained any property by the law of the land, or by the law of arms, or which they seized upon by strong hand from any of this town or country from the beginning of these troubles.

3. It is agreed upon by and between the said parties, that the said captain Anthony Willoughby, and all under his command here, and in Oran More, shall have such goods restored unto them as they voluntarily deposited, or were violently intercepted, or unjustly detained from him or them by the inhabitants of Galway; and that he, and such as are under his command, shall do the like to the inhabitants of Galway.

4. It is agreed upon by and between the said parties, that all the said several companies and particular persons under the command of the said captain Anthony Willoughby, or that please to go with him, shall and may have free liberty to march away to the water-side in complete arms, with their drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted on both sides, bullets in mouth, muskets charged, and all other usual postures in a noble quarter, and so to continue until they be all safely shipped, without any disturbance or opposition whatsoever, provided that all English, Irish, or Scotch, that please, may remain with their goods, and enjoy them with fulness and security.

5 It is agreed upon by and between the said parties, that there shall be no aggravation or questioning of any former matters by any townsmen, or others, against any under the command of the said captain Anthony Willoughby, whether it be for debt, tythes, trespasses, hurt, or damages whatsoever, either depending, or by them or any of them formerly committed, excepting only such debts as shall appear to be justly due upon such person or persons, as shall expect from them restitution of any goods or chattles.

6. It is agreed upon by and between the said parties, that the prisoners on both sides, as well Mr. Loughlin as all others, shall be freely delivered on both sides, without ransom.

7. It is agreed upon by and between the said parties, that all the said captain's friends or acquaintance, either in Oran More, Kilcolgan, or elsewhere, that shall please, have free liberty to march away with the said captain Willoughby, and shall have full benefit of the said articles, as far forth as concerns them, and as the same is allowed or granted to those in the fort.

8. It is agreed upon by and between the said parties, that after these articles are signed and sealed on both sides, the said captain Anthony Willoughby shall be admitted to send a letter with a flying seal to the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde.

9. It is covenanted and agreed upon by and between the said parties, that after these articles are signed and sealed, the captain of the ship shall be admitted to land here at Knockendullen, and pass through the town to the fort, to confer with the said captain Anthony Willoughby.

ANTHONY WILLOUGHBY.

In my letter to my lord Taaffe of the 2d of this month, there is nothing observable but the mention of my two kinsmen captain Richard and his brother captain William Burke, who were so impatient at the excommunication that lay upon them, and such private working and industry used to withdraw them from their obedience and attendance, that being very fearful they would be misled, and they most importunate to repair to the bishop of this diocese then at Kilkenny, to labour the taking off the excommunication, that I was forced to give way to their importunity, upon their fearful protestations, that by no means or preservations whatsoever, or whether absolved or not, they would not engage

engage themselves in any thing until their return, and no otherwise than should be with my consent; and that in all things they would observe my lord Taaffe's advice and instructions, and further and assist what he should there propose for the advancement of his majesty's service. And indeed the diffidence raised by several reports of them this month, was a very great distraction and disturbance to all my proceedings, though, I hope, without any just occasion given by them for that suspicion.

My letter of the 2d, to Mr. Gregory Nowlan, was grounded upon one received from him, informing me, that the county of Mayo had chosen him for one of their agents to the assembly at Kilkenny, which he had neither accepted nor refused, until he received my opinion. He was a very honest gentleman, well disposed towards the English, kept good intelligence with me, and though inforced to their contributions, living amongst them, had kept himself quiet, without employment, at first a captain of my lord of Mayo's, then employed by commission from the state.

My letter of the 10th to Wm Donnellan, high sheriff of the county, in answer to his of the 8th of this month, was upon a large complaint of unsufferable oppressions put upon him by some of the confederate party, by cessing soldiers upon his tenants, taking away his and his servants cattle for contributions, and many other insolent violences prest upon him; his own disability to resist them, and the difficulties upon me, and the remoteness of his dwelling upon the borders of Roscommon, invited him to propose unto me, that I would permit him to apply himself to the confederate county council, he having some friends there that he did believe would somewhat relieve him.

Concerning captain Brooke's letter, appointed rear admiral for these coasts, and my answer to him the same day, I have already expressed the informations I had received, that he had failed in putting in relief into the fort, the passage being blocked up; and that captain Willoughby desired leave to send to me to treat with me concerning the surrender of the fort; and I was farther informed, that the ships had but fifteen days provision for three hundred men, if they could have gotten in. These informations I received from Sir Richard Blake, captain Richard Burke, that kept intelligence with me, and Dermott Daly my lieutenant at Terrellan; and Sir Richard added, that he understood by some captains, and some of the best of the town of Galway, that if captain Willoughby would propound the quitting of the fort, and delivery of it into my hands, they would most gladly approve of it; and captain Richard Burke wrote, that if they had the fort they would deliver it to me. These encouragements, and the danger I conceived captain Willoughby to be in, invited me, or rather made me apprehend it a necessary act of duty not to be omitted, to treat with them about the surrendering of the fort into my hands, which I was likewise at first informed to be captain Willoughby's desire and earnest request to them, and that they kept it concealed from me.

My letter of the 13th to the lieutenant general of the confederate forces in pursuance of that resolution, was drawn, according to the best of my apprehension, in the most probable way to obtain my desire, without giving him any advantage to believe that it proceeded merely from the necessities of captain Willoughby; and if I were faulty therein, it was my judgment was deceived, and no error or neglect of duty to his majesty's service.

My letters of the 14th to the mayor, and to captain Willoughby to the same effect, had this farther aim, that if the mayor would send it, I having no other means to convey it, finding nothing much more material in it, it might somewhat instruct captain Willoughby, if his condition were such that he could not long hold out, that he would rather treat to have it delivered into my hands than theirs, if he had before omitted it.

My instructions to my commissioners were framed according to the necessity of the occasion, and the humours and inclinations of those they were to treat with;

June 1643. and indeed if good occasion were offered, purposely contrived to be shewed to some of the best affected of the other side, to win upon them for the gaining of the fort ; and if the conditions be esteemed too large and advantageous for them, let the exigence of the occasion, and the importance of the place, be ballanced with it ; and, I presume, an indifferent and impartial judgment will easily discern the purchase, if it could be obtained, was well worth the undertaking.

Concerning my answer to the queries of my commissioners, I will only say, that they were hastily done for their private satisfaction, and I hope not guilty of any material error.

The lieutenant general's answer of the 15th, I believe infused into him by some fiery spirits of the town of Galway, with others of the clergy, and consented unto by the rest, who either wanted judgment or courage to give them opposition therein, did clearly demonstrate their violent intentions and malice towards me, whatsoever they pretended, and the deceit they used to prevent all possibility of treaty, by the strange unheard-of compofure of their propositions, requiring a kind of allegiance to that tumultuous corporation, and to a multitude of their other captains and commanders, as if they intended rather to fright me out of the country by the large ostentation of their power, than invite me to a treaty ; and indeed it afforded me such just cause of scorn and indignation, that I was resolved to make no reply unto them : but, upon farther consideration, how unreasonable soever their demands were, I did believe they would then give out, and possess the country, that they had offered me the fort upon good conditions, but that I did adhere to the parliament, and would not be satisfied with any thing, but the imminent hazard of their destruction. And withal it was the treaty that I relied most upon ; but that, by the means thereof, opportunity might be gained to make trial of some of the commanders, whether if I appeared with some forces they would declare themselves for me, and to infuse into them the pride of the town, who made use of them merely for their own ends, and if they acquired the fort, that addition of strength, and no curb upon them, would increase their insolence ; or if the lieutenant general should have that command within his own power, to consider he was a stranger, and having that strong place to support his designs, he would keep them all in subjection, and bring his friends and kindred of the county of Mayo to insult over them ; or suppose some indifferent settlement were made between them, yet the fort being in their hands, would probably be an invitation to all the English forces within the kingdom, and others of the parliament, by sea to repair in these parts for revenge, whilst those of the town and fort might perhaps sit in security, at least for a time, and see the country on fire by their means and procurement ; whereas, if the fort were delivered to me, those dangers would be removed, and they might live happily, with safety, peace, and plenty ; and if I were rejected, it might so exasperate me, as, instead of a protection, to be most forward in procuring severity or punishment upon them. These considerations invited me to a reply, and to labour the proceeding of a treaty.

My reply of the 17th to the lieutenant general, declareth freely my sense and apprehension of his unexpected answer and propositions, and points out at a fit way of proceeding to a treaty, if their intentions were fair and moderate, or dissolveth it, if they held constant to their former immoderate and unreasonable demands.

My second letter of the 17th to the mayor of Galway, was occasioned by the not delivery of my former letter, my messenger being narrowly watched in their camp during his stay for the lieutenant general's dispatch, not being suffered to go into the town, and hastily sent away as soon as he received it ; and I sent him a copy of my letter to the lieutenant general, that he might not pretend to be ignorant of the proceedings, which I conceived would somewhat disquiet him, and make a discovery, if he dealt not fairly with me, according to his many private professions.

The

The lieutenant general's letter of the 18th gave me some satisfaction, as con-^{June 1643.}ceiving they would decline their former absurd propositions, otherwise they could have no relation to any respect to me, faith to the king, or the safety of the country.

My letter of the 20th to my lord marquiss of Ormond, gives a brief but exact account of the state of the siege of the fort, and the danger it was in, as far as was then come to my knowledge; expostulates why some timely course was not taken to prevent the loss of a place of that great concernment; represents what was like to be my condition; and proposeth, at least, some temporary comfort that might befall me, by his lordship's command and invitation to wait upon him at that time, by the present treaty, and danger of the passage.

The meeting of the commissioners at Athunry the 21st, and their proceedings the 22d, and their coming away, observing no power in those that treated with them to conclude upon any thing, and my distaste to their making any reply, finding no alteration from their first propositions, hath been already expressed; and I shall only add, that it appeared evident they never intended any thing but deceit, entertaining a treaty, whilst they concluded with captain Willoughby for the delivery of the fort to them; and they contrived the business that none were permitted to come to Athunry, to whom my commissioners durst impart any thing of consequence, according to the instructions I had given them.

Captain Willoughby's letter of the 21st, received the 24th, and my answer of the 25th, expresseth nothing material to be commented upon; the means by which they were sent, not admitting the writing any thing of consequence.

The occasion of my letter of the 26th to the mayor of Galway, was grounded upon these considerations:

1. I thought fit, having not made any return to my former letters, to press him to some answer in writing, he always professing privately a desire to further my ways and intentions, as far as he durst appear; though knowing his abilities, and how much he was esteemed on the other side, I had cause to mistrust his dissimulation, in regard no treaty I had with them was ever fairly carried, or answered any part of my expectation; and I was confident he must needs have a great stroke and interest in all their affairs.

2. The fort being not yet rendered up, for any thing come to my knowledge, though the conditions were agreed upon, I held it necessary, though I had no success in the treaty, yet to try all possible ways before the surrender, and captain Willoughby's departure, to gain that place for them; and observing him a timorous man, and loth to be put upon the publick refusal of any thing that might appear, without pretences, a direct opposition to the king's service, or disrespect and mistrust of me; and likewise if any destruction should fall upon the country, to lay the blame justly and deservedly upon themselves, having offered such means of preservation, as was possible for any rational man to condescend unto, and more than I could probably well justify, if it were called to a strict examination, did not the importance of the place, in a manner, inforce that adventure and hazard upon me; I resolved to send him my former instructions to my commissioners, and the whole proceedings, that he might have no pretence left to avoid the full knowledge of the business; and for the more absolute strengthening of all against them, declared my resolution of sending it fully related to his majesty.

Concerning the lieutenant general's letter of the 30th, and Mr. Mayor's of the same date, in answer to my letter of the 26th, if the composure and connixture of them both be well observed, it may be easily discerned that the lieutenant general's secretary and Mr. Mayor were not far asunder when they were written; only, by way of addition, the town and country having formerly tired me with frequent confutations of their extravagant complaints, as if none had offended but captain Willoughby; and that they were free from all guilt or crime, and had

June 1643. had so continued in their intire obedience and loyalty, as to be a choice pattern to all good subjects; they had now put that burthen upon their lieutenant general, to learn and repeat their broken worn-out lesson. And if the professions of duty to his majesty, and respect to me, together with the objection that accompanies it for not delivering me the fort, be rightly considered, though Mr. Mayor thought he had acted his master-piece in the contriving of that excuse, and might escape free under that disguise, yet the deceit is very apparent, it being certain they could not be ignorant, that the king and parliament were then at so great a distance, as no surreptitious orders could be procured to their prejudice; neither was I a person so slightly interested in the importance of the place for the king's service, and my own security and preservation, as to be easily overreached in the resigning of that command, without very sure and undoubted authority, and certain knowledge of the king's settled resolution; neither could it be imagined, that I had formerly preserved with so much charge and hazard, and now acquired with so much trouble and industry, that his majesty could be persuaded, or induced to put that disgrace and prejudice upon me, as to require my resignation of it to any other; but, without question, the difficulties they apprehended was the guiltiness of their miscarriage towards me, and the knowledge and assurance they had of my disposition and integrity, that I could not be wrought upon by any pretences, but that being settled in that command, I should strive to keep them strictly to their duty and obedience to his majesty, in actual and real service, as well as now by formal professions they did pretend unto it. By the propositions of captain Willoughby, and the articles of surrender agreed and concluded upon between him and the confederate lieutenant general, I was fully satisfied, that he made no overture of surrendering the fort into my hands, but had only desired a very unsafe and displeasing office for me, to be a witness of that disastrous resignation; and though some have condemned him both for indiscretion in point of service to his majesty, and somewhat of ingratitude to me, that he did not at first insist upon that particular; yet, indeed, I do rather conceive he did me a great deal of justice therein, that obliges me not only to excuse, but to thank him for making so right a judgment of their inclinations towards me. Most of them, who then governed their proceedings, distinguishing little between us in their spleen and mistrust, more than by enforced compliments, clogged with impossibilities; they did seek to disguise it for the satisfaction of the people, for in the town of Galway it grew common discourse, that, if left to their choice, they had rather have captain Willoughby than myself in that command.

That which did most disturb me in those articles, was the delivery up of my castle of Oran More, without any notice given, or consent of mine desired, the second place of consequence to the fort in all these parts, and an offer made in effect likewise to render my castle of Kilcolgan, almost of equal importance; and though it seem to proceed from special care of the English there, yet it was liable to another construction, that he was nothing curious what was delivered up, so he gained thereby the more plentiful quarter for himself, being esteemed rich; but I shall not give any judgment therein, but leave it to better examiners how he discharged his duty in that and other particulars. Only here I must not omit to take notice of the honesty and great resolution of Mr. John Morgan, my tenant at Kilcolgan, who neither by persuasions nor threats could be wrought upon to forsake that place by me intrusted to him, though all his English neighbours were then upon departure.

Upon the 25th, captain Willoughby and his company took shipping, having the same day delivered up that strong fort of his majesty's unto those appointed for it by the confederate lieutenant general, above twenty months after these unfortunate troubles began in this kingdom. The perpetual charge, toil, and trouble it cost me to preserve it during that time; the disobediences, passions, and violences of the commanders of the fort and ship assisting him, spoiling friends

friends and foes indifferently, and all, at that time, under a pacification; and ^{June 1643.} likewise the factious dispositions of the town of Galway; the power and high authority assumed by the clergy; the falling from me of most of my friends and kindred, either frightened or seduced by them; the general threats against me, and the never obtaining assistance from the state, though frequently importuned, and the danger fully declared; and the motives and grounds I went upon to justify my intentions in that only objection, which some have laid to my charge, the persuading and dismissing my lord Forbes from this coast, and several other misfortunes that lay upon me, and gave them advantage and liberty to fall upon this unlucky attempt, is very fully related in many parts of this confused collection I have made, unnecessary to be here repeated. I have been informed, that captain Willoughby, before his departure, out of his care of leaving me in safety, did declare to some officers of the army, and others of the town, that the cruel and violent acts committed by him, was by my permission, or rather seducement; if he had intended me a courtesy, I believe he would have reserved that speech for Dublin. I will now conclude this sad relation, with some observations that hath been taken of the causes and occasions that lost this important place, at a time when it might be hoped, that a speedy cessation might have preserved it.

1. The provocation given to the town of Galway, by perpetual battery upon them by the great ordnance of the fort for many months, with little intermission, which invited them, finding they could enjoy no rest nor quiet, though otherwise not much annoyed, to be at a very great charge for maintenance of a siege against the fort, without which the country were neither willing nor able to undertake it. And if it were as some report, that he had so disfurnished himself of powder that he wanted it to beat them from their works, and to hinder the fortifying of the two points that kept him from relief by sea, then it may be objected, that there was more of passion than discretion in the managing of that business; but the judgment that may be made of the quantity of powder left upon the delivery of the fort, will probably take off that aspersions.

2. His profuse expences, as was reported, or his want of providence, that had not always six months spare provision, good store of money, plate, and commodities, keeping continual traffick with several ships that might have furnished him with all things, both out of England, Wales, and other parts of this kingdom, and a ship of provision that came to him purposely in March last from Dublin.

3. The disaster of his soldiers in Irrconaght about the end of April, who through greediness of spoil, and confidence in their former successes, or carelessness of their officer, were surprised in their return to their boats, some killed, and thirteen taken, who by the relations they made of the scarcity and wants in the fort, did encourage them to the siege, contrary to my expectation, and the information given me, that they were almost in despair of success in making any attempt upon it; but this was a misfortune that could not be well foreseen or prevented.

Lastly, Captain Brooke's failing in his attempt of supplying the fort by boats, made captain Willoughby out of hope of relief, and invited him to an early treaty upon the 13th, and to conclude the articles of surrender upon the 20th, when, upon the 21st, the admiral, and two other great ships arrived, who probably joining with the former, might have put in relief, the chain, as themselves confessed, proving only for shew, and nothing of impediment, if it had been attempted, and that if the parley had not come so soon, they should have hardly kept their camp from breaking; but captain Willoughby could only know his own wants, and nothing of their condition.

Though captain Willoughby and myself did both suffer much in this misfortune, yet there was a great difference between us; he came thither when nothing at all considerable, and departed from thence rich in money, and other commodities;

July 1643. dities; and the king, upon account, about three thousand pounds in his debt; and I remained here wasted in expence and damage, merely for and by the fort; to speak modestly, and much within compass, ten thousand pounds. And some do not stick to affirm, that it was the wealth and riches of the fort, and care of carrying it safe away, and not scarcity, that caused so speedy a surrender.

My lord Taaffe, the 7th of July, received the 9th.

MY LORD,

WHAT has occurred since your lordship's last letter, this gentleman will give you an account of. And though my business have not as yet received that success I expected, yet I am in some hope, through your assistance, to prevail so much with the adverse party, as all things may be brought to a happy conclusion. Tuesday sevensnight next is the day appointed for my lord marquis's next meeting with the Irish at the Naas, where I shall earnestly entreat your lordship to be. And though your lordship have no great encouragement to think of having a prevailing power with the Irish; yet in a thing so necessary and advantageous both for king and country, their reason must convince them to work their own apparent good. If your lordship undertake the journey, I shall wait on you where you please to appoint by the way; and though my time is short, I cannot omit kissing your hand at Portumna, and receiving your lordship's commands, being of nothing more ambitious than by my actions and endeavours, to gain the esteem of being,

Stream's-town, the 17th of
July, 1643.

My lord,

Your most humble servant,

TAAFFE.

P. S. I have sent your lordship a letter and safe conduct from my lord marquis, and a letter from lord Roscommon.

My lord marquis of Ormond, the 5th, received the 9th of July.

MY LORD,

TOGETHER with your letter of the 20th of June, which declared the extreme hard condition the fort of Galway was in, I was assured by the bearer of your lordship's, that it was rendered up, and the conditions whereon were punctually related, so that, I conceive, long ere this, you are assured what success the treaty proposed by your lordship hither is like to have; but you are too well acquainted with, and able to judge of the inclinations of the people you deal with, to be deceived in the judgment you have made of what they will do; so that I must conclude you are now reduced to that sad condition, you so much doubted you should be in upon the taking that important fort. There remains therefore nothing for me to do, or say, towards your service, more than to assure you, that I am most ready to run any hazard that might point towards your satisfaction. I know not well what to call the paper I have sent you herewith; but shall desire your lordship, that if you find in it unmannerly or unnecessary provision made for your safety, you will impute it to my affections, that will leave no ways unattempted, which may carry the least appearance of service to you. If my credit hold at the rate it is, I can promise you safety and liberty of return, or transportation hence, nor do I see any reason either why it should not, or why it should be any way useful to you, who have more than protection in your noble carriage since, and from the beginning of these distractions; yet pardon me the offer, since it proceeds from the entire affection of

Dublin, the 5th of July, 1643.

Your lordship's most faithful servant,

ORMOND.

A safe conduct from my lord marquiss of Ormond, dated the 5th of July. July 1643.

By the lieutenant general of his majesty's forces in Ireland.

TH E S E are strictly to charge and command you and every of you, that whensoever the right honourable the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans shall have an occasion to travel unto this city, or into any other part of this kingdom, you permit and suffer him, with his servants and whole retinue, to pass and repass by you, without any manner of detention or molestation, either in body or goods. Whereof you and every of you may not fail, as you will answer the contrary at your extreme perils. Given at Dublin, the 5th of July, 1643.

ORMOND.

To all the commanders, officers, and soldiers of his majesty's army, and all other his majesty's loving subjects, whom it may concern.

The earl of Thomond, the 6th, received the 9th of July.

My LORD,

MY long silence in not giving your lordship thanks for your last letter, hath been occasioned through want of opportunity, and the danger and difficulty of sending. About the latter end of May, upon the rumour of your lordship's determination to go to Kilkenny, to attend his majesty's answer to the grievances of the kingdom, I ventured to employ a servant of my own thither; with letters to your lordship, who finding my expectation frustrated, was enforced to return them back again upon my hands. It is a general report here, that the lord marquiss of Ormond hath had a late treaty with the country at Castle Martin, and that, in all likelihood, a cessation will be concluded for a twelve-month; I believe your lordship cannot be a stranger to the proceedings there, nor unable to advertise me of the success it takes, which I heartily wish may prove so happy as to reduce this poor kingdom to peace and settlement.

I am sorry to hear, that your great care and perilous adventures to preserve the fort of Galway, could not prevail to defend it for his majesty's service. Captain Swanley, who is admiral of the Irish sea, came into this river before the yielding up of the fort, with a resolution to do what service he could against the country; but was at last persuaded by me to desist, in regard of the hopes then conceived of a settlement for the kingdom. It infinitely grieves me to hear of my lord Northampton's death, for in him I have lost as noble and as dear a friend as any I had in England; from whence having not this long time received any intelligence, must make it also my suit to your lordship to advertise me of the occurrences you have from thence, especially such as concern the long wished for accommodation; and if to these your lordship can add any other news, I shall be most thankful for them, and will ever remain

Your lordship's most affectionate kinsman to serve you,

Bunratty, the 6th of
July, 1643.

THOMOND.

A safe conduct from Kilkenny, dated the 14th of July.

By the supreme council of the confederate catholicks of Ireland.

WH E R E A S our very good lords, the lord viscount Mount Garret, lord president of our council, and the lord viscount Gorman's-town, have made suit unto us, in behalf of the earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, to grant him
our

July 1643. our safe conduct to be present at the treaty of cessation, now agitated between the marquiss of Ormond and our commissioners; we have thought fit to assent to their request therein: And therefore we do give full and free safe conduct unto the said earl of Clanricarde and St Albans, that he, his servants, and retinue, shall be safe and free from all danger, molestation, restraint, or detention, in his and their repair to Castle Martin, the place appointed; and his and their return to Portumna. Given at Kilkenny, the 14th of July, 1643.

Mount Garret.

Hugo Ardmachanus.

Fr. Tho. Dublin.

Castlehaven and Audly.

Maurice de Rupe and Fermoy.

Lucas Dillon.

Torlo O Neile

Edmund Fitz Maurice.

Pat. Darcy.

Gerrald Fennel.

Geffrey Browne.

To all commanders and officers of the catholick army and garrisons, as also all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and to all other his majesty's officers, ministers, and loving subjects, whom they shall or may concern.

Upon the 18th, concerning the treaty of cessation then held at Castle Martin, my lord Taaffe and myself began our journey thither, and went that night to Killian to Mr. Nicholas Herbert's, a very honest gentleman, and noble free house-keeper. The next day as we were ready to take horse, I received letters from Dublin giving me notice, that the meeting did not hold, nor no other time appointed for it; that my lord marquiss was gone abroad with the army; and all at Dublin much offended with colonel Preston's advancing into those parts; so that it was very doubtful what would become of the treaty of cessation. Being much amazed and disquieted with this intelligence, my lord Taaffe and I resolved to go no farther, and that night to go to Roscrea, Sir George Hamilton's house, and there consider what was fit to be done. The next day from Roscrea, I sent to my lord marquiss to know the occasion of this sudden alteration, and of our being upon the way and return back; and my lord Taaffe sent to Kilkenny, to know what might be discovered there; and, at the same time, I did likewise send a dispatch to the lords justices, giving them an account of the surrender of the fort, with an excuse for not giving more timely information, in daily expectation of my own attendance upon them; and having sent away these dispatches, we returned back to Portumna.

My lord marquiss of Ormond, the 23d of July, received the 26th.

MY LORD,

THE occasion of deferring the treaty was the approach of colonel Preston to some garrisons of consequence, after he had taken others of less importance of ours, which I could not in my duty to the king's service but endeavour to interrupt; and not knowing how long that service could hold me, I thought it better put off our meeting to a time uncertain, than to limit it to a day, so as that I might be necessitated to break; and if I should have put it off to a longer day, I could not then recal it to a shorter. This is, on my part, all the reason for putting it off to time uncertain.

Upon these uncertainties I dare not offer any thing of advice to your lordship for the present; but when I come to Dublin, I will inform you what I intend, and how things stand, and then serve you in all you shall command

Edenderry, the 23d of
July, 1643.

Your lordship's most faithful and affectionate servant,

ORMOND,

P. S. I have this morning sent your letters to Dublin.

From

July 1643.

From the council at Kilkenny the 21st, received the 26th.

Our very good LORD,

WE are informed that even to this hour you detain the persons of Walter Browne, Oliver Dean, Matthew Martin, and Anthony French, as hostages from the town of Galway, who were delivered your lordship (as it is said) as pledges for performance of articles of pacification made between your lordship, the late captain of the fort of Galway, and them; it appears unto us clearly, and to your lordship more fully, when you please to reflect on what passed between your lordship, and the lord Forbes, and captain Willoughby, and others, touching that affair, that the pacification was fixed and frequently violated by the said captain and his adherents, and that the said corporation was necessitated for their preservation to act what they did; matters being thus, we need not put your lordship in mind how far the destination of the said hostages (being now kept almost a year) intrencheth upon the law of nations, and that of the kingdom.

Though this action, and the frequent complaints of the said corporation made unto us for justice, might require at our hands the interposition of our endeavours for the enlargement of the said pledges; yet such is the living memory we retain of the high deservings of your royal father, and his family, from this nation, and so great was the expectation we had of yourself, that we can hardly believe what is demonstrated unto us. Your lordship's continual labours against our general cause, and experience, if it hath not already, will in due time make it apparent to your lordship, that had not you gone your own ways, and had stuck to our religion and nation in our general way, you had been now more useful for his majesty's service in your country than otherwise. We do therefore pray your lordship to enlarge these pledges, and no longer to restrain them from that liberty which all laws do afford them. We rest

Kilkenny, the 21st of July, 1643.

Your lordship's humble servants,

Mount Garret.

Castlehaven and Audly.

Lucas Dillon.

George Comyn.

Hugo Ardmachanus.

Mau. de Rupe and Fermoy.

Richard Bealing.

Ever M^c Gennis.

Mal. Tuamen.

Muskerry.

Torlo Oneile.

This letter was delivered me by Sir Lucas Dillon, coming hither to my lord Taafe upon my safe conduct, and to him I gave some heads of remembrances in answer to the letter.

Remembrances for Sir Lucas Dillon, the 27th of July.

THAT the pacification was conceived to be frequently, if not equally broken, both by fort and town, as may appear by both their letters and complaints unto his lordship, and his letters and answers to them.

That upon the arrival of the lord Forbes, the town and country finding their imminent danger, did earnestly importune his lordship to interpose his power and interests for their preservation, which his lordship carefully and effectually performed, to his own great charge and expence; thereupon several conditions were consented unto, and signed by the principal persons and men of quality, both of town and county; that the town, when conceiving it for the most part their advantage, did article that those conditions should not be esteemed the effects of any new treaty, but a continuance and pursuance of the former pacification; and did particularly undertake the sending of able hostages into his lordship from time to time, which did confirm the pacification, notwithstanding any former breaches made therein. That since that time being freed from that danger, neither town nor county

July 1643. have performed with his lordship, and have in particular failed in the supplies of the fort, consented unto under all their hands, and pressing his lordship to engage his word and honour for the performance of the same, a great part of which he hath discharged out of his own purse, and can get no satisfaction; besides the losses sustained by tumultuous and violent assaults made upon his lordship's convoys, and the danger and hazard of his own person therein.

That to the best of his memory, his lordship doth believe the said conditions were not only drawn, but prest upon his lordship to undertake them, by Mr. Richard Martin, Mr. Patrick Darcy, and Mr. Geoffrey Browne; and his lordship is confident, that no private interests of theirs can so disturb their memories or judgments as not to justify his lordship, and testify with him in these particulars.

That the town hath broken publick faith with their own hostages, not exchanging them monthly according to agreement, to which their long sufferings is only to be attributed.

That out of a tender compassion more than their own friends hath of those hostages, and in regard that he conceiveth them not guilty of others faults, his lordship would willingly take hold of any good occasion for their comfort and release.

That the late siege, forced surrender, and sudden demolishing of his majesty's fort, and the surprisal and detention of his lordship's castles of Clare and Oran, makes it very unreasonable, dangerous, and dishonourable for his lordship to enlarge them.

That his lordship will endeavour, and hopes shortly to find some fit opportunity and means for their relief, with his honour and safety; and that entreaties and compassion will be more powerful mediators, than violence, which can never shake his lordship in the least circumstance wherein he conceiveth his duty or honour concerned.

That the lively memory of his father's example and precepts hath been his lordship's guide in all his proceedings and ways of service, and his endeavours had, and may meet with good success in all particulars, if not diverted by misapprehensions.

The lieutenant general of the confederate forces of Conaght, having laid a siege to Castle-Coote in the county of Roscommon, upon the day of this month, did not meet with that easy and good success he expected, encouraged by his former conquest, for both those of the castle and the other out-garrisons, did daily give work enough, and occasion to call upon more assistance; and being fully satisfied of my resolution, the former plots were renewed to inveigle my cousin Richard and his brother by plausible pretences and persuasions, exprest in this following letter.

The confederate lieutenant general, to captain Richard Burke, the 26th of July.

Noble SIR,

THE confidence I have in your natural affection to your country, and my particular respects to yourself, emboldens me to address these lines unto you at the present, entreating that you may be pleased to contribute the best of your assistance towards the preservation of your country, and his majesty's best affected subjects, who by the malignant party of England, and a flood of Scotch joining with them, with all their forces and power threaten our utter extirpation and extinction.

Noble Sir, it cannot be but hereditarily ingrafted in you to draw your sword for the maintenance of our religion and our prince's rights, and the settlement of him in his royal throne, whereof the rebels of England and Scotland would endeavour to divest him, and now intend to draw most parts of their forces of this kingdom towards this province, to destroy (no doubt of it) any man that will claim the character of a Roman catholick, or dutiful subject to his majesty.

Sir,

Sir, the bane and prosperity of our poor kingdom lies now in the ballance, ^{Aug. 1643.} and in good faith it behoves you, as you tender the good thereof, to lay the utmost of your strength to preserve it from ruin. All this, Sir, is to no other purpose than to invite you to come with all alacrity, with as many horse and foot as you can, to assist us to further our present designs; which, I take God to witness, are none other than to maintain and uphold our duties to our God and Cæsar; and of your inclination and disposition thereunto, I hope your personal assistance in the present service will give a sufficient testimony.

Noble Sir, come on bravely, as it becometh you. The God of just battles will second us, for we fight for our God, king, and country; and in so honourable a conflict, it misbecometh a gallant spirit not to brandish his best weapon. If it may not sort with your own occasions to come, none can better supply your absence, than your noble brother, who no doubt of it will, by his valour and courage, prove himself to be his father's son. Sir, be pleased to accept of this addressment as a real testimony that I am

Your faithful cousin and humble servant,

At our camp near Castle-Coote,
the 26th of July, 1643.

JOHN BURKE.

August, 1643.

About the beginning of this month the rumour was very hot of a strong power of Scots ready to fall upon this province; thereupon writing a short letter of intelligence, I enclosed this casement letter following, directed to my lord marquis of Ormond.

My casement letter to my lord marquis of Ormond, the 7th of August.

THE advance of the Scots to the borders of this province, with a purpose to fall heavily upon it, requires some speedy resolution for defence and preservation, wherein your advice and instruction is humbly and earnestly desired; and you may be pleased to consider, that if they be not suddenly resisted, and some fit course of prevention used, the king is like to lose a kingdom, and his faithful servants perish with the rest therein, without distinction as is conceived.

My lord marquis of Ormond, the 5th, received the 8th of August.

MY LORD,

BEING now returned from the service that withheld me from the intended treaty, it hath pleased the lords justices to command me to give those that last treated with me, a meeting at on the day of this month, whereof I thought good to inform your lordship, to the end I may have the happiness of waiting on you there, if it may stand with your health and other occasions, where shall be provided for you the best accommodation that these wretched times will afford.

Mr. Brent landed lately here, and brought with him such letters as have something changed the face of this government from what it was, when the parliament pamphlets were received as oracles, their commanders obeyed as laws, and extirpation preached for gospel. Some of our counsellors are now prisoners by his majesty's express pleasure, and upon the accusation of the lord Dillon, Harry Wilmot, lately created a baron, Sir Faithful Fortescue, Daniel and Brian O Neil; a commission is to be directed to my lord chancellor, myself, the earl of Roscommon, and Sir Maurice Eustace, to examine and return to his majesty the truth thereof; I wish that the right use may be made of this change. By divers good hands we have it, that his majesty's affairs prosper exceedingly. The North is
totally

Aug. 1643. totally in subjection, except Hull, whereunto the lord Fairfax is retired, after a total routing of his forces by the earl of Newcastle. Sir John Hotham, his son, and Sir Edward Roads, are in fair possibility to be hanged at London, whither they were lately brought prisoners, for attempting a return to their loyalty, and the surrender of Hull to the king; to whom I think they should perform almost as good services, if they hang handsomely.

The West is also reduced, except Exeter and Bristol; the latter whereof is said to be rendered, but of that there is no certainty; sure it is, that their great man of war, Waller, is wholly defeated by prince Maurice, the marquiss Hartford, and Sir Ralph Hopton; twenty-eight foot colours taken, nine cornets, twenty-four pieces of cannon, all the baggage, arms and ammunition, five thousand men said to be killed upon the place, and more taken prisoners; this is imputed to my lord of Essex, who, they say, might have hindered it by marching to his succour, or by making some divertisement towards Oxford. This conjecture is strengthened in them at London, by a letter his lordship is said to have written to the parliament, advising them to petition for a second treaty, and that if that should be refused, a day and place might be assigned for a set battle; and that his majesty should be desired to withdraw his person from the hazard of it. Great is the confusion and fear of that party, which thrusts them upon odious shifts for money and men, as imposing of excise upon all kinds of provisions, and endeavouring to draw in the Scots with large promises of papists and prelates lands in the North. For this embassy were designed the earl of Rutland, the lord Gray of Warke, of the lords; Sir William Ermine, Sir Henry Vane, the younger, one Hatcher, and one Moore, whose names I remember not, from the commons. It is reported the lord Gray hath refused the honour, and is therefore committed to the tower; the earl of Rutland takes time to consider, whether to the tower or Scotland be the safer journey, but all the commoners are ready for the negotiation.

Her majesty is safely arrived at Oxford, and her coming hath added so considerably to his majesty's strength, that my lord of Essex is retired towards London, some say to Reading, others to Stony Stratford, and others to Windsor, which I the easier believe, for that I am assured by Mr. secretary Nicholas, that his forces exceed not four thousand foot and two thousand horse. It is said they intend a new general, such as the city shall appoint.

Chester was lately attempted by Sir William Brereton, but he was beaten off with some little loss of men, but much of reputation, if any he had. Having gotten a spare hour, I send you this disordered account of things, which, in the substance, you will find to be truth; as also that I am

Your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

Dublin, the 5th of
August, 1643.

ORMOND.

My lord marquiss of Ormond, the 10th, received the 13th.

MY LORD,

YOUR letter of the 7th by the bearer, I received in the evening the next day, and have dispatched him, to the end your lordship may in time know, that the 17th of this month is appointed for a further treaty touching a cessation near the Naas, where my endeavour shall be to bring that business to a conclusion one way or other. In the mean time I know not well what to say to that particular, wherein you are pleased to require my opinion; but that I do not believe the Scots to be any where together in so great numbers, nor able for any time to keep the field in a much less body. My ground for this is, that Munro, their major general, was so lately with all the new Scots in or near their quarters, that there can be none of their forces there, and that without them the

rest

rest cannot make so many. It is true that I received letters from Sir Robert Stewart on Sunday last, dated the ^{Aug. 1643.} of July, wherein he tells me of a resolution he had to march to the relief of James-town, which was said to be distressed by Owen Roe, and when he is there, I easily believe he will want no encouragement to go as far farther as he is able, though I think that cannot be very far; and sure I am, that although he should meet with no resistance, he can make no considerable progress in his conquest betwixt this and the time. I hope to see your lordship, for if it should be true that he hath ships with victuals to attend on him at Sligoe, yet I am confident it cannot be much, nor can he have carriage to bring it far over land.

By the same messenger I sent to the Irish council, I sent one to your lordship, I left blanks for the day appointed for the treaty, and, I think, for the place, which is here supplied. I then wrote to your lordship all the English news, and some of our own, to which I shall only add, that it is very strongly, and, I doubt not, truly reported, that Bristol was taken by the king's forces on this day fortnight; the news comes by round heads, by whom the manner is reported; some say it was taken by assault, and that the king lost seven hundred men, and three colonels; others, that it was rendered; and there want not that say it is not taken, but I believe it is; and so rest

Your lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,

Dublin, the 10th of
August, 1643.

ORMOND.

The rumour of the Scotch invasion being for a time blown over, and my lord Taaffe newly departed from me homeward, upon the 18th I received fresh alarms of their advancement to my lord Taaffe's house at Ballymote, where his lady and children were; and being doubtful his lordship, being suddenly surprised with this accident, might be drawn into some engagement to his prejudice, by the working and persuasions of many of his friends in those parts that had formerly engaged themselves, I immediately dispatched a messenger to him with the letter following,

My letter to my lord Taaffe, the 18th of August.

MY LORD,

HAVING received fresh intelligence of the Scots advancing to your lordship's house of Ballymote, and of others of them intending to draw farther into the province, which though I am not apt to give full credit unto, yet my affections and tender care for your safety would not give my thoughts any rest until I had proposed some things unto your lordship's consideration, though I am confident your lordship's more able judgment would of yourself reflect upon them, or much better of your own conception. For what attempts shall be made upon your own particular, I presume you will first make use of my lord marquis's letter to Sir Robert Stewart, if he be the commander of those forces, which certainly will be of power to alter any design upon what belongs to you; then for the general danger, I conceive he is allied to Sir Robert Hanna, and it is probable his chief errand is to relieve Castle-Coote, upon which I am of opinion it will very well become your lordship to use your best power and persuasions to make a reconciliation, at least a truce for a month or six weeks, until the treaty of cessation be finished between the Irish and English in the county of Roscommon, the Scots thereupon withdrawing their forces, which perhaps will be no difficult work, the commander being an intimate friend of my lord marquis, and a near kinsman to the duke of Richmond; this would be a very safe way of preservation of the country, and a service on your lordship's part, I am confident, very acceptable to

^{Aug. 1643} his majesty; and if either side prove refractory to that fair and just proposition, I see no reason, your lordship having secured your own particular interests, but that a course should be taken to leave the opposer to the discretion of a prevailing party. I am sorry the dispatches were gone to Dublin before this news came unto me; your lordship being nearer to the place, can best judge whether it be not necessary to send back Mr. Eustace to Dublin, to acquaint my lord marquiss with what you think necessary, and to give me some intimation of what you find fit for me to write unto his lordship or the state. Much more may be said not to be intrusted to this weak inclosure, and your lordship knows the present condition of affairs, and the fittest courses to be taken, better than I can advise. I will now conclude with many humble thanks for the honour you have done me by your presence here, and my prayers for the safety of you and yours, and for your speedy and prosperous return unto

Your lordship's most affectionate friend to serve you,

Portumna, the 18th of
August, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord Taaffe, the 18th of August, received the same night.

MY LORD,

YOU may perceive by the inclosed the present condition of my house and family, and how to relieve them I know not. My lord, though the hazard of my friends, and loss of the country, be strong motives to press me to beg your lordship's present assistance, yet I will forbear it until I have a certainty of their number and intentions, which I may certainly perceive to be intended to our general destruction without exception. No endeavours of mine shall be wanting to hinder so tyrannical a resolution, and as soon as I am informed will return to your lordship with an account of their proceedings; how to order myself during my continuance here, I desire to know from your lordship, being resolved to govern all my actions according to your commands, which I pray hasten unto

Your most affectionate humble servant,

On the highway, fifteen miles from
you, three o'clock.

TAAFFE.

P. S. I shall expect your lordship's answer at Sir Luke Dillon's, where I resolve to stay until I have an answer of my lord marquiss's letter to Sir Robert Stewart.

The inclosed letter mentioned by his lordship, was a letter from his brother Luke Taaffe, informing of the arrival of the Scotch forces before Ballymote, their number reported to be above three thousand, and greater forces coming after.

My second letter to my lord Taaffe, the 18th of August.

MY LORD,

YOUR letters by Mr. Eustace I received this night towards nine of the clock, about two hours after my dispatch to your lordship, upon the notice I received before his coming of the Scots advancing towards Ballymote; and I shall only add to my former expression, that no man is more sensible of your lordship's present condition than myself, and that I have observed so much judgment, honour, and worth in your lordship, different from what I have met withal in others, that your lordship hath the power to ingage me far beyond all other motives and pretences alledged.

My

My lord, I conceive there is nothing at present to be done, but to divert the ^{Aug. 1643.} tempest by treaty with the English, and the trial of my lord marquis's letter to the Scots; and thereby if the Irish will be guided by your lordship's persuasions, either to settle a truce for a time, or make the Scots and English a lawful enemy to be resisted, which I conceive may be easily effected; and the ways are well known to your lordship. If the Irish shall still persist in their attempts upon the English, and that the Scots do obey my lord marquis, and withdraw from your lordship's interests, and say they come only to raise that siege at Castle-Coote, and assist the distressed English; I do not know how it can stand with the honour and loyalty of your lordship and myself, in the present condition of affairs, and the trust reposed in us by his majesty, to countenance those proceedings of the Irish, or assist their malice against the English nation, which daily appears, whatsoever is pretended; and I should be very glad by any one act to be removed from that opinion; but for your lordship's own particular, if the dangers of your house and family continue, any that I can claim interest in, shall be faithfully employed in your service. I have stayed Mr. Eustace until I may receive your lordship's further commands, that he may be pressed to carry our dispatches to Dublin, if your lordship find it fitting; and as soon as your lordship can reduce affairs to any certainty there, I conceive it will be necessary to hasten hither, for here will be otherwise so much of disorder, and so little of belief or obedience to any advice or direction of mine, that more prejudice will arise from that, than the danger that doth now threaten us. I can now say no more, but I have so much knowledge of your lordship, as that you may freely dispose of

Your lordship's most affectionate and faithful friend,

Portumna, the 18th of
August, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My lord Taaffe, the 19th of August, received the 20th.

MY LORD,

IT is as hard for me to number your favours, as it is to requite them, except in lieu of them you will be pleased to accept of my endeavours, which shall be eternally at your disposal. Since the receipt of the inclosed I have had certain intelligence that the Scots, after burning of Sligoe, and several poor country villages, be returned to Mannor Hamilton, from whence I expect not their return; the country being by the inhabitants left void of all manner of provision, except they be brought back by the instigation and large promises of Ormsby and King, who are posted after them to solicit their assistance; yet I believe they will hardly prevail. To-morrow I intend to be at home, and what other intelligence occurs, your lordship may be sure to receive. Eustace needs not stir thence until my return, which I intend by this day sevensnight. The Irish have already made some overtures of settlement to Sir George St. George, and Sir Robert Newcomen, with whom I believe they may have a pacification, being well meaning and honest men; they dare not as yet trust any of the rest, yet I shall labour to procure an unity between them. My dear lord, as you have been pleased by your infinite goodness and nobleness to make me your creature, own me so; for I assure your lordship of an absolute interest in

Your most affectionate humble servant,

Glinfke, the 19th of August,
nine at night.

TAAFFE.

The letter inclosed was from his brother Luke Taaffe, relating what is above inclosed, and that they were reported to be above four thousand; we did believe they

Aug. 1643. they were not above one thousand, and their commander was one Sir John Cunningham, drawn hither by Sir Frederick Hamilton, with great promises of large preys and booty, which failing of, they were discontented with him, and would give him no more credit.

The Lords Justices, the 19th of August, received the 22d, three in the afternoon.

MY LORD,

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship, his majesty (at the humble suit of those of his subjects that have taken up arms in this kingdom against his majesty and his authority) hath been graciously pleased to descend to a treaty with them for a cessation of arms for a time; and there having been a former meeting had concerning the same, between such as his majesty entrusted therein, and some appointed on the contrary side, a second meeting is appointed to be on Thursday next, the 14th of August, at Jigginstown in the county of Kildare.

In the mean time the lord Inchiquin, who commands in chief his majesty's forces in Munster and those that command the forces there on the contrary side, have agreed (as we are informed) to forbear all acts of hostility on both sides, until the conclusion of the said treaty of cessation, and considering that the province of Conaght is far distant from hence, and that we do not well know how affairs stand there. Albeit some parts of that province are without the limits of your lordship's government, yet in regard of the great trust we repose in your lordship, we think fit to signify to you, and it is our pleasure, and we accordingly authorize your lordship to treat with any whom you shall think fit, in all or any part of that province; and to give way to an agreement for forbearing all acts of hostility on both sides through all parts of that province, and so much of Leinster as is within the government of the lord president of Conaght, until a conclusion of the said treaty of cessation; and in case any town, castle, fort, or other place, be besieged already by any of the forces on either side, that such siege be raised, and the force of the besiegers removed, until a conclusion of the said treaty of cessation; we declaring, that we do hereby ratify and confirm such agreement as your lordship shall so make, for forbearing all acts of hostility on both sides, throughout all or any part of that province, and so much of Leinster as is within the government of the lord president of Conaght, until a conclusion of the said treaty of cessation, as aforesaid. And in case any such agreement be so made by your lordship, we do hereby authorize your lordship to require all his majesty's forces within the said limits to conform themselves thereunto, which we require them to do accordingly; and so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell.

From his majesty's castle of Dublin,
the 19th of August, 1643.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

Ormond.

John Borlace:

Thomas Lucas.

Roscommon.

Henry Titchborne.

James Ware.

Ant. Midenfis.

Ed. Brabazon.

My lord marquiss of Ormond, the 19th of August, received the 22d.

MY LORD,

BY the dispatch from the lords justices and council, your lordship will find the reality of our intentions towards the performance of his majesty's commands touching a cessation. My greatest doubt is, that this treaty now committed to your lordship's management may be an interruption to your being at the place appointed for our meeting upon the treaty of the whole kingdom; but, I hope,

I hope, the people of that province, who are in hope to receive particular favour from the king, will be so ready to manifest good affections, that a very little time will serve to quiet things there till the issue of our treaty appear. It is certain, Bristol is rendered to the king, and I believe Gloucester and Exeter; at Bristol the conditions were, to let the officers go out with their swords, and five shillings in money; the common soldiers with staff, knapsack, and two shillings and six-pence in money. The parliament think it necessary to vote a new army shall be raised, consisting of ten thousand foot and six thousand horse; the first to be commanded by the earl of Manchester; the latter by Waller, who, though utterly routed, was at London received with great triumph. It's said there must be a new creation before this army can be raised; and soberly, I think the matter goes not well at London. I will hold the bearer no longer, though there be much more news. I am,

Dublin, the 19th of
August, 1643.

Your lordship's faithful humble servant,

ORMOND.

My letter to my lord Taaffe, the 23d of August.

MY LORD,

THESE inclosed dispatches I received yesterday in the afternoon at Portumna, which occasioned my hastening to this place, that I might be nearer the performing that trust and command imposed upon me; and lest I might miss of somewhat fit for my present knowledge, or your lordship fail of full intelligence, which I might suppose to be in your dispatch, I did presume to open your lordship's packet from my lord marquis, which, upon this motive, I hope you will be pleased to pardon; as likewise another letter from Mr. Lane, for which I will give you a satisfactory reason when I see you; one from colonel Barry, and another, from whom I know not, I send untouched. My lord, the affair in hand is of very great concernment for the king's service, the general good of the kingdom, and the particular interests of this province for many important reasons, which I shall impart unto you when we meet; and therefore I desire your lordship to hasten your return with all possible expedition, and be pleased to meet me on Friday night, or Saturday morning early, at Mr. Richard Dillon's, at Clonbrock. And I do hope, seconded by your lordship's power and interest in some of them, the Irish party will now find it a fit time to leave distrusts, and to be somewhat guided by my persuasions; and believe it is not to their present disadvantage that I should gain some reputation by the management of this business, to the content and satisfaction of the state, who, I am sure, are now well inclined to a happy settlement in this kingdom; and I am confident their present compliance will be of more honour and benefit to them than the taking of any castle they shall attempt. And for any suspicion of the English garrisons, or any party of them, I have not only the command and power of the state over them, but the earnest entreaties of him whom they most suspect, as your lordship may perceive by a copy of a small scroll, which I am to endeavour to convey to captain Coote from his brother Sir Charles Coote.

Upon further consideration of the business, I have held it necessary both for the safety of the country, and the trial of the person, to write to your special friend Sir Frederick Hamilton, which I believe will somewhat abate his violence. The letter I send you with a flying seal for your perusal, hoping that your lordship may find means to have it conveyed to him, and the messenger escape hanging, unless you have some fit person to be so disposed of; I should be very sorry this business should be so delayed as that I should not be able to wait upon your lordship to the general treaty, and these particulars are hastened by some friends, both

Aug. 1643. for prevention of the danger of the Scots, who are powerfully coming on, and satisfaction of the English army, who grow very angry at delays, and say they are abused by treaty. My lord, by these disjointed expressions you may easily discern the haste of the dispatch, and the weak judgment of a solitary person without advice or assistance, who in all places and conditions will ever approve myself

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 23d of
August, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

My letter to Sir Frederick Hamilton, the 23d of August.

Noble SIR,

WHEN we were last companions and fellow passengers at sea, I did little imagine we should thus long have continued strangers upon land, it being none of the least misfortunes that belong to this unhappy time that friends are kept at so great a distance, which I hope by God's means will not long continue. I send you here inclosed a copy of a dispatched authority I received the last night from the lords justices and council, and in pursuance of those commands, I have sent to the principal of both parties of English and Irish in the county of Roscommon, now the chief seat of the war in the province, to expedite the treaty, and do intend to draw to those borders about the end of this week; and finding you concerned in this affair, and within the limits of the authority sent me, I held it necessary to give you this timely notice of it, not doubting your willing and ready concurrence and assistance, in laying the foundation to the happy settlement of this distracted kingdom; and if it may not agree with your present occasions or safety to come into those parts, I desire you will send your answer to any of the English garrisons in the county of Roscommon to be conveyed unto me, that accordingly, if the truce be settled, I may endeavour the disbanding or retreating the forces on both sides. The passages are yet so dangerous, that I dare not adventure a messenger of my own unto you, but do hope that this will meet with a safe conveyance by other letters from Dublin, and out of England. I am assured of his majesty's most happy and prosperous success in England, many of the parliamentary arms utterly routed, and Exeter, Gloucester, and Bristol taken by the king's forces; and that which adds most to his advantage, twelve of his own ships, and ten of Bristol, are come unto him, under the command of Sir John Pennington; so that I hope in short time, answerable to his birth and virtues, he will appear a great and glorious monarch, and all his kingdoms be again happily united. I doubt not but you have long since heard of the commitment of Sir William Parsons, Sir John Temple, Adam Loftus, and Sir Robert Meredith, by the king's command, and the commissioners appointed by his majesty do sit daily upon examination of their miscarriages, but the condition of their offences is not yet divulged. Sir, I have given you a hasty account of what is come to my present knowledge, and as occasion shall be offered I shall still be ready to express myself

Your assured friend to serve you,

Loughreagh, the 23d of August, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

To Sir Robert Newcomen, and Sir George St. George, the 23d of August.

Noble SIRS,

THE last night I received a dispatch and authority from the lords justices and council, a copy whereof I send you here inclosed, and in obedience to those commands, I shall use my best endeavours carefully, and I hope effectually, to discharge the trust reposed in me; and I do not doubt of your ready concurrence

rence in so good a work, that may prove a happy beginning to the general settlement, and quieting those sad distempers that have almost ruined this kingdom. Aug. 1643.
 For the better and more speedy performance of this service, I intend to be on Friday night at Mr. Richard Dillon's at Clonbrock, and there by this bearer lieutenant Kelly I shall expect an answer from you, and your advice for the best and securest way of expediting the treaty; the king's service, and my own occasions of some importance, requiring my attendance upon the general treaty at Jigginstown, which I am confident cannot hold until the last of this month, though the 24th were appointed at Dublin. I have sent to the Irish party to prepare against my coming; and I have written to my lord Taaffe, who I am sure will be an able assistant to me; and I have dispatched to Sir Frederick Hamilton to know his inclinations concerning him interested therein, being within the limits of my authority; and I shall rely upon you to give notice to the rest of the English garrisons, and that yourselves will be prepared to give me a meeting upon short warning, when all things are fitly prepared for it, &c.

The 23d of August, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

To the lieutenant general of the confederate forces of Conaght, 24th of August.

S I R,

BY an express from Dublin, I have received an authority from the lords justices and council, giving me power to treat for a truce or cessation of arms throughout the province of Conaght, until the treaty for a general cessation be concluded, and the like course I perceive is in agitation in other parts of the kingdom, to avoid many inconveniences incident to war in this season of the year. A copy of the said authority I send you here inclosed; and, in pursuance of these instructions and commands from the state, I intend to-morrow night to be at Clonbrock at Mr. Richard Dillon's; and, if you shall think fit, I conceive it very necessary that you send a gentleman or two of trust and quality to meet me there, to whom I may impart what I apprehend most convenient for the present service I am employed in, which I desire may be brought to a speedy conclusion: the king's service, and many important occasions, requiring my attendance upon the general treaty at Jigginstown before it receive a conclusion. And I hope to meet with a ready and forward concurrence on both sides, for that which may be a happy beginning to settle the said distractions of this kingdom, and again unite the ancient amity of both nations, which is, or ought to be, the desires and endeavours of either kingdom, and my being interested and employed therein, will, I hope, be no diversion, but rather an encouragement to the hastening of it, the state having been pleased to express a very forward inclination towards this present preparation to a general happy settlement of this kingdom.

Sir, lest the necessary attendants I shall bring along with me, and are like to be disposed near the quarters where you are encamped, might by casual meeting draw inconvenience upon either side, I have given in charge that none of mine shall molest any that hath relation to your party during my abode there, and shall expect that you will give the same directions, that no messengers, or attendants of mine, shall meet with any stop, prejudice, or inconvenience, whilst I shall be resident in those parts upon this occasion, and that I may receive some assurance to this effect by the bearer, who is to meet me upon the Sir, you may be pleased to impart thus much to those that are employed and in authority with you for this province on your side; and I have given notice of this treaty, and my repair into those borders, unto Sir Robert Newcomen and Sir George St. George, that both sides may be prepared to expedite and conclude that which is so much conducing to the good and safety of the whole province.

Loughreagh, the 24th of August, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Aug. 1643.

The lieutenant general of the confederate forces of Conaght, the 26th of August.

Right Honourable,

YOUR lordship's letter of the 24th of this instant I have received, with the therein inclosed copy of authority, directed unto your lordship by the lords justices and council, touching a treaty of cessation of arms in this province of Conaght, until the general cessation, much desired by the whole kingdom, may take the happy expected end. To which desire of your honour (a command over me) I should heartily condescend, if it were a thing lying in my power, as it is not, being restrained by the authority the supreme council gave me in matters of that kind; but for your lordship's satisfaction, I will acquaint the supreme council with your lordship's proposition, and with all possible speed return an answer to your honour, it being directly against the oath I took to proceed otherwise in this matter, being fully assured that the commanders of the confederate catholicks in Munster did not, nor could not fall to a treaty of cessation for a few days with the chief commander of the adverse party in the said province, without special power and authority first had and obtained from the said council.

I am here so invironed by the malignant party that I cannot safely employ gentlemen of note to your lordship, according to your desire, without a safe conduct, which if you be pleased to send in blanks, although I think it unnecessary, being restrained as formerly, I will, to comply with your lordship's desires, send two gentlemen of quality to wait upon your honour. And so in all occasions offered, tending to the service of God, king, and country, I shall study nothing more than to approve myself

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Castle-Coote camp, the 26th
of August, 1643.

JOHN BURKE.

Sir Robert Newcomen, the 24th, received the 26th of August.

Right Honourable,

YOUR lordship's letter, with the inclosed copy, I received this evening, for which I return my humble and hearty thanks; but for as much as Sir George St. George is jointly entrusted with me in this government, I cannot resolve upon any thing without him, but I will be ready at any time to wait upon your honour, and to contribute the utmost of my endeavours towards that great, and I hope happy work, if I may possibly come unto your lordship with any safety; and if it were not troublesome unto your honour to write unto Sir George St. George, it would be the readier course (as I conceive) in regard of the distance of his garrison from this place, and the difficulty of sending thither from hence; the which I humbly leave unto your lordship's consideration, and do remain

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Athlone, the 24th of
August, 1643.

ROBERT NEWCOMEN.

To the lieutenant general of the confederate forces of Conaght, the 26th of August.

SIR,

IHAVE received your answer to my letter, and the business being of so great concernment, I held it necessary for my discharge to require their resolutions, under the hands of those men of quality of this province that are counsellors or commanders with you, being persons nearly interested in the good or bad success of the affairs of this province; and I shall recommend it to your second thoughts to consider of this business, for I have not known any in far inferior quality to your

your employment so strictly restrained, as not to have power to conclude on ^{Aug. 1643.} short cessations, when there should be good occasion offered. I send you here-
with the safe conduct for such two as shall be chosen to repair unto me, which
I desire may be with expedition.

Clonbrock, the 26th of August.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

For Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Ulick Burke, and the rest of the officers and com-
manders of the confederate forces of Conaght, the 26th of August.

SIRS,

UPON the 24th of this present I wrote unto the lieutenant general of your
forces, and sent him a copy of an authority directed unto me from the
lords justices and council, giving me power to treat of, and conclude upon a
truce of cessation of arms throughout this province, until the general treaty for the
whole kingdom were concluded, and desiring him to impart so much to those
that were employed, and in authority with him for this province. The copy of
my letter to him, and his answer to me, I thought fit to send you here inclosed,
in regard I find no mention made of any consultation held with you, or your
concurrence therein; and being a business of that great importance, which so nearly
concerns the good and safety of the whole province, and for my discharge of
so great a trust reposed in me by the state, I held it most necessary to recom-
mend it again to his and your best considerations, and that whatsoever shall be
your resolutions, they may come signed by those in authority on your part, that I
may return the same unto the lords justices for their satisfaction of my carriage
and proceedings therein. And it appeareth very strange unto me, that either
the lieutenant general or council, that take upon them to be chosen for the whole
province, should be so limited as not to make truces or cessation for a short
time at their discretions, as occasions or accidents should fall out; and certainly
this overture is of so considerable a nature, as ought not to be slightly regarded
or neglected. I have no more to say, but to desire your answer with all conve-
nient expedition.

Clonbrock, the 26th of August.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The lieutenant general of the confederate forces of Conaght, the 27th of August.

MY LORD,

I RECEIVED your honour's letter, bearing date the 26th of this instant,
in the morning, with the safe conduct there inclosed, which I communi-
cated (as I did your honour's last letter) to as many of the council and com-
manders as are now here, and do not see or find how I may answer to the same
than as I did to your former letters; yet I will concur with them of the princi-
pal council that shall be here in all things lying in my power, and accordingly
will endeavour to correspond with your lordship in this matter of great moment,
of whose happy success every man, intending his majesty's service, the welfare
and preservation of this kingdom, and restoration of religion, ought to be most
sensible, with all sincerity and integrity, as I am sure your lordship is, and he
that is

Castle-Coote camp, the 27th
of August, 1643.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

JOHN BURKE.

Aug. 1643.

From Sir Ulick Burke, the 27th of August.

Our very good LORD,

IN the absence of Sir Lucas Dillon, and others of the council and commanders of this army, we received your lordship's letters, dated the 26th current, with the copies of your honour's former letters to our lieutenant general, and of his answer to the same. It is true, notwithstanding the said lieutenant general imparted unto us what your honour wrote unto him of the truce or cessation of arms throughout this province, until the general treaty of the whole kingdom be concluded, we could not imagine what other answer to make, besides what your lordship received from him already. We see the matter is of so great concernment, and that it is necessary for your lordship to keep good correspondence with the lords justices, and we are very willing to concur in it, as far as lieth in our powers, to which end we sent for them who are not here to post to the camp this night, that we may, with all possible speed, give your lordship all content lying in us. In the interim, we desire your honour to hold us excused, and rest

Castle-Coote camp, the 27th
of August, 1643.

Your lordship's most humble servants,

Malachias Tuamen. Boetius Elphin. Ulick Burke.

From the council and commanders of the confederate forces of Conaght, the
28th of August, received the 29th.

Right Honourable,

SOON after the receipt of your lordship's of the 26th of this month, as many of the prime gentry of these parts, as could conveniently, assembled, and having consulted of the contents of your lordship's letter to the lieutenant general about three days ago, concerning a truce or cessation of arms throughout this province, until the general treaty for the whole kingdom, we are concluded to make this return to your lordship, which we in behalf of them and ourselves represent, and humbly recommend to your favourable assistance. That we and they are of his majesty's most loyal and faithful subjects, and ready to expose our lives and fortunes in his service, and in the reducing of the distractions raging now in these parts, or in any other part of his majesty's dominions, to such a settlement of peace and obedience, as may best conduce to his majesty's most high advantage, and the happy quiet of his people: for which purpose there is a general treaty in the behalf of the whole kingdom now on foot, or presently to commence, by virtue of his majesty's commission; to attend which certain commissioners are appointed by the grand assembly of the nobility and gentry of the confederate catholicks of the kingdom; in which case it is not conceived how this province, or any part of it, may with safety presume to entertain or conclude any other particular treaty of truce or cessation, without advising with the commissioners now attending, or presently to attend the execution of his majesty's commission, to whom present address shall be made for advice. Upon return whereof it is not to be doubted your lordship shall receive such fair compliance, as may give your lordship just satisfaction in those parts, which we, by the consent of the rest, make bold to give in assurance, as we are

Your lordship's most humble servants,

Lucas Taaffe.
Boetius Elphin.
Teoghra Flinn.
Cornelius Kelly.

Malachias Tuamen.
William Molloye.
Cha. O Connor Roe.

Char. O Connor Dun.
Ulick Burke.
Hubert Burke.

My

My lord marquiss of Ormond, the 23d of August, received the 29th.

Aug. 1643.

My LORD,

AS I am sorry for the interruptions that the publick business hath received, so I am much troubled that I have been so often disappointed in my hopes of waiting on your lordship. His majesty's commands, and the general advantage a speedy conclusion of the cessation would be to the kingdom at this season, wherein every day that diverts the people from their harvest is a great loss, made the lords justices and I to desire the meeting might be hastened, whereunto we have yet received no answer, nor can we now expect any should come so seasonably, as to make us alter that day desired by them. These delays will not be understood here to be for any other reason but to prosecute the advantage they suppose they have in Conaght, which I am unwilling hastily to believe, till I see what effect the authority sent your lordship will produce, according to which I cannot but frame my judgment. I stay this bearer until now, in hope of a return from them; but the day desired by us for the meeting being to-morrow, I now dispatch him to let your lordship know it will be upon the last of this month, or thereabouts, it may be a day sooner or later. It is here reported that Mr. Pim, with three other members of the house of commons, are confined, being accused of transporting much of the money they have gulled the kingdom of into some foreign country; if this be so, as I believe there is something in it, the knot will be broke, and true men may come to their own. I am

Dublin, the 23d of August, 1643.

Your lordship's most faithful servant,

ORMOND.

My letter to the Lords Justices, the 30th of August.

My LORDS,

THE dispatch and authority you were pleased to direct unto me, bearing date the 19th of this present, I received here upon the 22d in the afternoon, and, with ready obedience to those commands, I repaired speedily to Loughreagh, and immediately dispatched several messengers to Athlone to Sir Robert Newcomen and Sir George St. George, commissioners for the presidency, and to the Irish camp before Castle-Coote, and to some others whom I conceived most concerned in that affair, and most likely to advance that treaty; and upon the 25th, which I thought a competent time to receive some return to those dispatches, I went to Mr. Richard Dillon's at Clonbrock, about eight miles from their camp. The copies of my letters to the Irish, and their answers to me, I send your lordships herewith; and whether it were want of power in them (as they alledge) to entertain or conclude this treaty, or some opinion of their own advantages in those parts, is hard for me to judge; but this I have long observed, that there comes not any thing propounded from me which they do not apprehend to be a great plot and dangerous design upon them; and what their disposition towards me hath been ever since these unhappy troubles, Mr. justice Donnellan can, and, I believe, hath fully informed your lordships, who had here with me a long experience thereof; and for the defects which your lordships may observe on my part in the carriage of the business, either in matter or form, I humbly crave your pardon, being left here alone with little experience in such affairs, and no advice or assistance from any to guide or direct me therein; but your lordships may be assured you could not have honoured any with your commands, more careful and diligent to perform them than myself, both in regard of the obedience due to the imposers, and the employment itself most agreeable to my inclination and desires; yet your lordships might perhaps have made choice of many that could have more successfully discharged them, though it might be well conceived, and I did once believe, that my interest in these parts would have been more prevalent than upon trial hath appeared, &c.

Portumna, the 30th of August, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

* * * * *

THE preceding letter is the last that appears in the marquiss's collection till the year 1651, when the treaty with the duke of Lorrain commences. What hath occasioned this chasm, it is not possible, at this distance of time, to know with certainty; but it is probable that in the general distractions that followed, or in the particular confusion of his own affairs, the letters which should have filled it up were by some means or other destroyed. It must therefore suffice to insert a paragraph or two from the earl of Clarendon's history, which may serve in some degree, if not to supply the deficiency, at least to connect the preceding with the following letters.

"During all these agitations, many of the Roman catholick nobility, and other persons of the best quality, remained very faithful to the lord lieutenant, (marquiss of Ormond) and cordially interposed with the popish bishops to prevent their violent proceeding; but had not power either to persuade, or restrain them. The lord lieutenant had no reason to be delighted with his empty title to command a people who would not obey, and knew the daily danger he was in of being betrayed, and delivered into the hands of Ireton, or of being assassinated in his own quarters. And though he did not believe that the Irish would behave themselves with more fidelity and courage for the king's interest, when he should be gone, well knowing that their bishops and clergy designed nothing but to put themselves under the government of some popish prince, and had at that time sent agents into foreign parts for that purpose; yet he knew likewise that there were in truth men enough, and arms, and all provisions for carrying on the war, who if they were united, and heartily resolved to preserve themselves, would be much superior in number to any power Ireton could bring against them. He knew likewise, that he could safely deposit the king's authority in the hands of a person of unquestionable fidelity, whom the king would, without any scruple, trust, and whom the Irish could not except against, being of their own nation, of the greatest fortune and interest amongst them, and of the most eminent constancy to the Roman catholick religion of any man in the three kingdoms; and that was the marquiss of Clanricarde. And therefore, since it was to no purpose to stay longer there himself, and it was in his own power safely to make the experiment, whether the Irish would in truth perform what was in their power to perform, and which they so solemnly promised to do, he thought he should be inexcusable to the king, if he should not consent to that expedient. The great difficulty was to persuade the marquiss of Clanricarde to accept the trust, who was a man, though of an unquestionable courage, yet of an infirm health; and loved, and enjoyed great ease throughout his whole life; and of a constitution not equal to the fatigue, and distresses, that the conducting such a war must subject him to. He knew well, and exceedingly detested the levity, inconstancy, and infidelity of his countrymen: nor did he in any degree like the presumption of the popish bishops and clergy, and the exorbitant power which they had assumed and usurped to themselves: and therefore he had no mind to engage himself in such a command. But by the extraordinary importunity of the marquiss of Ormond, with whom he had preserved a fast and unshaken friendship, and his pressing him to preserve Ireland to the king, without which it would throw itself into the arms of a foreigner; and then the same importunity from all the Irish nobility, bishops, and clergy (after the lord lieutenant had informed them of his purpose) that he would preserve his nation, which, without his acceptance of the protection, would infallibly be extirpated, and their joint promise, that they would absolutely submit to all his commands, and hold no assembly, or meeting amongst themselves, without his permission and commission, together with his unquestionable desire to do any thing, how contrary soever to his own inclination and benefit, that would be acceptable to the king, and might possibly bring some advantage to his majesty's service, he was in the end prevailed upon to receive a commission from the lord lieutenant to be deputy of Ireland, and undertook that charge.—

"The marquiss of Clanricarde left no way unattempted that might apply the visible strength and power of the Irish nation, to the preservation of themselves, and to the support of the king's government. He sent out his orders and warrants for the levying of new men, and to draw the old troops together, and to raise money: but few men could be got together, and when they were assembled, they could not stay together for want of money to pay them: so that he could never get a body together to march towards the enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appeared, that they had made those ample vows and protestations, that they might be rid of the marquiss of Ormond, without any purpose of obeying the other. The greatest part of the popish clergy, and all the Irish of Ulster, had no mind to have any relation to the English nation, and as little to return to their obedience to the crown. They blamed each other for having deserted the nuncio, and thought of nothing but how they might get some foreign prince to take them into his protection. They first chose a committee, Plunkett and Brown, two lawyers, who had been eminent conductors of the rebellion from the beginning, and men of good parts, and joined others with them, who were in France and Flanders. Then they moved the lord deputy to send these gentlemen into Flanders, to invite the duke of Lorrain to assist them with arms, money, and ammunition, undertaking to have good intelligence from thence, that the duke (who was known to wish well to the king) was well prepared to receive their desire, and resolved out of his affection to the king, to engage himself cordially in the defence of that catholick kingdom, his zeal to that religion being known to be very great."

MEMOIRS and LETTERS

OF THE

MARQUISS of CLANRICARDE.

The proceedings of the treaty between the duke of Lorrain's embassador and me.

The lord of Athenry, fir Nicholas Plunket, Mr. Richard Bellings, and Mr. Geffry Browne, four of the commissioners of trust, their letter unto me.

May it please your Excellency,

ON confideration of the reasons given in Mr. Belling's letter, we are of opinion, that it may much conduce to the publick service, if your lordship could repair to Tyrellan before your journey to Athlone: conceiving that in the management of the matters, which come with the person intrusted by the duke of Lorrain, advantages may be found for the speedy drawing of forces into the field, at the intended rendezvous, continuing them in the field, and very probably grounds drawn out of those proceedings, to settle a clear obedience in the city of Limerick, and in this town of Galway. Thus humbly taking leave, we remain

Four of the commissioners of trust upon settlement of the peace.

Your excellency's most humble servants,

Galway, 27th of
Feb. 1650.

ATHENRY.
NICHOLAS PLUNKET.
RICHARD BELLINGS.
GEFFRY BROWNE.

In my way to Athlone, having viewed, and given orders for the fortifying of all the passages of the Shannon, on the county of Galway's side, I received this letter at New Fort * (together with Mr. Richard Bellings's, which letter is lost) containing many arguments to persuade my repair to Tyrellan, before my going to Athlone, though I was so far in my way; which prevailed with me to consent to their advice. Fa. George Dillon having likewise by his letter given me notice of his arrival with the duke of Lorrain's embassador; and his desires to make his addressees speedily to me, where I would appoint, the embassador refusing to make his application to any other, finding the King's authority remaining here in me: which induced me to believe Tyrellan the fittest place for me to reside in for that affair; though after, I would have been glad it had been at a greater distance from Galway, in regard of the tumultuous proceedings that followed there for a time. After giving the embassador a publick audience at Tyrellan; the same day, Fa. George delivered me my lord Taaffe's letters to my lord lieutenant, which if he had given me sooner, or any sight of such propofals, I should have better considered before I should have given the said embassador such a reception: but that being past, I sent for such of the commissioners of trust, and such of the prelates, as were then

* Or Fort Falkland.

The 7th of March.

[B]

in

* The reader will find them after the duke of Lorrain's and the lord Taaffe's letters next following.

in Galway, to advise with them, and it was thought fit in the first place to call upon Fa George, as a friend, and one that was probably acquainted with the duke of Lorrain's expectations, to inform us clearly what he conceived would be to the duke's satisfaction, upon the affording us aids and supplies for his Majesty's service, and the preservation of the kingdom. Whereupon the next day he delivered me the following proposals *, as fit to be offered to the ambassador.

His highness the duke of Lorrain's letter of the 1st of January.

Excellentissimi, reverendissimi, illustrissimique, amplissimi, et generosi domini.

ACceptis per illustrissimum dominum vicecomitem Taaffe, ordinum vestrorum postulatis, cognitaque inde Hibernici regni calamitate, ingemui quidem, non sterili quodam aut otioso dolore perculsus, sed commotus vobis flagrantissimo opitulandi desiderio, et in id omnia, quae in me sita sunt, studiofissime impendendi; quem ad conatum, ut multa me commovent, antiqua videlicet gloriae vestrae fama, gentis nobilitas, perspecta variis in bellis animae magnitudo, probata toties adversus Deum, regemque fides, caeteraque regni clarissimi illustria facinora, aut litteris consignata aut recentibus argumentis ad vestri nominis celebritatem strenuissimè testata: tum nihil vehementius impellit quam ipsa tuendae et in libertatem vindicandae religionis necessitas; cui omnia semper posthabenda constitui, sicut et me posthabiturum verissimè judicatis. Quamobrem ut huic, quam de me concepistis, opinioni, pari animo responderem, reverendissimum ac nobilissimum Stephanum de Henin, abbatem a sancta Catharina, a consiliis nostris intimis, legatumque hac in parte meum, ad vos continuo mittendum putavi; tum qui meo nomine gratias vobis agat eximias, tum de iis quae per praedictum illustrissimum dominum vicecomitem mihi vestro jussu proposita sunt, et à vobis insuper proponi poterant, ad ineundas conservandi vestri rationes, aliisque quibuscumque, ad utilitatem regni Hiberniae spectantibus, cum legitima, quam ei rite contuli, autoritate, paciscatur. Huic itaque ut plenam indubitataque fidem habeatis, nec non meae erga vos propensissimae voluntati, magnoperè rogatos velim. Datum Bruxellis primo Januarii, anni millesimi, sexcentesimi, quinquagesimi primi.

Vestri amantissimus ac studiosissimus,

D. C. CAROLUS.

Excellentissimis, reverendissimis, illustrissimisque, amplissimis ac generosis dominis in Hibernici regni administratione, constitutis.

To the most excellent, most reverend, and most illustrious, most high and great lords commissioners for the administration of the kingdom of Ireland.

CAROLUS Dei gratia Lotharingiae dux, marchio Musipontanus, et de Nomanny, comes provinciae Vallimontis, Albimontis, Zutphaniae, Salmi, Saverdiae, &c. Reverendissimo, ac nobilissimo, Stephano de Henin, abbati a sancta Catharina, nobis a consiliis intimis, nostroque ad catholicos Hiberniae ordines legato, salutem.

Cum nostrorum exempla majorum infecuti, nihil christiano principi honorificentius, aut tanti nominis claritudine dignius unquam duxerimus (idque etiam facto saepius testati sumus) quam periculosis amicorum temporibus subvenire, praesertim in causa propugnandae religionis, quae nobis ipsa vita charior semper fuit, et in posterum, Deo dante, futura est; ejusque rei capeffendae praeclara nobis, licet calamitosa sese offerat occasio

Charles by the grace of God, duke of Lotharingia, marquis, duke of Calabria, Bar, and Gueldre, marquis of Pont a Mousson and of Nomanny, earl of the province of Vallmont, Albimont, Zutphen, Salm, Saverdia, &c. To the most reverend, and most noble Stephen de Henin, abbot of St. Catharines, our privy counsellor, and our ambassador to the catholic lords commissioners in Ireland, greeting.

Since, following the example of our ancestors, we have always thought (and have sometimes by our actions attested) that nothing was more for the honour of a christian prince, or more worthy so great a name, than to succour our friends in distress; especially in the cause of religion, which has always been dearer to us than life itself, and will (we trust in God) always be so; and as now a notable, though melancholy occasion offers, from the present condition of affairs in Ireland, of engaging

Ho in praesenti rerum Hibernicarum statu, nos urgentissimis catholicorum ordinum, qui nunc in Hibernici regni procuracione legitime versantur, petitionibus, per illustrissimum dominum vicecomitem Taaffe, delatis annuentes: id enimvero summa nobis contentione enitendum statuimus, ut et armis et opibus, et, si opus fuerit, propria capitis nostri dimicatione, nobilissimae gentis saluti defensionique consulamus: quod ut ad foelicem exitum quantocius (auspicante Deo) perducipossit, te praedictum reverendissimum et nobilissimum Stephanum de Henin, abbatem à sancta Catharina, pro ea, quam in te semper agnovimus, erga nos fide; perspectaque in rebus gerendis solertia, ac peculiari in religionem catholicam additione, legatum hac in parte nostrum ad praedictos ordines mittendum decrevimus; quemadmodum de facto mittimus, et deputamus, tibi, plenam, et omnimodam cum iisdem ordinibus agendi, transigendi, contrahendique, et quaecunque pacta feriendi, potestatem auctoritatemque concessimus, ac vigore praesentium concedimus, iis omnibus ac singulis, quae ad praefati regni defensionem, securitatem, salutem, commodumque, ac nostrae super eo voluntatis, quam notam tibi fecimus, executionem pertinere iudicaveris: ratum in posterum habituri, imo jam nunc habentes, quicquid nostro nomine, ac virtute praesentiam, cum praenominatis ordinibus egeris, transegeris, et contraxeris; non aliter, ac si de omnibus et singulis, quae in conventionem veniant; speciatim hic mentio haberetur: in eumque finem et effectum, nostram et successorum nostrorum, fidem, cum omnium bonorum nostrorum praesentium et futurorum, obligatione, irrevocabiliter obstringimus. Quorum in testificationem, praesentes litteras nostras manu subscripsimus, ac secretiore nostro sigillo muniendas curavimus. Datum Bruxellis, 31 Decembris, anno millesimo, sexcentesimo quinquagesimo.

gaging in that cause, we, bearkening to the pressing instances of the catholic lords commissioners, who are entrusted with the administration of affairs in Ireland, which have been laid before us by the most illustrious lord viscount Taaffe, have determined to endeavour the support and defence of that most noble nation, with money and arms, and, if it should be found necessary, with the hazard of our lives. To accomplish which happy end, as soon as possible, by God's assistance, we have determined to send you the forementioned most reverend and most noble Stephen de Henin, abbot of St. Catharine's, our ambassador for this purpose to the forementioned lords, having always had a sense of your fidelity to us, and experienced your abilities in public affairs, and your peculiar attachment to the catholic religion: and we do now send and commission you, and by these presents have granted and do grant you plenary and all manner of power to treat, transact, and stipulate with the said lords, in all and singular such things as you shall judge necessary, for the defence, security, safety, and convenience of the said kingdom, and for the execution of our will, which we have notified to you, thereupon: hereby promising to ratify, and even now ratifying, whatever you shall in our name, and by virtue of these presents, act, transact, and stipulate with the forementioned lords, in the same manner as if special mention was here made of all and singular such things as shall be treated of: and for that purpose and effect, we bind irrevocably our own and the faith of our successors, under the obligation of all our present and future goods and possessions. In testimony whereof we have with our hand subscribed, and with our privy seal confirmed, these present letters. Given at Brussels, 31st of December, in the year 1650.

D. C. CAROLUS.

L. S.
I. G. GOETS.

D. C. CAROLUS.

L. S.
I. G. GOETS.

The lord Taaffe's letter to the lord lieutenant. 3^o Januarii, 1650.

May it please your Excellency,

I Were unworthy of the trust reposed in me, and the many other favours I received from you, should I omit, with all freedom and clearness, to afford your excellency a true account of the countries and princes, from whom any thing was to be expected for the supply of Ireland; whereby your excellency may be the better able to resolve, what is to be done upon the commission, sent by the legate, employed by his highness the duke of Lorrain. That I may the better do it, I shall set down, according to my information and observation, the condition of his majesty, and the kings of France and Spain, in reference to the parliament of England; so that it may appear what is to be expected from them for your assistance, towards the maintenance of a war. Your excellency, I presume, knows that his majesty, at his first coming into Scotland, was forced by those of the kirk, to take the covenant, and national league and covenant: wherein, amongst other things, he hath solemnly promised, to extirpate the catholick religion and prelacy, and to settle the presbyterian government in all his kingdoms. The kirk, not content with this, put from him most of his party, except the duke of Buckingham, my lord Wilmot, and some few others, who they believed were favourers of their cause; after which, they forced his majesty yet further to make a declaration, wherein he doth, amongst other things,

things, confirm his former promise of rooting the catholicks out of his dominions, disannuls the peace made with the Irish, and recalls all commissions, granted to any amongst them. Soon after they lost a battle; and a strong party, under the command of Middleton, declared for the King, and that he would receive, without distinction, all persons, that would assist in his service. His majesty, being displeased at the harsh usage of the council of state, attempted to have gone to Middleton, and being in his way, a discovery was made by some intrusted; whereupon colonel Montgomery, by command, pursued him; who overtaking of him, prevailed with him to return to Stirling, where he is attended with strong guards. Your excellency may perceive the little hopes, that a party so divided should be able to afford us any succours: and if they should prove victorious, and have power to keep his majesty in the same awe they now do, nothing but our destruction is to be expected from them. The expectation of assistance from France, is every whit as hopeless. I have, during my stay there, made application to the cardinal, which was strengthened by her majesty's recommendation, and could never, by any sollicitation, procure so much as the promise of supplies for the publick; only some overtures of conditions for some particular persons, in case they should bring men to their service: and even those also were so coldly prosecuted, that I perceived it was rather with design to stay me from capitulating with the Spaniard, than any intention of agreeing with me. Since my coming hither, they have treated with an agent from the parliament, and are dispatching agents to them for the continuance of a peace; so as I believe they will be so far from affording us relief, that, if the parliament insist upon it, they will deny access to all Irish ships to any of their ports. The Spaniards have yet gone farther; they have already concluded a league, which some say is offensive and defensive, with the parliament; neither will they be drawn to break a capitulation, so newly made with such useful confederates, for any interest of the king's, or the Irish. They have declared them a state, and as such are to receive an ambassador from them, who is daily expected in these countries.

Fa. George
Dillon denied the having
any such conditions to
produce.

The duke of Lorrain, when I first moved him by letter, for concluding the treaty set on foot by his agent, waved it; but my uncle George Dillon, before my coming hither, made him incline to afford us relief; and as soon as I intimated unto him the condition of that nation, he was pleased to advance five thousand pounds for their supply, upon such conditions, as is expressed in the assurance I gave him, a copy whereof, and the money, I sent by my uncle George: and his highness further promises, that if he be invited, and that the command of that kingdom (with subordination to the king) be put into his hands, he will employ his men, treasure, shipping, and person, in the reducing thereof; which your lordship will see more clearly expressed by the commission sent with his legate, to treat and conclude with that nation. I shall humbly offer my sense to your excellency, concerning this important affair: I conceive the Irish are not able for any long time to preserve what they possess, much less recover what they have lost, without foreign assistance. And if the parliament prevail, you will not only lose all liberty and fortune at present, but also want ground to hope for the recovery of them; for if either presbyterian or independent prevail, their animosity against us is equally violent: so as our king being not able to assist us, in order to his and our own preservation; it is necessary we make our recourse to the most probable means of preservation. His highness, upon all occasions, hath expressed a singular affection to his majesty, for the advancement of his interests, and therefore is not to be suspected to have any sinister ends, not suitable to his former proceedings. To conclude, there is no possibility of his majesty's subsistence in Scotland, but by continuing a war in Ireland, or recovering of it, which, without foreign assistance, you are not able to do. And no prince of Christendom, is either willing, or able, to afford (as things now stand)

stand) but the duke of Lorrain, who besides the men and money he intends to expend on the land service, will join a gallant fleet to his majesty's, who, in all probability, will be masters of the sea: and resolves to engage so clearly, that no distinction of religion shall prejudice any honest man in employment or fortune.

My lord, I cannot but think it a great blessing of God upon that kingdom, and by consequence on his majesty, to have a powerful prince, in this low ebb of our fortunes, engaged with us; who is able vigorously to prosecute the war, besides the benefit of his own conduct, wherein he is thought to exceed all men, will employ such a sum of money, as no prince of Europe hath, or can raise: and I am very hopeful he will be very instrumental in restoring his majesty to his rights, and render Ireland in a more splendid condition of honour, wealth, and trade, than it hath been of a long time. I have here given your excellency a clear account of my sense, touching the duke of Lorrain's resolution; and do humbly desire, that your excellency will receive the person employed by him, in the quality of a stout, pious, discreet gentleman: and what commands your excellency will be pleased to impose on me, shall be with all chearfulness pursued, by

Your excellency's most faithful,

Brussels, the 3d of January,
new stile, 1650.

and humble servant,

TAAFE.

The lord Taffe's letter to the lord lieutenant, 5th of January, 1650.

May it please your excellency,

I Did not enter into a treaty with the duke of Lorrain, without her majesty's approbation, and letters of recommendation. It hath been debated, what his designs should be, in engaging so freely, in so expensive and hazardous a war; and concluded, that he considered his own particular interest; and how far that did extend, we could but guess: but admitted, that although he did propose to be absolute in that kingdom, that it was fit all encouragement should be given unto him to attempt it, considering that the most powerful instruments he intends to make use of, are the Irish; not having followers of his own, able to master us. And if at any time he should attempt it, it's in ourselves to prevent it; besides that, there is no danger we can run by his means, in any kind of degree, equal to that of the parliament, whose animosity against us is sufficiently visible. It was in debate, whether the king's consent should be demanded in this affair; and resolved, that, in the condition the king is, 'tis neither safe for him to authorize it, nor own it: but an express is sent unto him, to advertise him of the matter; and his connivance is all I expect or desire. I am now upon a design of taking in the isle of Guernsey, and have engaged my lord Gerrald and Daniel O'Neile in it; the duke of Lorrain helps me to shipping, men, provision, and all other necessaries. I have purchased an indifferent interest in his highness, insomuch as he trusts me with the providing and agreeing for ships, and all manner of ammunition and arms. If your lordship keeps but life in the business of Ireland, and sends encouragement to his highness, I am confident, by God's permission, we shall be all happy. My lord, I am a witness of your courage, I have knowledge of your extraordinary abilities, which make you capable of the greatest employments: and am so great and just a lover of your person, as there lives not that man, whose honour and prosperity I wish more happiness unto: and did I not think, that your consenting to the duke of Lorrain's preceding you in command, did contribute

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mainly

mainly to make you so, I should not advise it. Happily your own inclination, and the advice of others, may prevail with your excellency, to withdraw yourself into some of these countries. It is an insolency in me, considering your own vast judgment, able to direct you in the most intricate affairs, to offer my sense: but in regard of my affection, I shall presume to tell you, how subject you will be to all manner of inconveniencies. As for employment, you will find none worthy of you; as for friends, you will find none but those that are poor; and as for money, you may not expect any. I am a better shifter than your excellency will ever be, and yet was like to starve at Paris, though every person saluted me with, *Vostre tres humble serviteur jusqu'à la mort*. Without fooling, there is no such place to live in as Ireland. I pray, my lord, continue me in your favour, as the humblest of,

Your excellency's servants,

TAAFFE.

Father George Dillon's proposals on the behalf of the duke of Lorrain,
8^o Martii, 1651.

TO return thanks to his highness the duke of Lorrain, for his offers and desires to preserve this kingdom. That his highness, out of his zeal to the catholick roman religion, in imitation of his predecessors, and through his singular affection to his majesty of Great Britain, and for the preservation of the kingdom of Ireland, and his majesty's interest therein, may be pleased to take into his protection the confederates of the said kingdom, and all such as will adhere unto them, and to free them from the oppressions of the rebellious sectaries of England and Scotland, that oppose his majesty.

To the end that his highness may, with the greater alacrity and courage, undertake so great and heroick a work; that his heirs and successors shall be accepted as protectors and preservers of the said kingdom, with as large and ample power, fidelity, and obedience, as by all laws can be due to protectors royal: that sufficient caution and security may be given unto his highness, his heirs, and successors, for what expences and disbursements he will make, and that therein the cities and ports of Galway and Limerick be engaged: that his highness be invited to come over in person, and take the protection of the kingdom upon him; or, if any occasion retard, that he may send over such supplies of men and money, as may probably recover the kingdom: that the lord Taaffe may have as ample commission, to treat and conclude with his highness, as his highness's ambassador hath to this kingdom.

Being much amazed to receive proposals of such a nature, as were totally inconsistent with the king's authority, to whom the ambassador had made application, with the greatest expressions possible of the duke's clear and real affections to assist his majesty for the recovery of his kingdom; and observing the earnest expectations generally, to be relieved by those supplies, much enlarged by reports: and considering further, in case of disagreement, how apt they would be to charge me with betraying of them, and that relief might have been had upon easy terms, if I had not willingly opposed: in this exigency, finding it impossible for me to come any thing near to such demands, I held best to bring the whole matter under a publick treaty, by advice of those I formerly called together, with several prelates and other persons of quality, flocking into Galway, upon report of this ambassador's arrival: conceiving, that either they would join with me in opinion, that these demands were unreasonable,

reasonable, which might take off the blame from me; or if it happened otherwise, I should receive a publick satisfaction, that those proposals, and the king's authority, could not stand together, and therefore impossible for me to condescend unto.

Proposals from the prelates and commissioners, concerning a treaty with the duke of Lorrain's ambassadors, the 9th of March, 1650.

WE humbly represent unto your excellency, our sense in that affair now come before you, by the overture made by the duke of Lorrain: having taken into consideration the evident danger the nation is in at present, that, in order to the preservation of the catholick religion in Ireland, and of his majesty, and his good subjects interests, there is an absolute necessity to find some other way of preservation, other than what the nation can do of itself; seeing his majesty is not in condition to help them, nor free access had, or application can be made to him: We therefore think fit, that if by conference or treaty with the duke of Lorrain his agent, it be found necessary, and that the present negotiation cannot otherwise take effect, for the kingdom's preservation; that the ensuing particulars be assented unto, in the behalf of his majesty's loyal subjects in this nation. That his highness the duke of Lorrain, willing to assist this nation, out of his zeal to the catholick religion, and his desire to preserve for his majesty of Great Britain his interest in the kingdom of Ireland, both now in danger to be lost, by the power of such of the rebels of England as are in arms against his majesty, may be sought unto for conservation of both; to take into his protection his majesty's loyal subjects of the kingdom of Ireland, and to afford such aids, as may probably serve to rescue the catholick religion, and his majesty's subjects of this kingdom, from the oppression and power of the said rebels: yet so as the acceptance of his highness, as protector and preserver of the said kingdom, be so taken and understood, as no way to tend to the prejudice of his majesty's rights or interest in this kingdom, or to the interruption of his majesty's government over the people of this nation. That the aids, either in money, men, arms, and ammunition, and shipping, necessary for preserving the kingdom, being ascertained now, sufficient caution and security be given to his highness, his heirs and successors, for what expences and disbursements he will make; and therein the cities and ports of Galway and Limerick be engaged; still preserving the liberties and properties of the said corporations, and of the inhabitants thereof. And the whole nation to be likewise obliged, with the said cities, towns, and ports, for discharging the said expences and disbursements.

The consideration of these proposals and how to order the treaty, took up two days debate, with the commissioners of trust, some of the prelates, and myself.

To our well beloved the lords archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, and the rest of the prelates and commissioners of trust in Galway.

After our hearty commendations; the prelates and those of the commissioners intrusted, in pursuance of the article of peace, now present, having represented unto us, how useful it might be to his majesty's service, and the good of the kingdom, that your lordships, and the rest of the prelates and noblemen, together with the agents of the city of Limerick, and the town of Galway, and other interested and estated men in the country, who may be readily drawn together; should have a conference concerning such affairs, as are to be agitated with the duke of Lorrain's ambassador: We have thought fit hereby to pray, and authorize your lordships, and the said commissioners, to agree of a time and place, where all the prelates and noblemen in the town, and such others as you shall think fit to convene, and all other persons, whose presence shall be thought necessary, may meet, to debate of that negotiation and overture,

and

and to return unto us the result of that communication, together with your sense thereupon. And so we bid you heartily farewell, and remain, at Tyrellan,

The 12th of March,
1650.

Your very loving friend,

CLANRICARDE.

To our well beloved the lords archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, the lord president of Conaught, and the rest of the commissioners of trust, to be imparted unto the prelates, and the rest of the nobility and gentry, convened at Galway, these.

After our hearty commendations; having by our letters of the 12th of this month, authorized the prelates and commissioners of trust, to assemble such others of the nobility and persons of quality as were in the town of Galway, to give us their advice, in a treaty with the duke of Lorrain's ambassador, in such manner as might best carry on his majesty's service, and our own preservation; and having since, with great patience, and much to the hazard of the kingdom, expected such advices from you, as might give a good and speedy conclusion to the treaty, and did at the same time appoint a select committee, to treat with the said ambassador: We now find, contrary to our expectation, that you have received from the ambassador a paper of proposals, wherein are contained matters of a very high and transcendent nature; and instead of sending them immediately unto us (as we had reason to expect) that they are proceeded upon in a dilatory way; rather, by what we can observe, to contract them into a narrower compass, or cover them in better language, than to give a fit and speedy determination to the treaty. That, without our authority, the committee appointed by us hath been altered, and others chosen; which we may not admit of, without our consent first had, nor also of any thing that hath been treated by them. And likewise, that several sorts of people are admitted to your debates, whom we cannot hold fit persons to advise us in matters of so high concernment. We are also induced to believe, that the said ambassador hath been either misunderstood, or that some ill affected persons have made him believe, that you now assembled there have power from the kingdom, to dispose of it at your election, and that the king's authority is not over you; otherwise I might think it very impossible that the ambassador of Lorrain, having in his master's name made his addresses unto us, with such great expressions of singular affection to his majesty, and desired to assist him for the recovery of his kingdoms, should make overtures, that positively overthrew his government and authority here, and that in perpetuity: neither can we believe, that the lord viscount Taaffe, a person of loyalty and integrity to the king, would either recommend, or Fa. George Dillon accompany over, any person, that should propose or insist upon matters of such a nature, if they had understood or believed, that the king's authority was remaining here. And the better and more fully to inform you and clear that point, we desire that all those that are learned in the law amongst you declare their knowledge, whether the king alone, if he would command us, or the nation alone, if they were all assembled here, can transfer the kingdom unto any foreign power, and to their heirs and successors. To this may probably be alledged, that common objection of invincible necessity, and the impossibility of preserving ourselves in the condition we are in, without foreign assistance. To which we answer, that though we cannot allow, that any necessity can justify our consent to those proposals, and that we do admit, that in the condition the enemy is in, and we are in, there is not much probability, that we can defend or preserve ourselves without foreign aids; yet withal we must let you know, that we see no cause
to

to despair; but that there may be great revolutions in England and Scotland, and are confident they are already prosperously begun, and that the enemy here may be called away, or divided amongst themselves, and some of them appearing for us; which we speak more than upon ordinary conjectures. We see no cause to despair, but that plentiful aids and assistance, in as large a proportion, and more safe and honourable terms, may speedily come unto us from several princes, and are assured, that they are in agitation, if not upon their way; and that the face of affairs are very much changed abroad, by the release and employment in the government in France of the prince of Condé, and several other princes, since the third and fifth of January last, the dates of the lord Taaffe's letters: neither do we see any cause to doubt, but that the duke of Lorrain, a prince of that great wisdom, good affections, and alliance to the king, and the ambassador here, said to be a person of ability and integrity, will not afford us assistance upon such proposals as we have made unto him, if he be not guided and deluded by some disloyal and ill-affected persons: the which proposals we send herein inclosed, to be agitated and treated of with the ambassador, by the committee formerly appointed by us, only adding unto them our very good lord, the lord president of Conaught: and so we bid you heartily farewell, and remain

Your very loving friend,

At Tyrellan, the 18th
of March, 1650.

CLANRICARDE.

Instructions for the Committee.

THAT if the Lorrain ambassador, according to the professions he hath made of his master the duke of Lorrain's sincere affection to our master the king of Great Britain, will advance a considerable sum at present, as may enable us to set an army into the field, for his majesty's service, and preservation of what is left of the kingdom, until further supplies come; we will adventure to give, in his majesty's behalf, such cautionary towns and garrisons as have been already offered. That for what further may be sought, or held necessary for the duke of Lorrain his satisfaction, we having no letters or encouragement from his majesty, or from the queen, or the duke of York, or from any his majesty's ministers abroad, who may best know his pleasure in those great affairs, cannot adventure to conclude here on the place: but on acceptance of the above proposals by his highness's ambassador, we will send some person or persons of trust, honour, and interest, to join in commission with the lord viscount Taaffe, and to represent the present condition of this kingdom. That upon such treaty abroad, and consideration had of such motives, the person or persons by us to be employed will offer, we doubt not matters will be concluded there in such manner, as may best conduce to the preservation of the roman catholick religion in this kingdom, the king my master's service, the safety of the nation, and his highness the duke of Lorrain's satisfaction, invitation, and encouragement, to afford further aid and supplies according to the professions made, and as may best agree with the amity and honour of both our masters. We are informed that his highness the duke of Lorrain's ambassador being treated with, to afford aid of shipping and further supplies, to be sent hither by the last of May; he lets the persons treating with him know, that he hath no power from his highness to conclude on the place here for those further supplies: but offers, that some persons be employed from hence, that may treat and conclude abroad, what may concern those further supplies. And therefore in matters of so high concernment, we may justly expect, that what is sought in his highness's behalf

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from

MEMOIRS and LETTERS of

from us here, may be referred to receive their determination there together: seeing the very same reasons that induce his ambassador not to conclude here, are our grounds also, and the same reasons not to conclude the matters finally here at present on his majesty's behalf.

Tyrellan, Martii
18, 1650.

CLANRICARDE.

The return of the committee, upon their treating with the ambassador, according to my instructions, the 19th of March.

WE having proceeded with the Lorrain ambassador, according to his excellency's instructions in writing, dated as above, the effects of his answer was; that he was contented the treaty should take its final effect, and be negotiated at Bruffels, before his highness the duke of Lorrain, and such commissioners as from this kingdom will be employed; and that therein he would, for his part, perform all good offices in his power, for the good of this nation; and was hopeful, that very soon, we should have a return of the effects of that treaty: and notwithstanding the caution, and towns offered, he could not at present part with any supplies here, upon a treaty that received no further perfection.

March 19.

DILLON.
DOWNE.
KILLMACDAAGH.
LUCAS DILLON.
NICHOLAS PLUNKET.
GEFFRY BROWNE.

The lord archbishop of Tuam's letter to me, 21st of Martii, 1650.

May it please your excellency,

THE lords spiritual and temporal, and gentry, now assembled at Galway, convened by your excellency's authority, having taken into consideration the present condition of this kingdom, and the overtures made by his highness the duke of Lorrain's ambassador, do humbly declare their unanimous sense, that they know no visible way, or means at present, for the preservation of the catholick religion, his majesty's rights and interests, and the lives, fortunes, and estates of his loyal subjects in this kingdom, but by proceeding and concluding with the said ambassador. And, whereas, upon the treaty with the said ambassador, he could not be won to agree, but upon the following articles; we are of opinion, sooner than break with him, that he be agreed with, according to the said articles, with such further qualification of his demands, as he shall be induced to agree unto; protesting notwithstanding, that we do, and shall continue in our affections and actions, his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, being necessitated to deliver this sense, as seeing no other way of preservation. That his highness, the duke of Lorrain, out of his zeal to the advancement of the roman catholick religion, and the splendor thereof, in imitation of his predecessors, and through his singular affection to his majesty of Great-Britain, and for the preservation of the kingdom of Ireland, and his majesty's, and the peoples interest therein, shall take into his protection the people and kingdom of Ireland, and those who will adhere unto them; and shall endeavour, by all possible means, to free them from the pressures of the rebellious sectaries, who oppose his majesty and his authority, in any of his dominions; as also, to preserve

Articles
agreed.

and recover the interest of his majesty's loyal subjects of this kingdom, against and from the power of their enemies. And his highness the duke of Lorrain, and his heirs and successors, being roman catholicks, is, and are hereby accepted, as protectors of the said kingdom and people thereof, with as large and ample power, fidelity and obedience, as by all laws are due to protectors royal; saving the just rights of his majesty, and the estates, franchises, immunity, liberty, privileges, lands, properties, and possessions of his majesty's loyal subjects of this kingdom: and that his highness, during his residence in this kingdom, shall have none his superior; and he shall precede all and every the king's majesty's subjects, and have power in such manner, and with such qualification, as is expressed in these articles. That, when his highness comes to this kingdom, he shall have the whole government and command of the militia thereof, until repayment be made unto him of his disbursements for the kingdom, as they shall be ascertained. Provided always, that his said highness, in what concerneth the civil government, shall not depose, or interrupt, any governor, or governors by the king, or kingdom appointed, or to be appointed in this kingdom, nor appoint or constitute any governor, or governors therein; and that his highness shall not issue any citations, or commissions, or shall not give any judgment, nor receive appeals, but shall leave these matters to be managed according to the laws and customs of this kingdom. Provided also, that his highness shall not alter any thing in the manner of the government of this kingdom; but, will permit the subjects and inhabitants thereof, to be governed according to the laws and customs of this kingdom, and the rights, privileges, and immunities of the subjects thereof. That his highness shall make no truce, peace, or any other agreement with the enemies of the king, and this kingdom, without the consent of the governor, or governors, and the general assembly of this kingdom: and the said governor, or governors, and general assembly, or either of them, shall not make any truce, peace, or agreement with the said enemy, without his highness's consent. That the power of convoking the general assembly shall be, and continue in his majesty's governor, or governors of this kingdom: notwithstanding, if his highness shall find abuses, worthy of reformation, to happen, which may prejudice the kingdom, or his majesty's service, that upon intimation of his highness's pleasure, a general assembly shall be called for. That if, by God's grace, this kingdom shall be recovered by his highness, that his highness will endeavour the restoration of the royal rights to his majesty, in the rest of his dominions, jointly with the nation, if it shall so please the general assembly. That to supply the present necessity of the kingdom, twenty thousand pounds, including the six thousand pounds already received by Fa. George Dillon, for the use of the kingdom, be paid unto — And, that his highness shall give such further supplies of money, arms, corn, and ammunition, shipping, and other furnitures of war, expert commanders of old soldiers, horse and foot, engineers, and other skilful artificers, as shall be necessary for the support of the wars; according, and in such manner, as those who are now to be employed to his highness from this kingdom, shall represent unto him. That his highness shall, in person, come into this kingdom, with as much convenient speed as may stand with his highness's other important affairs. That for the repayment of such monies as his highness shall give, for the support of the wars of this kingdom, as the same shall be ascertained by those now to be employed unto him, the ports of Limerick, Galway, and Slygoe, and the castle of Athlone, shall be engaged unto his highness; and the whole nation is likewise to be obliged, together with the said city, town, and forts, for the discharge of his highness's said expences and disbursements. And, when the city of Waterford, and his majesty's fort of Duncanon, shall be recovered from the enemy, they shall be likewise obliged, as further caution, for the payment of the said money.

By

By command of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights and gentry, now convened at Galway.

21st of March, 1650.

JOHN, archiep. Tuamen.

To the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights and gentry, now convened at Galway.

The 22d of
March 1650.

This letter
produced the
effects I ex-
pected, there
being none
that would
particularly
own this ad-
vice under
their hand.

The embas-
sador did
likewise de-
cline to set
any such
thing under
his hand.

AFTER our hearty commendations: we have received from you yesterday the enclosed paper of propofals, with advices thereupon, directed unto us, concerning the treaty with the duke of Lorrain's embaffador, and signed by the lord archbishop of Tuam, and affirmed to be the unanimous fenfe of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights, and gentlemen, now convened in Galway; and likewise, further expreffed therein, that the faid embaffador upon the treaty, could not be won to agree, but upon the faid propofals drawn up into articles in the faid paper; and fooner than break, were of opinion, he fhould be agreed with, according to the faid articles, with fuch further qualifications of his demands, as he fhould be induced to agree upon. All which, having taken into our confideration, and in regard the faid meeting hath not the power, nor beareth the reputation of a general affembly, by which it might be known to be the unanimous fenfe of the kingdom; and that, therefore, it will not appear, upon record, more than the general words, by whom we have been advised in matters of fo high concernment to his majesty, the kingdom, and to us in the trusts repofed in us; before we defcend to give answer to the faid propofals, we hold it a neceffary duty in us to expect and defire, that all fuch as have been faid to have given their fenfe, may fign the faid paper of propofals and advice, and that the former committee, appointed by us to treat with the faid embaffador, may repair unto him to have it fet under his hand; that he will not agree upon any lefs terms, than is expreffed in the faid paper; or if he will admit of any qualifications, that they may be reduced to a certainty under the faid embaffador's hand: and this being performed according to what is above expreffed, and the fame transmitted to us, we will forthwith give you a full and final refolution upon the whole matter under our hand. And fo we bid you farewell, and remain

At Tyrellan, the 22d
of March, 1650.

Your affectionate friend,

CLANRICARDE.

The lord archbishop of Tuam, by command of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights and gentry, now convened in Galway, dated 26th Martii, 1651.

May it please your excellency,

THE lords spiritual and temporal, and gentry, now affembled at Galway, convened by your excellency's authority, having taken into confideration the prefent condition of this kingdom, and the overtures made by his highnefs the duke of Lorrain's embaffador, do humbly declare their unanimous fenfe; that they know no vifible way or mean at prefent, for the prefervation of the catholick religion, his majesty's rights and interefts, and the lives, fortunes, and eftates of his loyal fubjects in this kingdom, but by proceeding and concluding with the faid embaffador: and, whereas, upon the treaty with the faid embaffador, he could not be won to agree, but upon the following articles; we are of opinion, fooner than break with him, that he be agreed with, according to his faid articles; protesting notwithstanding, that we do and fhall continue, in our affections and actions, his majesty's faithful and loyal fubjects; being neceffitated to deliver this fenfe, as feeing no other way of prefervation: that his highnefs the duke of Lorrain, his heirs and fucceffors, be accepted and acknowledged

known by the kingdom of Ireland, for their true and royal protector, and be received in that quality, with such advantages, honours, fidelity, and obedience, which of right are due to a protector royal; (*salvis prerogativis domini regis in ordin' ad subditos*) and in such manner, and with such qualifications, as in these articles are expressed. That his highness shall endeavour, by all possible means, to free this nation from the pressures of the rebellious sectaries, who oppose his majesty and his authority in this kingdom; as also, to preserve and recover the interests of his majesty's loyal subjects of this kingdom, against and from the power of their enemies: and it is provided, and to be understood, that his highness shall not introduce in this kingdom, or cautionary places hereafter mentioned, any alteration or change, in or against the liberties, privileges, immunities, franchises, proprieties, goods, lands, or estates, nor the fundamental laws of the realm; but, to leave all those to be enjoyed as formerly by his majesty's faithful subjects. And it is also declared and provided, that the administration of justice, touching civil affairs, be managed and proceeded in according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, without innovating any thing in the form, or in the government lawfully established by his majesty, the government or assembly of the kingdom. That the calling the general assembly of the nation together, be according as was heretofore accustomed; yet, nevertheless, if it should happen, that any complaint be offered against the government, or that any affairs should occur of great consequence to occasion it; that it be lawful for his highness to cause it to be called, first admonishing the lord deputy, or such as are or shall be authorized or intrusted in the government of the kingdom. That, if God please to prosper his highness, and the kingdom's forces, and the general assembly of this kingdom judge it fit and convenient to join with his majesty's forces, to reduce the sectaries and rebels in his dominions, opposing his majesty, or the interest of his faithful subjects of this kingdom; his highness doth declare, he will give his furtherance and consent thereunto, and assist to his power. That, if the necessity of his highness affairs compel him to defer his coming to this kingdom for any time, he may depute (during his absence) such catholic persons, as to him shall seem fit, that may command the forces in this kingdom; and may assist in his name, as one of the council politick and civil, that will attend here, with the same power as other counselors established, or to be established by his majesty, his governor, or such as shall be authorized and instructed in the government of this kingdom. That the towns and hereditaments to be taken from the enemy, be restored to the former proprietors, continuing in his majesty's obedience; reserving notwithstanding, power to his highness, to establish such garrison which he will judge necessary for the ease and security of the nation, and to do the like in all other places where it shall be necessary; which garrisons are to be at his highness's charge, and to be repayed for it; and that the enemies and delinquents estates shall be disposed of towards the repayment of his highness, or maintenance of the war. That, for the affording present relief to the urgent necessities of the kingdom, while the further and particular supplies, that are to be treated for, and agreed on, with his highness, by the agents from the nation are expected, twenty thousand pounds sterling is to be now issued, including, as part thereof, six thousand pounds already delivered to Fa. George Dillon; and that his highness shall give such supplies of money, arms, shipping, and other furniture of war, as shall be necessary and sufficient for the support of the war, and the recovery of the kingdom for his majesty, and his loyal subjects of this kingdom. That all the nation in general be obliged to his highness, as well for the principal, as for the interest of the monies, which his highness will issue for defraying the charges of the war in recovering of this kingdom, until his highness be reimbursed; and, that also the towns of Galway, Lymerick, the town and castle of Athlone, the castle of Clare in Thomond, with the city of Waterford, and the fort royal of Duncannon, (if those

be recovered) are to be, and remain in his highness, and his successors hands, until he be satisfied and reimbursed of the principal, and interest of all such sums of money, and interests thereof, as is before expressed; always intending, that the said towns, fort, and castle, be ready and obedient to receive such forces into garrison, as shall be appointed on the part of the duke; and therein to obey his highness's orders, with all fidelity to him due, by vertue of this present treaty. Provided, that when his highness is to be reimbursed of his expences and interest, that the estates of particular men, then, and not otherwise, may be charged with their proportion of the said money, by an equal opplotment to be imposed by the general assembly of this kingdom; and the agents now to be employed to his highness, are to be entrusted to offer a course for ascertaining and keeping an account of his highness's disbursements for this kingdom. That his highness shall not conclude any truce, cessation, or peace with the rebels opposing his majesty's authority, or the interest of this kingdom, without the allowance of the lord deputy, or general assembly; nor they to conclude any cessation, truce, or peace, without the allowance and consent of his highness.

May it please your excellency,

THE sense we have of the evident destruction of the nation, and the visible danger the catholick religion, his majesty's interests, and the people's lives and fortunes are in, by the power of an implacable enemy, that have resolved to extirpate us, and our religion, and to extinguish his majesty's rights and royal authority, induced us to be of this opinion; having no inclination to bring in any foreign power, if your excellency can make it appear unto us, that there is any other way of preservation for the catholick religion, his majesty's right and interest, and the lives, fortunes, and estates of his faithful subjects.

Dated 26th of
March, 1651.

My verbal answer to his highness the duke of Lorrain's ambassador, who desired to take his leave of me before I parted from Tyrellan, the 26th of March 1651, given to father George Dillon, and the next day sent him in writing, after receiving his last proposals.

He sent his propositions under that title to those then convened at Galway, but excused it afterwards, pretending the ignorance of a stranger, with proper attributes to give them.

THAT I cannot expect or admit of any such offers of civility from a person that hath put such affronts upon, and done such injuries unto the king my master's honour and interests, by the proposals lately given in, and affirmed by him to be his final resolution, and what he would positively insist upon; when both the proposals in themselves, and his addresses to the orders and estates general of the kingdom, doth decline the king's authority in present, after knowledge that it was settled here, and application made to it in his majesty's behalf; but seems to aim at the settling of a free state here in future, under his master's royal protection. That being most confident, it was far from the duke his master's instructions or intention, to treat, or proceed in any such way; being so near and friendly an ally unto the king my master; and having, upon several occasions, given great testimonies of his good affections to him; I would, by expresses of mine own, represent the whole proceedings, both unto his majesty, and his master the duke of Lorrain; that for what prejudice, or misfortune may happen by any miscarriage in either of us, it may clearly appear to both our masters, where to lay the blame and imputation; I having, as I conceive, made very fair proposals, and he seeming positively to insist upon his last proposals, which I apprehend, are destructive to the king my master's interest.

My

My letter to father George Dillon, 26th of March, 1651.

AFTER our hearty commendations: We have sent here inclosed in writing, what last night we delivered you by word of mouth, to be imparted to his highness the duke of Lorrain's ambassador; that all matters may be laid so clear between us, as our masters, upon any event, may with the less difficulty have whereupon to ground a judgement: and so we bid you farewell, and remain

At Tyrellan, the 26th
of March, 1651.

Your very loving friend,
CLANRICARDE.

To the lords archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, and the rest of the prelates and commissioners, intrusted in pursuance of the articles of peace, now at Galway, these, 26th of March, 1651.

AFTER our hearty commendations: Having perused and considered the last proposals delivered in by the duke of Lorrain's ambassador, and by him affirmed to be such as he would positively insist upon; I held it my duty to his majesty, when such high attempts were made upon his honour and interest, to send this enclosed answer to him the last night by Fa. George Dillon, before my departure from the place where I have so long attended in vain, expecting such good effects of his embassy, as might advance the king's service, preserve the catholic religion and this nation, and give a right testimony of the duke of Lorrain's good affections to his majesty. Thus much you may impart unto such others of quality now in town as you think fit; and afterwards it will be necessary that yourselves repair unto us, that we may consult of the present state of affairs sometime this afternoon; having to that end stayed our journey until to-morrow morning: and so we bid you farewell, and remain

At Tyrellan, the 26th
of March, 1651.

Your lordship's
very affectionate friend,
CLANRICARDE.

To the lords archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, and the rest of the prelates and commissioners intrusted, in pursuance of the articles of peace, now at Galway, these. 27th of March, 1651.

After our hearty commendations: We have considered of the paper which you delivered unto us yesterday, containing proposals of the duke of Lorrain's ambassador, with your opinions thereupon; and we cannot discern any such material difference or qualification from his former paper, as might give us the least ground or colour to vary from our former resolution, sent to the said ambassador by Fa. George Dillon, or from now declaring, that it appears manifest unto us, that those proposals are inconsistent with the king's authority in present, and destructive to his future interests, and opposite to the liberty of the subjects; which neither we by the king's authority, nor you, now convened together at Galway, can deprive them of, but by a general concurrence of the king and nation, or such as his majesty shall authorize to act therein: and that we are further of opinion, that if the said ambassador should be persuaded to wave those other proposals, that intrench far upon the king's authority and the people's loyalty, that single prospect of lending monies upon those uncertainties, and such security and interest in the manner as it is there set forth, doth engage the kingdom beyond any probability of redemption, or returning under his majesty's government and protection: so that upon consideration of the whole matter,

matter, we may not, without breach of trust in matters of highest concernment, proceed further in any material addition unto our former proposals of the 18th which certainly must be acknowledged by all to be most equal and just, and most agreeable to the professions of amity, and to the honour and interest both of his majesty and the duke of Lorrain; and we are hopeful, by your diligence and industry used therein, that the said ambassador will be persuaded to accept of those offers, which will perfectly unite us, to his master's great honour and advantage, oblige his majesty in a very high measure, and be a happy instrument in preserving the catholick religion and nation. Thus much we have thought fit to signify unto you, before our departure towards Athlone; where, as we shall implore your whole endeavours to divert the enemy's intentions to pass the Shannon, and thereby give you some respite to make necessary provision for the army, so you must expect from us, that unless we shall be furnished by those ordinary means of levies, which upon pretence of this treaty have hitherto been interrupted, we cannot but expect that the enemy will force a passage over the Shannon, for want of any probable way of keeping the forces together. And so we bid you farewell, and remain

At Tyrellan, the 27th
of March, 1651.

Your very loving friend,

CLANRICARDE.

The prelates, upon receipt of my last letter, taking into consideration the desperate condition of the kingdom, and that it would be immediately lost if the treaty ended in a breach, and the supplies not had; and that it was not possible for me to condescend to any such proposals, or to vary from my former resolutions in what I had offered to the ambassador, they all went to the ambassador: and whether upon my messages formerly sent him by Fa. George Dillon, or their persuasions, he was wrought upon to agree to my first proposals, I shall not take upon me to judge; but singly or jointly they did prevail with him, as appears by the following message.

The lords bishops of Downe and Dromore, their message unto me from the prelates, 27 Martii, 1651.

IN obedience to your excellency's commands, for giving in writing the message sent by us from his grace the lord archbishop of Tuam, and the prelates met at Galway (the duke of Lorrain's ambassador being present) we humbly offer to be as followeth: that at the instance of the said prelates, the duke of Lorrain's ambassador doth offer plainly, that he will give twenty thousand pounds towards the defence of this nation, receiving the cautions of the city of Limerick, and town of Galway, &c. for repaying the said sum: and further declareth, that what else of treaty for or concerning the duke of Lorrain, being desired to be protector to this kingdom, or any thing else, may be remitted to a treaty and conclusion by any authorized by your excellency, to be employed to such as your excellency shall think fit with his highness the duke of Lorrain; and that in the mean time your excellency may be pleased to accept of this humble advice of the prelates, by which they hope God may bless your excellency in your endeavours to preserve the catholick religion, and his majesty's interest in this kingdom.

The 27th of March,
1651.

Fr. ARTH. Duncis & Comrui.
Fr. OLIVER Dramo.

Fa. George Dillon's letter to me, dated 29 Martii, 1651.

May it please your excellency,

BEing told that your excellency would willingly be informed of the treaty had with his highness the duke of Lorrain, concerning his affording assistance and succour to this kingdom; I make bold to signify unto your excellency as much thereof as came to my knowledge, which is this: in November last, his highness the duke of York being at Brussels, oftentimes desired his highness the duke of Lorrain to send what supplies he could to the relief of Ireland; unto which he was earnestly invited by the queen of England, as by some of her majesty's letters hereunto annexed may appear. Sir Henry de Vice, his majesty's resident at Brussels, and Sir George Radcliffe, governor to the duke of York, have also been very diligent and earnest in forwarding this work: they both have desired me to move it unto his highness the duke of Lorrain, and to desire him to take the kingdom of Ireland into his protection, unto which they assured me his majesty's pleasure would concur; and thereunto his highness assented, upon my lord Taaffe's application unto him. All which can be testified by the ambassador now here, and is humbly offered by,

He expresseth at first the contents of this letter, and those from the queen and duke of York, but did not produce them until this day.

My Lord,

Galway, 29 Martii,
1651.

Your excellency's most humble

and faithful servant,

Fa. GEORGE DILLON.

The queen's letter to the duke of Lorrain, Paris, 4 October, 1650.

Mon Cousin,

LE my lord Taaffe, personne de qualité & de grand mérite, ayant été dépêché d'Irlande au roy monsieur mon fils, par le marquis d'Ormond, & par tous les catholiques de ce royaume, & étant arrivé ici depuis le partement du roy mon fils en Ecosse: j'ay cru, qu'il étoit plus à propos de l'arrester quelque temps, jusqu'à ce que j'eusse pu estre informée de la maniere que ceux de sa religion seroient reçus dans ce pays là, & ai envoyé une partie de ses depeches par un autre, ce qu'il a jugé raisonnable de faire, & ne passera pas luy-meme, sans que nous en ayons des nouvelles. Entre autres choses, il m'a communiqué une negotiation, qui vous regarde, & pour laquelle il vous va trouver à present. Il en pourra sortir grand avantage aux affaires du roy monsieur mon fils: & il me semble aussi par ce que j'en puis connoitre, qu'il y a lieu de vous donner la satisfaction, qui a été proposée par ceux qui en ont parlé de nôtre part. Je me remet à my lord Taaffe de vous entretenir des particularitez, & me contenteray de vous recommander l'affaire, & sa personne qui merite toutes les civilités que vous lui pourriez faire. Vous le pourrez croire entierement, & dans les assurances, que je l'ai prié particulierement de vous rendre, que je suis,

Mon cousine,

A mon cousin monsieur
le duc de Lorrain.

Votre bien affectionnée cousine,

HENRIETTE MARIE, R.

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The

The duke of York to the duke of Lorrain.

Mon Cousin,

LE my lord Taaffe s'en allant vous trouver de la part du viceroy d'Irlande & de ceux du conseil catholique, touchant quelques propositions, que vous leurs avez fait ; je n'ay pas cru pouvoir prendre une meilleure occasion de vous temoigner l'amitié & l'estime que je vous porte toujours : vous recommandant aussi particulierement les interestes du roy dans les propositions que l'on vous fera à l'avantage de ses subjects d'Irlande dont ce porteur vous entretiendra plus amplement. Je suis toujours avec passion,

Mon cousin,

De Jersey, ce 25 de
Juillet, 1650.

Votre tres affectionné cousin,

JAKES.

The queen's letter to the duke of Lorrain.

Mon cousin,

LE porteur de celle-cy, mon cousin le viscount De Taaffe, ayant été depeché vers le roy monsieur mon fils, de la part du marquis D'Ormond, pour lui rendre compte de l'estat des affaires d'Irlande, a trouve sujet, pour des raisons qui ont empêché son voyage en Ecosse, d'y envoyer ses lettres, & attendre lui même icy jusqu'à present. Il est aussi instruit de la part des catholiques & a la connoissance de leurs sentiments pour tout ce que generalement regarde le bien de ce royaume ; s'en allant vous trouver il vous communiquera tout ce de quoy il est chargé, & particulierement vous entretiendra d'une negociation, qui a été commencée en Irlande par vos ordres & agens ; & de laquelle, si les circonstances à present en pouvoient permettre la conclusion, il en pourroit sortir, à mon advis, grand avantage, & utilité aux affaires de roy mon fils. Je vous prie de vouloir regarder l'affaire en cette consideration, comme aussi tout ce qui vous sera représenté au regard de l'Irlande, ou il semble que les choses ne sont pas si desesperées, qu'elles ne pourroient estre remises, en cas que nous fussions assistés de nos amis. Je vous conjure de nous donner le secours de vos advis & conseils, & de vous laisser informer par le my lord Taaffe de toutes les particularités des choses. Vous le pourrez croire entierement, & en faire estime comme d'une personne d'un grand merite, & qui a servi la feu roy monseigneur, & le roy monsieur mon fils, avec affection & fidelité singuliere. Je me remets à luy pour le reste que j'aurois à vous dire, & pour vous assurer que je suis & feray toute ma vie veritablement,

La reyne au duc De Lorraine par le my
lord Taaffe, Novembre 18, 1650.

Mon Cousin.

To the lord archbishop of Dublin and Tuam, and the rest of the prelates and commissioners in trust, now in Galway, 28 March, 1651.

After our hearty commendations : the treaty being now towards its conclusion with the duke of Lorrain's ambassador ; we hold it fit, lest any interruption should happen, which probably by your lordships and the rest of the prelates, their good endeavours may be removed, that you nor any of them depart, till the matter receive a final end, which we expect this day ; and have, for hastening the matter to be drawn up ready for its perfection, intrusted Sir

Nicholas Plunket, knight, and Patrick Bryan, Esq; to reduce the articles and caution to writing: and do desire, that your grace and the prelates will entrust some one or more of the prelates that may assist therein, for removing of any difficulties that may happen. This being all, we bid you heartily farewell, and remain,

At Tyrellan, the 28th
of March, 1650.

Your affectionate friend,

CLANRICARDE.

By the Lord deputy-general of Ireland.

Signed,

CLANRICARDE.

The warrant of caution to the mayor of Limerick, the last of March, 1650.

WHEREAS we have contracted with his highness the duke of Lorrain his ambassador, for the loan of twenty thousand pounds sterling, to supply the necessities of his majesty's army in this kingdom, and enable us to preserve his majesty's interests, and the nation in general, against the power of the rebels now in arms, in which contract we have articulated in his majesty's behalf, to give the city of Limerick, in part of the caution for his highness's security, as by our articles in that behalf, bearing date with these presents, more at large may appear; the true copy whereof we herewith send unto you: these are therefore, to will and require you, to observe our undertaking in that behalf, and to obey in all respects, what of our part is by the said articles contracted for, so far forth as concerneth the said city of Limerick, for which, this shall be your warrant.

The articles of the agreement were perfected and concluded this day, but not signed or delivered until the 4th of April.

Given at Tyrellan, the
last of March, 1651.

To our well-beloved the mayor of the city of Limerick.
The like to the mayor of the town of Galway.

Articles of agreement, made, concluded, and agreed, by and between his excellency the lord marquis of Clanricarde, lord deputy-general of Ireland, for and in behalf of his majesty, and his faithful subjects of the kingdom of Ireland, of one part; by advice and consent of divers of the prelates, nobility, commissioners of trust, gentry and agents from the city of Limerick and town of Galway: and the most reverend and noble Stephen de Henin, abbot of St. Catharine's, of his highness the duke of Lorrain's privy-council, ambassador of his said highness, of the other part, the 4th of April, 1651.

WHEREAS his said highness the duke of Lorrain, for the advancement of the catholick religion, and the preservation and recovery of his said majesty, and his loyal subjects of this kingdom, their most just rights and interest, hath been pleased to afford his assistance unto this nation: it is therefore accorded, and agreed by and between the said parties; and the said ambassador, on the behalf of his highness, doth promise and agree, to satisfy and pay at present unto such as his excellency the lord deputy will appoint, for the service of the said kingdom, the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling, including six thousand pounds already paid unto father George Dillon. It is further covenanted and agreed, by and between the said parties, and the said lord-deputy, in the behalf of his said majesty; and his faithful subjects of this kingdom of Ireland, doth promise and agree to, and with the said ambassador, that his highness the duke of Lorrain, his heirs and successors, shall have and enjoy for security

rity and caution of the repayment of the said sum, the city of Limerick, and town of Galway, until he shall be repaid the said sum of twenty thousand pounds. And, as further supplies to be had for the advancement of the catholick religion, his majesty and his said subjects, their interest in this kingdom; and for his said highness's satisfaction in any matter, which shall be proposed by or in the behalf of his highness the said duke; that one, or more, shall be employed to his highness by the said lord-deputy, in the behalf of his majesty and this kingdom, fully authorized and intrusted to treat and conclude with his said highness, or those he shall depute, concerning those particulars. It is further accorded and agreed, by and between the said parties, and the said lord deputy, for and in the behalf of his said majesty; and his faithful subjects of this kingdom, doth promise and agree to, and with the said embassador, that for the further security of repayment to his said highness of the said twenty thousand pounds, and for the indemnity of the said cautionary places, the whole nation shall be liable unto the repayment of the said twenty thousand pounds; and the said cautionary places shall be only to their just proportion, according to an equal opplotment to be made upon the whole nation, or kingdom: and the said embassador doth covenant to and with the said lord-deputy, that the said cautionary places, and every of them, and the inhabitants thereof, their estates, possessions, jurisdictions, civil government, persons, and interests, shall not be in any sort, or any where prejudiced or disturbed, but that the said inhabitants may enjoy those as heretofore; and that until the said further treaty take effect, by a conclusion thereof by his highness, and those now to be employed unto him, his highness shall enjoy his majesty's just dues, interests, and rights in the said cautionary places, towards the repayment and satisfaction of the said sum of twenty thousand pounds; and the said cautionary places are not to be liable to any other burthen from his said highness, other than that the said embassador, in the name of his said highness, as a possession of the said caution, may nominate such to command the officers, and soldiers now in garrison in the said city of Limerick, and town of Galway, viz. one commander in each of the said places; and that notwithstanding such nomination, the lord-deputy may, in case of pressing necessity for the publick service of the kingdom, make use of his power as hitherto accustomed.

By the lord deputy-general of Ireland.

CLANRICARDE.

A warrant of freedom to the town of Galway, the 7th of April, 1651.

WHEREAS the city of Limerick and town of Galway, are cautionary for the payment of twenty thousand pounds sterling unto his highness the duke of Lorrain, his majesty's just dues therein being by us engaged towards the repayment thereof, which engagement may bring upon the said city and town the burthen and trouble of garrisons more than usual: we having taken the same into our consideration, and the willingness of the said city and town, to forward the service of his majesty and this kingdom, and that they have been, and at present are, at great expence in fortifying the said city and town; are therefore, by the advice and consent of the commissioners intrusted in pursuance of the articles of peace, and at the earnest request of the mayor and inhabitants of the said town of Galway, and of the agents of the city of Limerick pleased that the said city and town, the liberties and counties of them, and every of them, shall not contribute or be liable, during the time they shall be cautionary, to any of the opplotments or assessments in the county at large, or in any other place of the kingdom, other than upon the repayment of his highness's disbursements by the kingdom, the said city and town shall pay their just proportion of the said twenty thousand pounds, and of such

such further supplies as his highness, his heirs and successors, will afford for the service of the kingdom: and we are further pleased, that during the said engagement, the merchants of the said city and town shall have free liberty of exportation of all native and foreign commodities, notwithstanding any act to the contrary, they paying thereout his majesty's just dues, as by the articles made between us and the said ambassador they are disposed. And we are further pleased, that two hundred musketers, with officers and a gunner, under the command of sir Robert Lynch, be forthwith sent to the isles of Arran, with a reasonable proportion of ammunition, and three pieces of ordnance, with necessaries; and that three month's means be provided them out of the said twenty thousand pounds to be received, deducting thereout so much as the contributions of the said islands comes unto, according unto their dividend for that time, the said ammunition to be provided by the publick, and the said town of Galway to furnish the three pieces of ordnance: for which the said corporation is to be paid by the publick, out of the next supplies: and after the expiration of the said three months, the said two hundred men and officers, to be there maintained at the publick charge, as the rest of the standing forces of the county of Galway.

Given at Tyrellan, the
7th of April, 1651.

The like warrant to the city of Limerick, only leaving out what belongs to the isles of Arran.

Articles of agreement, made, concluded, and agreed upon, by and between his royal highness the duke of Lorrain's ambassador, in the behalf of his highness, of the one part: and the mayor, sheriffs, burgessees, and commonalties of his majesty's town of Galway, for, and on the behalf of the said town, liberties, and county thereof, of the other part; bearing date at Galway aforesaid, the 6th day of April, 1651.

WHEREAS by articles of agreement, bearing date the 4th of April, 1651, made, and concluded by and between his excellency the lord deputy-general of this kingdom, and the said ambassador, it is accorded and concluded, by the advice and consent of divers of the prelates, nobility, gentry, and several persons entrusted from the city of Limerick, and town of Galway, by and between them; that his highness the duke of Lorrain, his heirs and successors, shall have and enjoy the city of Limerick, and the said town of Galway, as caution and security for the repayment of twenty thousand pounds, now payable by the said ambassador, for the preservation of the catholick religion, his majesty and his faithful subjects, their interest in this kingdom: and, whereas his said excellency, for the better security of the said mayor, sheriffs, burgessees, and commonalty in their interest and fortunes, hath authorised the said mayor, sheriffs, burgessees, and commonalty, to make the following particular articles with the said ambassador: it is therefore covenanted, granted, concluded, and agreed upon, by and between the said ambassador, for, and in the behalf of his royal highness the duke of Lorrain, on the one part; and the mayor, sheriffs, burgessees, and commonalty of his majesty's town of Galway, of the other part: that the said town of Galway, with the liberties thereof, and county of the said town, and the lands held in burgage of the said mayor and corporation aforesaid, concerning the civil and politick government, jurisdiction, privileges, and freedom, shall be governed according to the charters, customs, and laws of the said town, and the fundamental laws of the land; and that they shall not be subject to the imposition of any manner of taxes, imposts, excise, contributions, benevolence, or loan-money, on his highness's behalf, for the

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militia,

militia, or any other pretence whatsoever; and shall be free from hurt or prejudice from his highness, or any under his command, in their persons, goods, lands, estates, and possessions, or in any other matter, or thing; other than that his highness shall have, and enjoy his majesty's signary, and just dues in the premises, according to the said articles agreed upon, between his excellency the lord deputy and the said ambassador. That the garrison to be received in the said town of Galway shall be, from time to time, maintained at his highness's charge: and, to the end the inhabitants of the said town, liberties, county of the said town, and burgage lands aforesaid, may not any way be charged by, or for the soldiers in the garrison in the said town, his highness shall give effectual orders for their pay, and observation of all good discipline: and that the said inhabitants, nor any of them, shall be molested, questioned, charged, or troubled in their persons, goods, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, for accomplishing any part of the contract concluded, or to be concluded, with his highness, in the behalf of this kingdom; other, than upon the repayment of his highness's disbursements by the kingdom, to pay their dividend of the charge of the whole kingdom, as the same shall be equally appointed by the chief governor, or governors, and the general assembly of the kingdom, and not otherwise; that if his said highness's soldiers, or any of them, or any under his highness's command, shall do any injury, or wrong, unto any of the members, or inhabitants of the said town, liberties, and county thereof, and the lands held in burgage, in their persons, goods, lands, or hereditaments, in any place within this kingdom; that due reparation and satisfaction shall be made thereof: and in case of any injuries done, or to be done, to any of the inhabitants, or members of the said town, liberties, and county thereof, and the said lands held in burgage, or any place by sea, or within this kingdom, in body, goods, lands, or tenements; they shall make application for justice to his majesty's chief governor, or governors, or other ministers of justice, or persons authorised by his majesty in this kingdom, as the state of the case shall require: and that execution shall issue to his majesty's officers. And, that upon failure of the execution of any acts, orders, decrees or judgments therein given, or to be given by his majesty's governor, or governors of this kingdom for the time being, or other ministers of justice, or persons by him or them authorised, his said highness's forces, or so many and such as shall be fully sufficient, shall be employed, under their proper officers, to do execution herein, in every case of failure as aforesaid. That if there be any occasion for, or whensoever the payment of the said monies shall be made, the town of Galway shall not be liable to repay the twenty thousand pounds sterling, now delivered by his highness's ambassador, or any part thereof, or for any other sum or sums to be issued hereafter in the behalf of this kingdom; except only their just proportion, according to their dividend, as shall be agreed upon by the chief governor, or governors, and the general assembly of the kingdom: saving always in the interim, unto his said highness, his majesty's just dues in the said town, to be received by his said highness, towards the repayment of his said highness's disbursements. And for the better security of the said town, and the inhabitants thereof, the said ambassador, in the behalf of his said highness, doth hereby covenant, that the inhabitants of the said town, or any of them, shall not be troubled, molested, or sued in their goods, estates, or persons, at any time, either in this kingdom, or beyond the seas, for the said twenty thousand pounds sterling, or any part thereof, or any other sum or sums of money to be issued as aforesaid. That his highness shall not alien or dispose of his cautionary interests in the said town, unto any king, prince, state, potentate, or any other person or persons whomsoever.

Instructions

Instructions for the lord viscount Taaffe, sir Nicholas Plunkett, knight, and Jeffry Browne, esq; 12th of April, 1651.

YOU are, upon your landing, to send a dispatch to the queen, the duke of York, and the duke of Ormond, who upon the delivery of your letters, is faithfully to inform each of them of the whole passage and circumstances of this treaty. You are, upon delivery of our letters to his highness the duke of Lorrain, to let him know how chearful a reception we have given to his ambassador; and how much we do magnify the resolution he hath taken to preserve the catholick religion, his majesty's interest, and this afflicted nation: and how great the obligation is, which in so doing he shall lay upon this nation, and how useful his majesty's grateful memory of such his undertaking may be to himself in future, when God shall be pleased to restore him to his dominions: and you are further to inform him, how great the respect is, which in our particular we bear unto his highness. You are to inform him of the caution given for the twenty thousand pounds, and describe unto him the strength and situation of the places, the goodness and conveniency of the harbours, or what else may induce him to believe that those aids now sent, and the other, which you are earnestly and effectually to move for, are well and profitably employed by him. You are not to proceed further than giving caution for his money and supplies, until you be enabled to go on in the rest, as his majesty's ministers shall direct you: and we are confident his highness, in the agreement, will have a tender regard of his majesty's honour and interests, and will rather consider his alliance unto him, and the fame he will acquire by so glorious an action, and thereby put an obligation of gratitude upon him, than to exact any thing in relation to his present condition: and upon knowledge of his highness's particular pleasure and expectations, you will immediately endeavour to procure such further authorities and instructions from his majesty's ministers, as may enable and authorise you to conclude the treaty, as you hope, to his highness's just satisfaction, and with that expedition as the necessity of our present condition requires. You are to proceed upon this treaty no otherwise, or further, except for procuring more supplies upon caution, than you shall receive in writing from her majesty, the duke of York, and the duke of Ormond: and upon the conclusion of the treaty, you are to bring us her majesty's, the duke of York's, and the duke of Ormond's ratification of it; with letters unto us from each of them, directing us to approve of it here, and to give obedience thereunto. In case you may not readily procure all those authorities and ratifications, you are to rest satisfied with the authority and ratification of the duke of Ormond alone, or any other of his majesty's ministers, particularly authorised by his majesty to negotiate and conclude this treaty. You are also to impart your negotiation to sir Henry de Vice, his majesty's resident at Brussels; and by his, and any other his majesty's minister's concurrence, to strengthen it so far as possibly you may. If you find that any other or others, pretending any agency or power to obtain aids for this nation, have obtained any aids; you are, so far as conveniently you may, to call and compel them to account for the same, and to pay you the monies, or other aids. And you are also to declare in our name against such agency, and if need be, to send a declaration to the press for that purpose. And we expect, that all and every person and persons, that bear any trust or letters from us now in the behalf of the kingdom, for aids to be had in France, or the Low-countries, do take your concurrence, and correspond with you therein, and to give you the account and payments of those aids, then what you will find necessary to allow such, for their care and endeavours therein, and for their expence and maintenance. You are to make use of the declaration you have with you, containing the present state of affairs, by delivering or sending copies thereof to the duke of Ormond, and such others

as you shall think fit. You are carefully to enquire after all such as now part this kingdom, to inform yourselves as near as possibly you may, what their employment is, or what affairs they deal in, and to inform the duke of Ormond and us, from time to time thereof, and if they deal in any thing concerning this affair, you are to declare against them. You are, as occasion shall offer, or when it will be opportune, to recommend and countenance Mr. Nicholas Bodkin, merchant, in all such affairs wherein he hath trust or commission from us. You are, as soon after your landing as conveniently you may, to send us intelligence of her majesty's place of residence, the duke of York, and the duke of Ormond, and what knowledge you shall receive of his majesty's condition, and the state of affairs abroad; and for the better furtherance thereof, to hire some small packet-boat, with direction to put into Ireconaught, or some other creeks or harbours in the county of Mayo, lest his harbour should be blocked up by the parliament shipping.

The state of his majesty's affairs, and the condition of his faithful subjects in the kingdom of Ireland, 12th April, 1651.

THAT the power and success of the rebels hath been such, as the whole nation is now in their possession, or subject to their contribution, except the province of Conaught and the county of Clare, and his majesty's city of Limerick and town of Galway; that the said province of Conaught and county of Clare, are for the most part waste, by the continuance of that heavy burthen the war has brought on them, and by incursions of the rebels. That the rebels having an over-mastering power in all parts of the kingdom, other than the said province of Conaught and county of Clare, many of his majesty's forces, that hitherto had their relief out of other quarters, have been forced for their safety to retire to the said province of Conaught and county of Clare, which, together with the forces maintained there formerly, are become so burthensome to the people, as that they are thereby utterly impoverished. The nation being in this extremity, no considerable forces can be brought together to maintain even a defensive war against the rebels, much less an offensive; and had not the river of Shannon been an interruption to the rebels incursions since October or November last, till this present, it is very evident, that the rebels had, e'er this, over-run the province of Conaught and county of Clare, and consequently would bring under their power the city of Limerick and town of Galway. The said city of Limerick and town of Galway, observing all other his majesty's cities and towns of strength within the kingdom to be lost; and how, that there was no considerable army of his majesty's forces within the kingdom to relieve them, in case they were besieged, or any probability, for want of means, to bring any such army into a body; have of a long time, out of the feeling sense they had of their own destruction, been inclined to treat for conditions with the rebels, before the danger might come nearer them, and before the said province of Conaught and county of Clare were over-mastered by the rebels power, as the rest of the kingdom was. This was not only the study and apprehension of the said towns, but was also the resolution of most others, that could not humanly see how they might be otherwise preserved: and it was by very great endeavours and industry, that the general assembly held at Loughreagh in January last was withheld from treating for conditions with the rebels. Many of the officers of his majesty's army, finding the sad condition the nation was reduced into, not able to keep any considerable forces in a body to oppose the rebels, did, from several parts of the kingdom, represent their sense, that it was absolutely necessary for the people's preservation to treat with the rebels for conditions, seeing there was no power to resist them. The general desperation in all persons and places hitherto under his majesty's obedience, did so change

change the resolutions of the people, as they parted with nothing willingly to maintain the forces, each one looking after the ways of his particular subsistence; and the city of Limerick and town of Galway, either for fear to incense the rebels the more, or to advantage themselves in such conditions as should be had from the rebels, did not afford so ready and clear obedience to his majesty's authority as accustomed. His highness the duke of Lorrain's ambassador arriving here, and it being given out, that he came with offers of powerful assistance for the preservation of the catholick religion, his majesty's and subjects interest, the people took much comfort and encouragement thereby, hoping that the rebels power might be opposed; and soon after did the said towns, and all other places, yet in his majesty's obedience, seem more chearfully than before to assist his majesty's authority, in opposing the rebels, and to disavow and disclaim any treaty with the rebels, though formerly inclined, if not resolved. His excellency the lord-deputy understanding, that some aids might be had for the present relief of his majesty's forces, did give audience to the said ambassador; and though the letters he brought were not to the lord-deputy, nor any having his majesty's authority; yet he having publicly avowed, that his master knew not his majesty's authority was intrusted with any in this kingdom; and that if he had known so much, he would have made his application by letter to him, with whom that authority was intrusted; his lordship therefore authorized some of the prelates and commissioners of trust to treat with him; and was content that the prelates, nobility, and other persons of quality, then in or near Galway, and agents of the city of Limerick and town of Galway, might meet to consult of that affair; and represent their sense thereupon to his excellency: who being accordingly called together, and consisting of very many of the prelates, nobility, and gentry, out of several parts of the kingdom; at which meeting also the agents of the said city of Limerick and town of Galway were present, and several officers of the army; who after a long and serious debate of the matter proposed by his highness's ambassador; they weighing the unavoidable danger the nation was in of falling into the rebels power; and how the people, if not suddenly assisted, were so much impoverished, as they would be utterly destroyed, or enforced to submit to the rebels; and considering that his majesty was not in condition to relieve them, nor could application with safety be made unto him; did therefore advise, and were of opinion, seeing his highness the duke of Lorrain made it his care to preserve the catholick religion, and the people's interest, and to recover from the rebels what they possessed, that it was absolutely necessary to accept of his said highness's protection: but the said ambassador's propositions being such as his excellency the lord-deputy could not assent unto, the said ambassador was induced (taking caution for the present supplies) to agree, that the treaty and conclusion for further supplies, and the proposals made in the duke of Lorrain's behalf, might be put over to be determined by his highness, or such as he would depute, and such as now should be authorized by the lord-deputy in his majesty's behalf. The present supplies had, do not much amend the condition of his majesty's affairs in this kingdom; and if ways may not be found to hasten very suddenly further and more considerable supplies, what is left of the whole nation, yet in his majesty's obedience, will soon be in the possession and power of the rebels, the season of the year being now such as the rebels may in many places on the Shannon make their incursions, and draw their forces into the said province of Conaught and county of Clare; which they may the better effect, having not any forces considerable of his majesty's army, that might disturb them in the province of Munster, Leinster, or Ulster; other than that the lord of Muskerry, with some party in the county of Kerry, and borders of the county of Cork, giveth considerable disturbance to the rebels designs in Leinster; some small parties only that cannot regularly be maintained in a body, do, when opportunity is offered, perform service against weak or scattered parties of the rebels, but can attempt nothing

against any considerable body of the rebels. And in Ulster, though his majesty's forces are numerous in foot, yet wanting horse, and many unprovided of arms, and having no regular way of maintenance, they can attempt little to distract the rebels forces, in that province; that party of his majesty's forces in Ulster having lately, for want of horse, received a considerable loss upon a defeat near Fena; and by that means also the said garrison of Fena (being a considerable place) was lost; so that upon the whole matter, it is very evident how great the evils are that will happen, if immediately great aids be not hastened to this nation; for this kingdom will, by the fore-slowing thereof, be entirely in the enemies power and possession, and the people universally enforced to submit unto them, by which the rebels will have the opportunity to send from hence a great and considerable power, that may distract his majesty's expected success in England and Scotland, and be an occasion of the loss also of his majesty's entire interests, in both his said other kingdoms.

A copy of my letter to the queen, 12th April, 1651.

May it please your majesty,

THE state and condition of this afflicted kingdom, and the sight I had of your majesty's and the duke of York's letters to the duke of Lorrain, upon the subject of assisting this kingdom, moved me to entertain a treaty with the abbot of St. Catharine's, his highness's ambassador; and having concluded with him for the aids now received, I have employed Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Mr. Jeffrey Browne, over, to join with the lord viscount Taaffe, in agitating those matters which I have not power to determine here; and must depend upon that which they will receive from your majesty, his highness the duke of York, the duke of Ormond, and others his majesty's ministers, to whom his majesty's pleasure may be soon imparted, I shall forbear to be a further trouble to your majesty, by repeating of particulars, whereof those I have now employed over, are directed to give your majesty an exact account, in the behalf of

Your majesty's

most humble, faithful,

and obedient servant,

CLANRICARDE.

A copy of my letter to the duke of York, 12th April, 1651.

May it please your highness,

THough I have not had the honour to receive any commands from you, yet having seen some letters of your highness directed unto the duke of Lorrain, expressing your care and favourable regard of this afflicted kingdom, I hold myself obliged to advertise your highness of the abbot of St. Catharine's, the duke of Lorrain's ambassador's arrival here, with letters of credence directed to the prelates and noblemen, supposed to be in the government in this kingdom; which notwithstanding he presented unto me, excusing this by the duke his master's not knowing, that any was deputed to exercise his majesty's authority here. The result of my proceedings with him, your highness may be pleased to receive from Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Geoffrey Browne, whom I have employed, and joined in commission with the lord viscount Taaffe; to whom I humbly desire full credence may be given: and that your highness will

will direct them in this treaty with the duke of Lorrain, in what manner and how far it may be fit for them to proceed therein; I having of myself neither any power or instruction to guide me, other than by referring them over to observe such commands as they shall receive from her majesty, your highness, and the duke of Ormond, who at a near distance may receive his majesty's pleasure thereupon: and your highness's commands shall be readily obeyed, by

Your highness's

most humble and obedient servant,

CLANRICARDE.

A copy of my letter to the duke of Ormond, the 12th of April, 1651.

May it please your excellency,

WHEN by your commands I took this charge upon me, I conceived I had encountered sufficient difficulties, when I engaged in the prosecution of a war against a powerful enemy, that had gained above three parts of the kingdom; not having any certainty of arms, ammunition, or money; the few towns left, stubborn and refractory; the soldiers dismayed and in want, the country exhausted, and the people unsettled and divided in their affections, and debarred all intelligence of the true state of affairs abroad. But all these summed together, did not so much perplex me, as the treaty with the duke of Lorrain's ambassador since his arrival here, recommended over by the lord Taaffe, and grounded upon letters of credence to him from your excellency, and from others of this kingdom by your permission: countenanced, as he affirmed, by the queen, and the duke of York, sir Henry de Vice his majesty's agent at Brussels, and sir George Radcliffe, governor to the duke; and all cried up by the people here, snatching at any novelty, and many of them forward to put more into his hands, and to infuse such high demands unto him, that, in my judgment, was no better than a total transferring of the crown from his majesty to a foreign prince; and on the other side, the rebels of England ready to devour us immediately, if I did not make use of the assistance offered: and nothing of instruction, or hope of supplies from your excellency, or any of his majesty's ministers abroad. The particulars of the treaty will appear more clearly to your excellency by the papers that accompany this dispatch, which do in order state the whole proceeding; that your excellency may with the greater expedition judge, and know how to carry on that treaty abroad. It will be necessary to be watchful over the bishop of Fernes, who (as I am informed) is gone to the duke of Lorrain, and carried some instrument with him privately signed by some particular persons that I cannot discover. It is conceived that the high demands the ambassador at first insisted upon were not according to his instructions, but taken out and infused into him by sir James Preston, Rotchford, and others, from that instrument of the bishop of Fernes. I send your excellency only the copy of my lord Taaffe's letters directed to your excellency, conceiving it best to keep the originals safely by me; as also the original letters of the queen and duke of York, delivered me by father George Dillon, together with his letter to me, expressing his further discourse with sir Henry de Vice and sir George Radcliffe. I find the ambassador is much fallen off from his good opinion of my lord Taaffe and father George; neither, perhaps, will your excellency be well satisfied with their management of affairs, if his lordship were acquainted with the height of his uncle's first proposals here; yet I held it best to countenance my lord Taaffe, by joining him in
commission

commiſſion with ſir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Geffry Browne, and writing in commendation of the other, who have no other way left them but to depend upon your excellency, and other his majeſty's miniſters, being loſt on the other ſide, and may probably inform, and make diſcoveries, if there be any hidden practices between the embaffador and any diſaffected perſons from hence. Though the ſaid embaffador hath been extremely civil and reſpective to me, in the latter part of his tranſaction, and with the higheſt expreſſions poſſible of his maſter's clear intentions and affections towards his majeſty; yet I find many of the town of Galway, and others reſiding there, extremely ill inclined, and working, as I apprehend, to ſettle him in his majeſty's rights here, and diligent in infuſing thoſe thoughts into him. But Limerick, by the well managing of Mr. Stackpole, hath gone all along upon a very clear and loyal ſcore, and I am confident will not be wrought upon to come at all within his power upon any other invitation, than the commands they ſhall receive from his majeſty's authority, and will much ſooner chuſe a ſubmiſſion to the rebels, than to be overpowered by any foreigner. Sir Nicholas Plunkett hath, ſince my firſt entrance into authority aſſiſted me with extraordinary prudence and diligence, and oppoſed all miſcarriages or infringements upon his majeſty's government, and I believe ſettled in a very firm friendſhip towards me, in order to his majeſty's ſervice: and I am the more confident therein, in regard our firſt entrance into friendſhip had its beginning from a free and full expoſtulation of former paſſages, and cauſes of ſuſpection, both in relation to your excellency and myſelf; and having been brought to this good paſs, I beſeech your excellency to take notice of him, and treat him ſo, as a perſon that hath been in that manner recommended to you by me; and tell him you will make uſe of his advice and aſſiſtance, with a confidence anſwerable to what I have expreſſed of him, and ready to repreſent him in ſuch a character unto his majeſty. I muſt acknowledge, I have entered into a great preſumption, and run a great adventure, to engage thoſe towns to a foreign prince, without ſpecial authority for it; but I was encouraged thereto, by my knowledge that your excellency did the laſt ſummer entertain the ſame kind of treaty, and our dangers and neceſſities are much encreaſed ſince that time. Beſides, the queen's and the duke of York's letters to the duke of Lorrain do much approve, and earneſtly preſs the going on of that treaty. I may further ſay, that the towns would have done it without me, with much more hazard to his majeſty's affairs and intereſts. And having given your excellency this account, by what motives and inducements I have been guided in the whole tranſactions of this treaty; there remains only to expect, and humbly to ſubmit unto ſuch judgments and cenſure as his majeſty, or your excellency, ſhall think fit to impoſe upon me. I humbly crave your excellency's pardon, for having made uſe of another hand, being in no perfect ſtate of health, and much burthened, both with the haſte and conſequence of theſe diſpatches, and apprehenſions of and care to prevent the enemy's forcing a paſſage over the Shannon, now ready for that attempt in ſeveral places, and like to prevail, if God in his great mercy, and juſtneſs of the quarrel, doth not vouchſafe an extraordinary bleſſing, and aſſiſtance unto

Your excellency's

Loghreagh, the 12th
of April, 1651.

moſt faithful, and

humble ſervant,

CLANRICARDE.

A copy of my letter to my lord Taaffe, the 12th of April, 1651.

My lord,

YOURS of the 27th of December, directed to myself, and those to the duke of Ormond, of the third and fifth of January, I received from father George Dillon; my own on the last of February, and the duke of Ormond's on the seventh of this month, after audience given to the Lorrain ambassador, who would not make his applications to any other, finding the king's authority entrusted to me; though his letters and commissions were otherwise directed; and telling me, that the want of right intelligence occasioned the duke of Lorrain's not writing to me. The delays and difficulties which have arisen upon this treaty, through my want of power and instruction to intermeddle in matters of so high a nature, and the practices, and bad infusions put into the ambassador, by seditious and ill-affected persons, I believe much different from his instructions, or your lordship's, and father George Dillon's knowledge or expectation; and much art used to discharge both of you from having any interest in the business, whensoever it should be well determined; but the bishop of Fernes to be the sole manager of it; and as it is by some suspected, upon very pernicious conditions, contained in a private instrument he carried over with him, and secretly signed by some particular persons, whom I cannot yet discover, but will be worthy your lordship's diligent enquiry, both for the king's service, and your own honour and interests, will all come clearly represented to your lordship by father George Dillon; as also, how far I was enabled to proceed in the treaty here, and to leave the rest to be concluded abroad by your lordship, and those I now send over, according to my instructions to your lordship and them, and the advices and commands you shall receive from the queen's majesty, the duke of York, and the duke of Ormond, in case his majesty's own commands cannot timely be procured, who by letters newly received from the earl of Derby, is growing into so hopeful a condition, as that it may be possible for us here to weather out this storm, without too high engagements. But these matters I must leave to the consideration of those authorised by his majesty on the other side: obedience being the only proper part I am to act in transactions of this kind, &c.

At Loghreah, the 12th
of April, 1651.

CLANRICARDE.

A copy of my letter to the duke of Lorrain.

Serenissime princeps,

Celsitudinis vestrae legatus reverendissimus ac nobilissimus Stephanus de Henin, abbas de sancta Catharina, eorum quæ hic inter nos peracta sunt, instrumentum fert meâ manu signatum, et proprio meo sigillo munitum. Illius in rebus gerendis solertiam expertus sum, et ea humanitate præditum novi, ut non solum omnium animos, omnium affectus vestrae celsitudini conciliaverit, sed et sui memoriam apud nos reliquerit gratissimam. Illum ergo tam fidelem, tam perspicacem tanti principis ministrum celsitudini vestrae commendo, ut pro merito favores, quos illi impertiri deosculor dignatur celsitudo vestra, indies augeantur. Celsitudinis vestrae manus deosculor.

Celsitudinis vestrae

Loghreagh, Apr. 9, 1651.

humillimus servus,

CLANRICARDE.

Colonel

Colonel Synott the 5th of October; received the 7th, 1651.

May it please your excellency,

HIS highness the duke of Lorrain being careful of the preservation of this kingdom, and the interest of his majesty; and being now in actual preparation for the relief of both, hath been pleased to send by me to your excellency his letters, and a small proportion of arms and ammunition, as earnest of considerable supplies to follow with all possible expedition. My lord, I long passionately to kiss your excellency's hand, and present unto you my master's letters, which the distance of the place of your excellency's residence, the danger of the way, and my haste to carry this small supply to Galway, do compel me to defer, until I receive your excellency's further commands and directions how to send you the letters, without which I dare not hazard them with a foot-post. I arrived here yesterday, and am resolved to go with the first fair wind to Galway, from whence I will try all means to send the letters to your excellency; if in the mean time I receive no further orders from your excellency, whose hands I humbly kiss, and continue,

My lord,

At Inisbofinne, the 5th
of October, 1651.

your honour's

humblest servant,

OLIVER SYNOTT.

Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Geffry Brown to me, the 14th of September, 1651; received the 7th of October.

May it please your excellency,

HAVING come to sea out of Ireland, the 23d of April, we landed not in this country till the 6th of June, according to the computation here, on which day in the evening we arrived in the river of Amsterdam, and the next morning we began our journey for this city, and came hither the 12th of June. Where after a few days we had audience from his highness the duke of Lorrain, and delivered our letters of credence, and entered on a treaty according to our commission and instructions, and found, on debate, some alterations sought, different from the proceedings in Ireland: and howbeit, there were here with the lord Taaffe some grounds that might encourage us to proceed, as your lordship will find by the copies of his majesty's letters of the 21st of January last, and of the duke of Ormond his letters of the 13th of March, both directed to the lord Taaffe, and here inclosed; yet to the end nothing might be wanting, in pursuance of our instructions, we hastened your lordship's several letters to the queen, to the duke of York, and to the duke of Ormond; and upon debate amongst us, it was agreed, that the lord Taaffe should repair to Paris with those letters, where then the queen, the duke of York, and the duke of Ormond were. On the 7th day of our coming hither, being the 19th of June, the lord Taaffe begun his journey to Paris, by whom we sent our instructions, the representation signed by your lordship, importing the present state of the country, and all other the papers that might give her majesty, and the rest, the full knowledge of those affairs; and accompanied those with our letters to her majesty, to his highness, and the duke of Ormond. The copies of those our letters, for your lordship's better information, are also here inclosed. And to avoid any loss of time in
that

that matter, before we had a return from Paris, we prepared the affairs here with the duke of Lorrain the best we could, and solicited him with all earnestness for some present aids of money and ammunition, matters being thus in agitation here with us, we received her majesty's letters in answer of ours; whereof the enclosed is a copy, by which, and what the lord Taaffe represented, we were fully satisfied and encouraged to proceed to a conclusion of that affair, &c.

A copy of Sir Nicholas Plunket and Mr. Geffry Browne's letter to the duke of Ormond.

May it please your excellency,

WE came hither on Monday last, authorized by the lord deputy, together with the lord Taaffe, to proceed in the treaty with the duke of Lorrain: we have several packets to her majesty, and your excellency, from the lord deputy, wherein an account is given of the progress of that affair in Ireland, and of the state of the kingdom, as it stood when we parted, which was about the 18th of April. Those we keep in our hands, with resolution that some of us shall wait very soon on her majesty and your excellency with them at Paris, there to know her majesty's and your excellency's pleasures, concerning the affairs of that country, and the effects of those dispatches. Thus humbly taking leave, we remain,

Your excellency's

Brussels the 7th of
June, 1651.

most humble servants,

NICHOLAS PLUNKETT.
GEFFRY BROWNE.

A copy of Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Geffry Browne's letter to the duke of Ormond.

May it please your excellency,

HAVING by the last post written unto your lordship, that one of us would soon come to Paris to inform her majesty; and before we could find ourselves in a condition of health, after a voyage of five weeks at sea, to undergo that journey, his royal highness the duke of York going from these parts, the lord Taaffe doth attend his highness thither, and hath with him three packets out of Ireland to your excellency, two from the lord-deputy, and one from Mr. Bellings; he hath also copies of the proceedings past in Ireland, between the lord deputy and the duke of Lorrain's ambassador: as also a paper, importing the present distressed condition of that country. His lordship best knoweth what past here, and will inform your excellency thereof at large, so as your lordship can want nothing of the full knowledge of those affairs, that may give your lordship light, what is best to be resolved on, in order to the preservation of Ireland, and of his majesty's interest therein, which is like to be entirely in the rebels power very soon, if by this, or by some other present and prevalent way, powerful relief be not hastened thither. Thus humbly taking leave, we remain

Your excellency's

Brussels, the 19th of
June, 1651.

most humble servants,

NICHOLAS PLUNKETT.
GEFFRY BROWNE.

A copy

A copy of Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Geffry Browne's letter to the duke of York.

May it please your excellency,

UNTIL this day we have not heard of your highness being at Antwerp ; and being not able of the sudden, after a long and tedious journey, to kiss your highness's hands, we sent such dispatches as we had for your highness from Ireland, by the lord Taaffe, who is pleased to take that pains, and will inform your highness of the state and condition of that distressed country, and what his lordship and we have in command to solicit for the relief of it, and so we humbly take leave to remain,

Your highness's

Brussels, the 15th of
June, 1651.

most humble servants,

NICHOLAS PLUNKETT.
GEFFRY BROWNE.

A copy of Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Geffry Browne's letter to the queen.

May it please your Majesty,

THE lord Taaffe will present unto your majesty the lord deputy's letters, and what his lordship and we have in command to inform your majesty concerning the affairs of Ireland. We wanted not a desire to accompany his lordship to kiss your majesty's hand, but that after our long voyage, and being in some indisposition of health, we could not possibly answer this present opportunity of attending his highness royal the duke of York in his journey thither. But the lord Taaffe being better acquainted with the proceedings here than we, goeth also fully intrusted with what past in Ireland, concerning the treaty with the duke of Lorrain, and the present state of his majesty's affairs there. And when your majesty shall understand the desperate state and condition of that kingdom, we doubt not you will look upon it with a feeling sense, and use all expedition to procure relief, for the preservation of what remains of his majesty's interests, which otherwise is like to be very soon in the rebels power. So we humbly take leave to remain,

Your Majesty's

Brussels, the 19th of
June, 1651.

most humble and most obedient

NICHOLAS PLUNKETT.
GEFFRY BROWNE.

A copy of the queen's letter to Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Geffry Browne.

Henriette Marie, R.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well : We have received yours of the 19th of June, by the lord Taaffe ; and also having understood from him more particularly the state of Ireland, and the propositions now on foot for the support of those affairs : we shall assure you, that nothing shall be wanting on our part to procure those supplies, which the condition of things there renders

renders so necessary; and we pray God they may be so hastened, and be of such consideration, as that the present exigents of that kingdom may be relieved: which none can more desire than we do, nor esteem more important to the good of the king's affairs. We have intreated my lord Taaffe to give you a more particular account of our sense, and of all that hath passed in this matter since his being here. Remitting you to him, we pray God to prosper your endeavours, and to have you in his protection.

From Paris, July 1, 1651.

A copy of his majesty's letter to the lord Taaffe.

My lord Taaffe,

HAVING no cypher with you, it is impossible to give you such directions by a letter as the business you come for requires. I have therefore given Rantiford (who will deliver you this) the fullest and most particular instructions I can to communicate unto you, and do therefore desire you to give full credit to what he shall deliver you from me. The ways here for my affairs in Ireland being obstructed, I have heretofore intreated the queen to take that care upon her; and if therefore she shall direct you in any thing, you may safely follow her advice and direction, and have my consent to it. I hope the distractions I found here being now composed, the difficulties I was in will also be overcome so well, as neither the catholicks, nor the rest of my friends, will be discouraged from my service hereafter, nor be diverted from the ways they were in to it; and that I shall shortly have the means and power in my own hands to let them know it. You may perceive by this general and imperfect answer, how necessary yours, and the rest of my friends, constancy to my interest and service is. I shall make as little doubt of it in you and them, as I desire you should of the just sense I have of that affection and loyalty I have always found in you: for which you may expect such returns from me, whensoever it shall be in my power, as will justify me.

St. Johnston,
Jan. 21st.

Your very affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

A copy of the duke of Ormond's letter to the lord Taaffe.

My lord,

I Had given you an answer to your letter of the 24th of February, the same day I received it, but that I supposed this post-day would have given me some further knowledge of that particular, wherein my lord of Inchiquin undertook to speak with the duke of York; but missing that, I have nothing to advise in that point; the fitness of making the overture being past consideration, and the business being placed where it cannot want those deliberations requisite in a matter of such importance: only this, out of the friendship you justly presume from me, I advise, that if any thing be done in it, you lose no further time in freely acquainting the queen with the part you have had in it, and the motives inducing you to it, which will come better from yourself than any other that may inform her of it. I may almost say the same thing touching the business of Ireland and the duke of Lorrain, wherein (for aught appearing to me) there is nothing done that were to be wished undone; and for what remains to produce new and further supplies, is left to the agreement that shall be made with his agent by my lord of Clanricarde, assisted by such as the late general assembly have appointed; who as they are best judges of their own condition, so they

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have

have free liberty from his majesty, in case of high necessity, to endeavour their own preservation, even by receiving conditions from the rebels; which must be much more contrary to his interest, than to receive helps from any other to resist them, almost upon any terms. Besides, you have in this made your application where the king hath commanded you, and so without new commands you are fairly quit of the matter, and our friends in Ireland are five thousand pounds before-hand with his highness. I remain,

Your lordship's

Caen, March

31, 1651.

affectionate humble servant,

ORMOND.

Articles of agreement, concluded upon between his royal highness Charles the fourth, by the grace of God, duke of Lorrain, &c. and Theobald lord viscount Taaffe, Nicholas Plunkett, knight, and Geffry Browne, esq; deputies, authorised on the behalf of the kingdom and people of Ireland.

I. **H**IS highness the duke of Lorrain shall be chosen, taken, and esteemed, the true and royal protector of Ireland (and this to pass to his heirs and successors) by this title, all power and authority of administering the kingdom, and all other things duly belonging to a royal protector, being conferred upon him, according to the conditions particularly to be declared in the ensuing articles.

II. And first of all, whereas in the treaty the cause of religion is chiefly concerned, it seemed fit to the agreeers to begin the whole business, from imploring his holiness's benediction and fatherly help; which help, as they hope, shall not be wanting unto them, neither in spiritual nor temporal ways; so they protest themselves most constantly to remain in the perpetual obedience and faith of the apostolick see and his holiness's.

III. And whereas to the reasons of his highness's taking upon him of this protection, that at length was added, that he should join his help in prosecuting by war the enemies of the king of Great Britain, and assist him as much as in him lieth; it is so far from his intention to take any thing from royal right in the said kingdom of Ireland, that he rather declares himself ready, after having restored religion and the kingdom to their right state, to resign all his authority into his majesty's hands, being first reimbursed of all his charges expended in that business.

IV. That those ends may be compassed, the obedience and fealty of the aforesaid people and kingdom is to be given to his highness, free from the superiority of any other; as his highness on his part will not be wanting to expel from thence hereticks of religion, and rebels to the king, as also to recover and defend the interests of the faithful subjects of this kingdom.

V. The chief command of the army in the same kingdom, both at present and in future, the raising of men, and all other things, in order to the management of the war, shall be directed to his highness's sole person and appointment, or of any other, professing catholick religion, whom in his absence he will be pleased, at his own choice, to substitute in his place, secluding all other who-soever.

VI. Also it is fore-thought and provided on both sides, that his highness shall not bring in any novelties to the kingdom, cities, and places entrusted to him by way of caution, contrary to the securities, privileges, immunities, properties, goods, possessions, estates, or in any way to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, but shall preserve the fruition of all these entire and whole to the faithful

faithful subjects of this kingdom: reserving notwithstanding to himself the power of remedying any thing that may hereafter happen to the prejudice of the commonwealth.

VII. As for the administration of justice, and other civil affairs, that likewise is agreed upon, that without any innovation all is to proceed according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and the form of civil government, instituted by his majesty, the governor, or assembly.

VIII. The manner of holding assemblies shall be the same that formerly hath been, unless, through complaints raised against the government, or other urgent occasions, some extraordinary thing must be done; in which cases, according to the antient rights and privileges of the kingdom, the calling of the said assembly shall be in the power or choice of his highness.

IX. After that God shall be pleased to grant the wished success in this kingdom to religion, and his highness's arms, if the assembly shall think fit to send aid to his majesty, against his rebellious enemies in his other kingdoms, his highness without delay will fix his mind on that result.

X. But if haply, through urgent necessity of his affairs, he may be forced to defer his own going into Ireland, it shall be in his choice and pleasure to substitute in his place some man of catholick devotion, and able to undergo such a charge, independent of any whosoever; who also, if his highness will be so pleased, shall be received to the participation of all the councils concerning either the state, or civil government, in equal right with the rest of the counsellors legally constituted.

XI. The cities, castles, and possessions to be recovered from the enemy, shall return to their right owners, constantly persisting on the catholick party under his highness command; in whose power it shall be to garrison the said and other forts, and places of strength, at his pleasure, as he shall judge it expedient for the nation's and his own security. Which garrisons, and the rest of the forces, nay all the army, shall receive their pay, both out of the kingdom's revenues as far as they will go, and as a supply out of his highness's own treasury, caution being given for the repayment of these monies, as also of the charges which have and shall be expended to the like uses: but enemies and condemned persons goods shall be disposed towards the said expences of the war, or to the reward of such as behaved themselves stoutly for religion and the kingdom, as to his highness shall be thought just, the general assembly being first consulted thereupon.

XII. Besides the twenty thousand pounds English, already laid out for the use of the kingdom, his highness will give such sums of money, and such plenty of arms, shipping, ammunition, and warlike provision and victualling, as shall not be above his ability, nor beneath the necessity of continuing the war, and recovering the kingdom.

XIII. For the re-payment of all which money, as well principal as the yearly profit thereof reduced to a whole sum, the whole nation of Ireland shall stand bound to his highness even to the last payment. And for caution for the same, the undernamed cities, viz. Galway, Limerick, Sligo, Athlone, with the castle and the royal fort of Duncannon, if it shall be recovered from the enemy, shall remain consigned to the hands and possession of his highness, his heirs, and successors, until full and entire satisfaction be made, as is above expressed. Moreover this on both sides is agreed upon, that the aforesaid cities, forts, and castles, according to their duty to his highness, his heirs, and successors, shall not, upon any pretence whatsoever, deny to admit the garrisons to be sent by them when need requires; and shall, by virtue of this present treaty, yield them all prompt obedience. And when the collections are to be made for payment to his highness of that money, as well principal as yearly profit reduced to a sum, the taxes and cuttings shall be made upon the goods and substances of private men; and that

that to be distributed, according to every man's share in equal proportion, and to be qualified by the general assembly's direction.

XIV. And the aforementioned deputies and his highness will agree upon some certain way, whereby a true and exact account may be made of the charges which he shall be at for the good of the kingdom, by appointing certain persons to that task, to be notwithstanding altered by the general assembly, if so they please.

Lastly, that neither his highness shall conclude any thing of truce, cessation of arms, or peace, without the consent of the deputy and assembly; nor likewise the deputy and assembly without his.

In witness whereof, his highness the said duke of Lorrain hath set his hand and seal, July 2, the year of our salvation 1651.

CH. LORRAIN.

Locus Sigilli.

A. GEOFFRY, S.

A copy of the duke of Lorrain's letter to me, the 10th of September. Received the 12th of October, 1651; translated out of French.

SIR,

THE stay which the gentleman, abbot of St. Catherine, hath made with you, and his long navigation by the northern sea, having brought much delay, as well to his return as to the disposal of affairs here; I could not sooner dispatch unto you than this galliot, by which Mr. Plunkett and Mr. Browne (your deputies) have in charge more at large to give you to understand the conclusion of the treaty, which I have made with them, to the greatest advantages that one could desire, for the good of the catholick religion, the service of the king, and re-establishment of the kingdom; which are the only ends that I have proposed to myself. Moreover, the satisfaction which the queen and duke of York have shewn unto me, shall, as I hope, be followed by that of all good people, the fidelity of whom hath hitherto appeared without reproach, in a time when it seems they had no other recourse but to themselves. I do believe they will now continue to make it good, being (as they are) invited thereunto by the part which I have taken in their preservation, preferring it to that of my own dominion, and the urgent necessities of my affairs; touching which, and the assistance which I am with all care and diligence possible preparing, I beseech you to make known to the good and faithful subjects of the kingdom: and in your own particular, to take all assurance of the esteem which I make of your person, and the desire which remains with me on all occasions to acknowledge its merit, where I may make myself known.

SIR,

From Brussels, September

20, 1651.

your affectionate friend,

to serve you.

A copy of my letter to sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Geffry Browne, the 20th of October, 1651; sent directly to Brussels.

SIRS,

YOUR dispatch of the 14th of September came into my hands the 7th of this present; by which, and the papers that accompanied it, nothing seems more manifest to me, than that you have in a high measure violated the trust I reposed in you in his majesty's behalf. But lest I might be charged with the retarding of those supplies you mentioned are intended for the relief of

of this kingdom, I am sending my conceptions upon the whole matter, with my dispatches, to the duke of Lorrain, by the way of France, to those that are the most knowing and proper judges of your carriage and proceedings, and the consequences belonging to them; and should be glad there might something appear to justify the continuance of expressing myself,

At Aghnenure, the 20th
of October, 1651.

Your affectionate friend,

CLANRICARDE.

A copy of my letter to sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Geffry Browne, Oct. 20,
1651, sent into France.

SIRS,

YOUR joint dispatch of the 24th of September, I received the 7th of this present, together with a paper styled by you an agreement with the duke of Lorrain, and the copies of some letters which you affirm to be from his majesty, from the queen, and the duke of Ormond; and produce them as motives, or rather satisfactions to you to conclude that agreement, with what relations you had received from my lord Taaffe. Upon the first view of that paper, it appeared by the title, that it had no relation to my commission or instructions, by which you had authority to treat with the duke of Lorrain, nor from any other authority derived from his majesty; but done and concluded in the name of the kingdom and people of Ireland, from whom you had not, nor could have, such powers to treat at all with any foreign prince, they professing obedience, and being under the government of the king's authority; so that I conceive the most you can pretend to for your defence in the highest breach of trust imaginable, and which is rather an aggravation to it, can be no more than a private underhand instrument, contrived and signed by some few turbulent and seditious persons, and privately conveyed over by others, with whom it seems you have now consorted yourselves. Upon view of the articles that followed, I found them of such a transcendent nature, opposite to and inconsistent with the king's authority, or the duty of subjects, and such an unexampled confiscation of all the king's regal rights, and interests in this kingdom, and so strange a subversion of the natives loyalty, freedom and birth-rights, and by evident consequences such an engagement of them into a perpetuity of war, and present rents and divisions, without any certain provisions made for their support, that nothing could be of greater admiration to me. The title and matter being of this nature, I find by sure intelligence, that it was not known at Paris in the beginning of September last, though my lord Taaffe was then there; nor after at Brussels by any, but by those that managed that affair in the dark, though concluded in July; and that, as the contract doth manifestly discover, was concluded, and since kept close from the knowledge of the queen or the duke of Ormond, though pretended by you, and craftily insinuated in your letters to several persons here, to cover your own miscarriage: neither, until convinced by evident proofs, can I imagine, that my lord Taaffe, from whom you derive your satisfaction, and is so far obliged to his majesty, could have a hand in such a dark design; or if he had any tincture to change the colour, would thus long conceal it from me, being of so great and general a consequence and concernment to his majesty and the kingdom. I forbear, until I have a more entire knowledge of the whole matter, out of the duty, reverence, and respects I bear to the names of the queen's majesty and duke of Ormond, (though certainly prophaned by you) to publish such proclamations

This letter lay long in my hands for want of a safe conveyance, but upon the arrival of it in France, was sent to them by his majesty's direction.

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against

against you. as are proper and suitable to such crimes; but they are not long to be delayed, unless there doth appear positive commands in his majesty's name from the queen and the duke of Ormond, after their knowledge of the bargain you have made, that I am to leave you to your own ways and proceedings, and to withdraw his authority out of this kingdom: but the respect I bear to princes that profess amity to his majesty, obliges me in the mean time to give the duke of Lorrain notice of your miscarriages, even in relation to himself, that he may not be further abused by such practices; and yet, by the endeavours I shall use, and the clearness of my actions and proposals, invite, and I hope gain him to be a sure and powerful assistant to Ireland, and his majesty's interest in it. I have no more to say, but that nothing can be a greater affliction to me than breach of friendship, and that according to my duty, and the usual custom at such distance, I am to style myself,

Aghnenure, October
20, 1651.

Your servant,

CLANRICARDE.

A copy of my letter to the duke of Lorrain, Oct. 20, 1651; sent into France.

May it please your highness,

I HAD the honour, on the 12th of this present, to receive a letter from your highness dated the 10th of September, wherein you are pleased to express your zeal for the advancement of the catholick religion in this kingdom, your great affections to the king my master, and your good opinion of this nation, and compassion of their sufferings, and your readiness to afford them aid and assistance, even equal with your own nearest concernments; and that your highness received such satisfaction from the queen and duke of York, as did much strengthen those resolutions; so as they might have sooner appeared, but for the stay made here of monsieur St. Catharine, and his long northern voyage upon his return; and referred what concerned the agreement, to the relation of those commissioners I had employed to your highness, to treat upon that subject of assistance and relief for this kingdom. I do, with much alacrity, congratulate and applaud your highness's pious intentions for the preservation of the catholick religion, your great and princely care to recover his majesty's rights and interests from his rebel subjects of England, and the high obligation you put upon this nation by your tender regard of them, and desire to redeem them from the great miseries and afflictions they have endured, and the eminent danger they are in: and it shall be a principal part of my ambition, to be an useful instrument to serve your highness in so famous and glorious an enterprize. And that I may be the more capable to contribute somewhat to such religious and just ends, first in discharge of my conscience towards God, my duty to the king my master, and to disabuse your highness, and give a clear and perfect information so far as comes to my knowledge; I am obliged to represent unto your highness, that by the title of that agreement, and the articles therein contained, made by those commissioners I employed to your highness, and but lately come to my hands; they violated the trusts reposed in them, by having cast off and declined the commission and instructions they had from me, in the king my master's behalf, and all other powers that could by any other means be derived from him, and pretend to make an agreement with your highness in the name of the kingdom, and people of Ireland, for which they had not, nor could have any warrantable authority; and have abused your highness by the counterfeit shew of a private instrument, fraudulently procured, and signed (as I am informed) by some inconsiderable factious persons, ill-affected to his majesty's authority, without any consent or knowledge of the generality of the nation,

nation, or the persons of greatest quality and interest therein; and who, under a seeming zeal and pretence of service and affection to your highness, labour more to satisfy their private ambitions, than the advantage of religion or nation, or the prosperous success of your highness's generous undertakings. And to manifest the clearness of my own proceedings, and to make such deceitful practices the more apparent, I have sent your highness herewith an authentick copy of my instructions, which accompanied their commission when I employed them to your highness, as sufficient evidences to convict them. And having thus fully manifested their breach of publick trust, I am obliged in the king my master's name to protest against their unwarrantable proceedings, and to declare all agreements and acts whatsoever concluded by those commissioners to be void and illegal; being not derived from nor consonant with his majesty's authority. Being in duty obliged thus far to vindicate the king my master's honour and authority, and to preserve his just and undoubted rights from such deceitful and rebellious practices; as likewise with an humble and respective care to prevent those prejudices that might befall your highness, in being deluded by counterfeit shews of doing you the greater honour; when it is apparent that any undertakings laid upon such false and ill-grounded principles, as have been smoothly disguised and fixed upon the nation, as their desire and request, must overthrow all those heroick and princely acts, your highness hath proposed to yourself for God's glory and service; the restoration of oppressed majesty, and the relief of this distracted kingdom, which would immediately fall at least into intestine broils and divisions, if not forcibly driven into desperation. I shall now with a hopeful and chearful importunity, upon a clear score, free from those deceits, propose unto your highness, that for the advancement of all those great ends you aim at, and in the king my master's behalf, and in the name of all the loyal catholick subjects of this nation, and for the preservation of those important cautionary places, that are security for your highness's past and present disbursements, you will be pleased to quicken and hasten those aids and assistances you intended for the relief of Ireland: and I shall with my whole power, and through the greatest hazards, not only strive to defend them for you, and preserve all other ports, that may be at all times of advantage and safeguard to your fleets and men of war, having yet many good harbours left; but also engage in the king my master's name, whatsoever may prove to your satisfaction, that is any ways consistent with his honour and authority; and have made my humble applications to the queen's majesty, and the duke of Ormond, further to agree, confirm and secure whatsoever may be of most advantage to your highness. And if the last galliot had brought us but twenty thousand pounds for this instant time, it would have contributed more to the recovery of this kingdom, than far greater sums delayed; by enabling our forces to meet together for the relief of Limerick, which cannot be but in great distress after so long a siege; and, which if lost, though I shall endeavour to prevent it, will cost much treasure to be regained. And if your highness shall be pleased to go on chearfully, freely, and seasonably with this great work, I make no question, but God will give so great a blessing thereunto, as that myself and all loyal subjects of this kingdom may soon and justly proclaim, and leave recorded to posterity, that your highness was the great and glorious restorer of our religion, monarch, and nation. And that your highness may not be discouraged or diverted from this generous enterprize, by the malice or invectives of any ill affected, it is a necessary duty in me to present unto your highness, that the bishop of Fernes, who (as I am informed) hath gained some interest in your favour, is a person that hath been ever violent against and malicious to his majesty's government and authority, and a fatal instrument in contriving and fomenting all those divisions and differences that have rent asunder this kingdom, the introduction to our present misery and weak condition; and that your highness may clearly know his disposition, I send herewith

MEMOIRS and LETTERS of

with a copy of part of a letter written by him, directed to the lord Taaffe, fir Nicholas Plunkett, and mr. Geffry Browne; and humbly submit to your judgment, whether those expressions be agreeable to the temper and charity of an apostolical spirit; and considering whose person and authority I represent, what ought to be the reward for such a crime. I must therefore desire your highness, in the king my master's behalf, that he may not be countenanced or intrusted in any affairs, that have relation to his majesty in this kingdom; where I shall constantly endeavour by all possible service to deserve your highness's good opinion: and obtaining that favour, be a most faithful acknowledger of it in the capacity, and under the title of,

Aghnenure, Oct. 20,
1651.

Your highness's

most humble, and

obliged servant,

CLANRICARDE.

A copy of my letter to the duke of Ormond, October 22, 1651.

May it please your excellency,

THough your continued silence, and unexpected reservedness, ever since your departure from hence, hath been an infinite distraction to me; being left (in obedience to your commands, at least so understood by me) engaged in very many desperate hazards, and difficult affairs; yet I have received such great encouragement by his majesty's gracious favours, conveyed to me by mr. doctor King; vouchsafing to own me in that capacity I adventured to serve him in, and expressing some advantages gained thereby, useful to his service, by the diversions made here, upon his first springing successes in Scotland; that I have resolved through all difficulties (unless recalled) to make further trials of keeping some footing here, and preserving the small remainder of the honest and well affected, until the beginning of the new-year may make some better and clearer discoveries of what we are to trust to, or may further be acted in order to his service. And now, in discharge of my accustomed duty to your excellency's place and authority, and my constant affection to your person; though in appearance no addresses of mine have proved acceptable, or at all countenanced by you, in relation to the affairs of this kingdom; I now presume to send you all the papers that belong to the transactions of the treaty and pretended agreement made with the duke of Lorrain, and insinuated to be by the encouragement and connivance received from the queen's majesty and your excellency, and given out by others by approbation and command; which both the title and matter, and my receiving no intimation thereof, makes very incredible to me; though a copy of a letter to my lord Taaffe, affirmed to come from your excellency, doth very much puzzle me. I likewise send you all that I think fit or necessary for me to act therein, until better informed or authorised for it; and so do humbly leave it to the consideration of the queen's majesty, and your excellency, to proceed or give a stop to what I have done therein; being guided by the best rules I have learnt of loyalty and honesty, if not suitable to a judgment of state, which in matters of so high concernment, I must acknowledge, goes far above my reach. The papers speak so full and clearly to the point, that there needs little further expressions of mine to be added to them, more than that having little expectation of any considerable aids from the duke of Lorrain, upon any score that appears to me suitable to his majesty's honour and interests, or the loyalty of his subjects; it will be necessary, that some other way of support should be seasonably considered of, or if the
people

people are to be left in that manner for to preserve themselves, as I had reason to believe myself sooner capable of that favour, so I must now make it my earnest suit, that I may receive that assurance from the queen's majesty, and your excellency, and your commands, to withdraw the king's authority from hence, for my justification: for unless compelled by such a necessity, I know not how I can quit the king's interest here, and the people's preservation, as long as there is any hopes left of giving opposition to the enemy; which certainly had been far from being desperate, if all the strict ties of duty and obedience, given by those commissioners to the duke of Lorrain, had produced but twenty thousand pounds in present, to have drawn and kept our forces together, more numerous than the enemy, and in a much fresher condition; of which your excellency shall have a more particular account a-part.

Aghnenure, Oct. 22,

1651.

Your excellency's

most faithful humble servant,

CLANRICARDE.

A copy of my letter to the queen's majesty, October 22, 1651.

MADAM,

HAVING presumed to make several addresses to your majesty, since the duke of Ormond's departure out of the kingdom, giving your majesty the best account I was able, of the state and condition of the king's affairs here, with an humble expectation to have been made happy by your majesty's commands and instructions, to guide my actions and endeavours in these times of general distraction and difficulty; it hath been my great misfortune, that I could never receive the least notice from any of your majesty's servants, that my dispatches had the honour to kiss your hands, nor no intimation of your pleasure in any kind. The meanness of the object, in relation to myself, I must acknowledge unworthy the least trouble of your thoughts; but by the capacity wherein his majesty hath vouchsafed to own me, and the consequences that belong to the right guidance of his service and affairs in these parts, I am invited to the presumption of continued applications to your majesty, that I may be strengthened and encouraged, by the powerful effects of your majesty's royal judgment and commands. And in order to those humble expectations, I have, by the information and conveyance of his excellency the duke of Ormond, given your majesty a clear account of all the Lorrain transactions, as far as they came within the compass of my knowledge, or power of enquiring; together with my humble conceptions and proceedings thereupon, proportionable to that dim light allowed me in matters of such high concernment: and according to the discovery I could make, nothing doth appear, that your majesty or the duke of Ormond were at all acquainted with the conclusive part thereof, but rather the contrary, by those circumstances I could collect, upon observance of the whole matter. And if I have fallen into error or mistake, I humbly conceive as I have been careful in the contrivance and application to your majesty and the duke of Ormond; that I may be liable to correction, and capable to have my judgment rectified, without prejudice to those affairs by any act or indiscretion of mine. And craving your majesty's pardon for the length of this confused account, do most humbly conclude myself,

MADAM,

Your majesty's

Aghnenure, Oct. 22,

1651.

most humble, faithful,

and obedient servant,

CLANRICARDE.

[.M]

A copy

A copy of the duke of Lorrain's letter to the corporation of Galway, dated
Sept. 10, 1651. Translated out of French.

Honoured Sirs,

OF the agreement made between me, and the agents of that kingdom, I leave to them to inform you more particularly, of which they have taken the charge. I do not think that they will omit how unchangeable and constant I am, notwithstanding the ill rumours of your affairs, and the great and urgent necessity of my own. I chose to prefer your good, before all private and publick occasion of my own; as well as I confide that you, to the utmost, will remain constant in your intent to defend your religion and country, to a high great hope of your fortitude. Bear in mind, that the success of the enemies is hitherto permitted by the providence of God, to the end to reserve the chief glory of vindicating the kingdom and religion to you, and the Limerikians: as they have performed their part most nobly, I doubt not but when the occasion of promoting the cause is offered, you also will perform and shew the like examples of constancy with happy emulation. In the mean time, lest the delay of supply, which proceeded of the slow return of the abbot of St. Catharine, should put you in any doubt of my mind, while with all care and diligence I seek to provide and send those supplies, I thought fit to hasten the sending thither of this barque, by which I might assure your hope of me, and shew my hope of you.

Most worthy people,

Brussels, Sept.
10, 1651.

your most affectionate,

CHARLES, LORRAIN.

A copy of the mayor and council of Galway's letter to the duke of Lorrain,
October 15, 1651. Translated into English out of Latin.

To his highness the duke of Lorrain, protector royal of Ireland.

BEfore we were informed of the agreements lately made, we despaired not to be seasonably relieved by your highness's peculiar help and favour; but now being ascertained by the articles of the transaction, we do most assuredly promise unto ourselves greater and more present remedies unto our bleeding affairs; for there can be no room left unto a doubting, when we have the faith of so great a prince freely given unto us, and voluntarily bound with most firm caution of his unmoved constancy, zeal, and piety. Moreover, our hopes were the more inflamed by your highness's honourable letters unto us; which, albeit we are unworthy to answer (for what thankfulness can be returned by us, proportionable unto the significations of so singular good will, but a certain silent awe and reverence unto a prince raised up by heaven) we do yet for our parts freely profess, that we are most ready to undergo death itself, and all extremities, rather than we will be wanting unto your highness's hopes, and the defence of our country; although the glory of that is entirely left to be most justly possessed by your highness, whom the providence of God (matters of religion and the kingdom being ready to sink) by the divine impulsion of his own working, hath mercifully pleased, as it were an atlas to support the heavens, that that praise which your ancestors, above mankind, obtained in the east, you their offspring should most happily enlarge in the occidental kingdoms. But lest that those rumours dispersed abroad by the hereticks should find belief, we thought fit to
dispatch,

dispatch, with these our letters, our faithful and well-beloved Nicholas Lynch, esq; one of our council, particularly to inform your highness of our own and the city of Limerick's condition, and to represent the necessity of aids. In the mean time we most humbly kiss your highness's hands :

Galway, October
15, 1651.

Your highness's

most devoted servants.

A copy of my letter to the mayor, council, and corporation of Galway.
October 15, 1651.

After our hearty commendations: We send you here inclosed an authentic copy of the articles of agreement, made with his highness the duke of Lorrain, by the lord viscount Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Geffry Browne, esq; verbatim, as it was transmitted unto us by the said Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Geffry Browne, who, together with the lord viscount Taaffe, had our commission to treat and conclude with his said highness, according to certain instructions sent therewith. Now upon perusal of the said agreement, we find by the title of it, that it was not concluded by virtue of our commission, but in the name of the kingdom and people of Ireland; which being a matter new, and altogether unknown to us, we have thought fit to impart the same unto you; Limerick, and that corporation, being two of the principal ports of the kingdom, and the only considerable places left, either now, or when the said commissioners were employed over by us, which remained in obedience to his majesty's authority; that you may give us information, whether those commissioners had any powers from that corporation to treat and conclude with the duke of Lorrain, in their own or the kingdom's behalf. We would likewise have sent to the same effect to the city of Limerick, but that we are very apprehensive, that the smallness of the present supply, the uncertainty of future supplies (for any thing mentioned in that agreement) with the want of free communication thereupon, by reason of the close siege that is laid unto them, they might be discouraged, and thereby induced to enter into treaties of submission to the enemy, which is our principal care to avoid and prevent. And having thus freely imparted that transaction to you, which speaks the whole matter itself, we need say no more, than to desire your speedy answer, whether you were actors apart from us therein: and so we bid you farewell, &c.

The mayor of Galway, the 15th of October, 1651.

May it please your excellency,

THIS corporation, reflecting on their own present sad condition, and of the danger wherein the city of Limerick stands, have thought fit to authorize me, and the council, to send to his highness an agent; to represent to him, in its own lively colour, their present condition, rather than to trust the same to paper, to implore his present and speedy relief to these corporations, and the kingdom in general. The person they fixed upon is Mr. Nicholas Lynch. Of this election and mission, I conceive it my duty to give your excellency timely notice, to the end he may be seasonably accompanied with your excellency's more efficacious commands: and so I humbly take leave and remain,

Galway, October
15, 1651.

Your excellency's

most humble servant,

RICHARD KIRWAN, Mayor.

A copy

A copy of the mayor and council of Galway's letter concerning the agreement with the duke of Lorrain, October 18, 1651.

May it please your excellency,

WE have received a letter (not signed) dated the 15th of this month, come from your excellency, directed to the mayor and council, to be imparted to the corporation; but because it was not subscribed, we thought fit not to shew it to a confused multitude; the rather, that ourselves may fully satisfy your honour, concerning the chief contents thereof; which is, that we should inform your excellency whether Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Geffry Browne had any power from this corporation, to treat and conclude with the duke of Lorrain, in our own or the kingdom's behalf. And in the same letter was inclosed, a copy of the articles of agreement, passed between the said duke, and the lord Taaffe, and the said Sir Nicholas and Geffry; by the sending of which copy we conceive, that your excellency would also know our sense, touching the said agreement. In both which cases, we humbly give your honour to understand (in the first place) that this corporation hath not given any such power or commission (as above is mentioned) or any kind of power, to the said Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Geffry Browne, nor to any of them, but reposed special trust and confidence in their integrity and faithfulness to our king and country. And as for the agreement, we cannot but be satisfied and pleased with it, considering the case that we and the whole kingdom are in; and grieve much that a supply of money is not come in this frigate, that would procure service not to be omitted, yet we presume to be humble suitors unto your excellency, that if there be any thing missing of your expectation in those articles, or short of your great desires of higher conditions for the good of this kingdom, notwithstanding your excellency be pleased to wink at it, for fear of giving any occasion of breach, or non-performance of them, or of delaying the supplies to come; for which our boldness we humbly crave pardon, and remain,

Your excellency's

most humble and dutiful servants,

Galway, October
18, 1651.

RICHARD KIRWAN, Mayor.
VALENTINE BLAKE.
DOMINICKE BROWNE.
OLIVER FRENCH.
STEPHEN FRENCH.
THO. LYNCH FITZ AMBROSE.

JOHN BLAKE, Record.
THOMAS LYNCH, Vic.
PETER BROWNE, Dep. Vic.

A copy of my letter to the mayor and council of Galway, October 20, 1651.

After our hearty commendations: Yours of the 15th (with a copy of the duke of Lorrain's letter to you directed) giving us notice of the choice you had made of Mr. Nicholas Lynch to be employed to the duke, to solicit aids in your own, and the kingdom's behalf, came not to our hands until yesterday; and how it happened to be kept so long from us, we know not. Until we are informed upon what terms he is to solicit for those aids, we know not how to perfect our dispatches to the duke of Lorrain, and those commissioners we formerly employed; and if you continue those resolutions of sending him, we wonder

wonder he doth not repair unto us, for our information in that particular, and receive our dispatches and instructions; without which we have reason to expect he should not depart. Yours of the 18th we received this morning, whereby you assure us, that the corporation did not give any power or commission to those commissioners employed by us; which makes us much admire by what authority they pretended to make that agreement, since by the title we find, that they have waved our commission and instructions, and all authority from his majesty. And though all industry and diligence is to be used in procuring and hastening of assistance for our defence and preservation, and that we shall also be industrious to the same effect; yet we think fit, in matters of so high concernment to his majesty, yourselves, and your posterity, to admonish you to be very careful how you engage yourselves to any confirmation of the said agreement; which, to deal freely with you, we very much resent, both in the behalf of the king and kingdom, as will more fully appear in due time, when it shall not draw a prejudice upon our present expectations of relief. We have been further informed of an instrument, signed by several persons, giving powers to some others to treat with the duke of Lorrain, without our knowledge and consent. We therefore pray and require you, for our better information, to examine Sir Oliver French upon that matter, who is said to be one of those that signed, and to give us an account of what you find of concernment in that matter, and if you shall deal freely and clearly with us therein, we shall with much freedom impart our own proceedings upon this treaty, and the pretended agreement made, &c.

Dated at Aghnenure,
October 20, 1651.

CLANRICARDE.

A copy of the mayor and council of Galway's letter to me, October 22, 1651.

May it please your excellency,

YOUR excellency's letter of the 20th of this month, concerning Mr. Nicholas Lynch, yesterday at noon we received; and as for the delay used in the delivery of our letter, by which we signified the choice made of him by the corporation, truly we know not how it happened; neither did we at that time know which way the said Nicholas would take to go towards Inisboffine, that being left to his own discretion; but now, since the receipt of your lordship's letter, we learn, that finding a boat ready here, going to Inisboffine suddenly, he took his passage in that boat; and that the only cause of his taking that way was to avoid travelling through mountains, lest to be robbed of his cloaths, and what other things he had for his journey: and as for the subject of his employment, we assure your lordship, it was for no other end that we sent him, but in regard, we understood by his highness's letters, the aids and supplies we expected were retarded, by reason of some doubt conceived of the alteration of the state of this kingdom, for want of true intelligence. Therefore we thought fit, or rather necessary, to employ one, to inform his highness of the truth in that behalf, and to solicit the hastening away of those supplies; conceiving that the same being delivered viva voce, would move more than to be expressed in writing; and wished him first of all, upon his arrival there, to address himself to Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Geffry Browne, and to be advised and directed by them. By which your excellency may understand our intent to be clear, and tending to the general good of the kingdom; as by the copy of our letter herein inclosed, which is all the power we gave to our said agent, may appear. And as for the other part of that letter, concerning the proceeding of the agents, we assure your excellency, once again, that what we have written unto you concerning

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the same is most true; and do promise to contain ourselves from such state business, otherwise than wishing the good and advantage of his majesty, this town, and the whole kingdom. And as for Sir Oliver French, upon questioning him, according to your excellency's directions, he declared unto us, lord bishop of Clonfort, and some of the clergy came to him, and shewed him a letter written in Latin, signed by many of the prelates and clergy, setting forth the poor state of the kingdom, and desiring his highness's supply, and because it might be the more authentick to have a magistrate's hand thereunto, desired him to sign thereunto, which he hath accordingly done, not meaning any harm thereby. And so, humbly praying your excellency to dispatch away the frigate, expedition conducing much to the safety of the kingdom, we humbly take leave, and remain,

Your excellency's

most humble servants,

Galway, October
22, 1651.

RICHARD KIRWAN, Mayor.

VALENTINE BLAKE.

DOMINICKE BROWNE.

JOHN BLAKE.

THO. LYNCH FITZ AMBROSE.

PETER BROWNE, Dep. Vic.

STEPHEN FRENCH.

JAMES LYNCH FITZ STEPHEN.

A copy of my letter to the mayor and corporation of Galway, October 26, 1651; concerning the title of protector royal.

After our hearty commendations: We send you herein enclosed the copy of a letter, the original being signed by the mayor and council of that corporation, (as they affirmed in their letter to us of the 22d of this present) and directed to his highness the duke of Lorrain, under the title of protector royal of Ireland; and being much amazed at such a strange presumption, and weighing the ruin and misfortune that would thereby inevitably fall upon that corporation, to whom we have always borne a very great and particular affection: we thought fit to give you, the whole body of that corporation, this timely admonition, lest you might be unadvisedly and unawares surpris'd and drawn into an offence of so high a nature, and become liable to such punishments and forfeitures as are proportionable thereunto; that the giving and directing of any such title to a foreign prince, besides what is contained in the said letter, though the agreement reported to be concluded at Brussels were done by lawful authority, before it be allowed and proclaimed by the king's authority, together with the consent and vote of the general assembly of the kingdom, is an absolute forfeiture of your allegiance, and all your former charters, grants, privileges, and estates; so that whether the king recovers his right, the parliament continue their victories and successes, or the duke of Lorrain prevails, whosoever hath possession of your town, is free and at liberty to ordain and impose what laws and customs they please upon you, without any regard to your former charters or privileges. And this may be made so evidently appear unto you, by any that hath knowledge in the law, that we need say no more, than to leave you to the consideration of a seasonable remedy, and questioning of what hath been thus acted without making (as we conceive) that corporation acquainted therewith. And having thus discharged

charged our duty to his majesty, and expressed our tender care and regard of your preservation, we bid you, &c.

October 26, 1651.

A copy of my letter to the lord viscount Muskerry, October 10, 1651; concerning the Lorrain agreement abroad.

My lord,

BY the papers that accompany this, your lordship will find that I have taken a great deal of pains to give you a full and clear account of the Lorrain treaty, and what effects it hath produced; desiring very much to receive your lordship's opinion and advice thereupon, going beyond my skill to understand what remedies are to be applied to such a perpetual mischief, threatened and treacherously introduced. His majesty's letter to my lord Taaffe hath much kindness and judgment in it, and hath met with a strange requital, or I have very much erred in those rules of service I have been guided by. And for the duke of Ormond's letter, it was written when the king, by the enforcement of the covenant, had disavowed the peace, and taken away his protection, and was in the nature of a prisoner in Scotland; and before he had again avowed us, and settled and confirmed his government and authority in me and his lordship, not knowing then that I had accepted of the powers he left behind. The letter of the queen is upon generalities, and we must take all upon trust from my lord Taaffe, who was pre-engaged before in the business, and hath written nothing to give me satisfaction or encouragement to connive somewhat at so desperate an adventure. In a word, my lord, without authority we are betrayed, and bought, and sold, without assurance of any thing to support the kingdom, either in loyalty or rebellion; and your lordship's sense, to prescribe some timely remedy, is with much longing expected by me. That which I think of at present, though not come to a settled resolution is, when time is convenient for it, and what supplies may be had gotten in, to declare against the commissioners and their proceedings, and with much kindness and civility to disabuse the duke of Lorrain, and to offer him all the engagements and cautions for securing his monies, that can be any ways consistent with the king's authority; and to let him know the danger and prejudice he will draw upon himself the other way: neither the king nor kingdom being bound by any thing that they have acted; having, as you will find by the title, waved the authority they had from me, and had no other from the nation, but a private instrument carried by the bishop of Fernes, signed by some few bishops, and other uninterested persons. I have appointed the continuation of the general assembly to be at James-town, the sixth of the next month, and letters to that effect are now sent your lordship for the province of Munster; and your lordship is not to neglect being there if possible you can, or at least some settled resolution from you. For, at that time I am resolved to open the whole business to the assembly, and to know whether they are for the joint treachery of all the Lorrain commissioners, or for the particular of Geffry Browne; or whether they will join with me for the support and continuance of his majesty's authority: and most of the whole matter depends upon the king's success, and footing in England. To conclude, that which most amazes me is, not receiving one syllable from the duke of Ormond since his departure, nor any thing from the queen or duke of York, concerning the Lorrain transaction; but whatsoever happens, I shall still be honest, and constantly

Aghnenure, Oct. 10,
1651.

Your lordship's

most affectionate humble servant,

CLANRICARDE.

A copy

Mr. Geffrey Browne, by a letter of the 24th of Sept. to me, coming along with the articles of agreement, persuaded me to take conditions from the enemy, both for the kingdom and myself.

N. B. This marginal observation, written, as all the rest are, in the marquis of Clanricarde his own hand, has a piece of paper pasted over it, in the MSS.

A copy of my letter to the bishop of Dramore, Oct. 8, 1651.

My lord,

Both of them
seemed suspi-
cious and
doubtful of
the duke of
Lorrain's
proceedings
and assist-
ance; which
they might
have better
provided for,
before they
made so bold
a bargain.

I Shall add little more to my lord Westmeath's dispatch, than this unpleasant story; that I very much doubt, the agents I employed for the Lorrain treaty have very unhandsonely broken, and highly transgressed the trusts I reposed in them. And though very bold adventurers in concluding that transaction, yet I find they are now grown very timorous and fearful of the success or benefit of their bargain: in a word, I am confident it will appear to the most considerate of the assembly, which I am calling at James-town the 6th of November, that with a premeditated resolution from the beginning, through some private workings, they have sold upon the matter the king's rights and interests, and the people's loyalty and freedoms in the kingdom, for nothing, or upon very small assurance of any reasonable support of their safety, even in that infamous way, and so delayed as must in all probability have come too late. But I must intreat your lordship to be very secret in this business, lest it might divert the supplies that are ready to come to us. And though it appears to me as yet to be very ill-spun-yarn on their parts, yet I may be somewhat mistaken; and however, am hopeful so to cast a figure, as to redeem the king's honour and interest, as far as it is concerned therein; and make the matter of good use and advantage to the kingdom, and preserve the duke of Lorrain fit security and satisfaction, if his majesty continue any good footing in England, as my lord of Muskerry by letters this night doth assure us of, notwithstanding some loss at Worcester. But if I fail of my design, I must then leave to their destiny those that will not be preserved by any industry of

Your lordship's

very affectionate

Aghnecure, Oct. 8,
1651.

humble servant,

CLANRICARDE.

A copy of my letter to the bishop of Dramore, Oct. 16, 1651.

My lord,

IN pursuance of the former discourse, I briefly touched upon in my dispatch of the 8th of this present, I hold it necessary to send your lordship here inclosed, a copy of a part of a letter of the bishop of Fernes, directed to the lord Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Mr. Geffry Browne, as commissioners employed and authorized by me; together with the copy of another paper, by them intituled, an agreement with the duke of Lorrain, that by those you may observe the efficacy of that prelate's powerful spirit, in persuading and prevailing with the commissioners to break and betray the trusts I reposed in them, in his majesty's behalf, and as far as my judgment and observation can reach, selling, or rather confiscating, the king's regal rights and interests in this kingdom, and the nation's loyalty, freedom, and birthrights, without any authority, or certain provision made in any proportion to support them, either in obedience or rebellion, and yet by an evident consequence engaging them in a perpetuity of war, and questionless into a present fatal rent and division. If upon the meeting of the assembly, it shall be found, that I cannot be any further useful to the preservation of the kingdom, and shall incline to retire myself (which is not yet any settled resolution in me, but rather the contrary, if men can be drawn

the Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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drawn unanimously to understand themselves, and act their parts, so as may give most probability of safety and success, which I shall both by reason and fit preparations endeavour to persuade them to) I do however expect, in which of these courses I shall steer, your lordship, and other reverend prelates and churchmen, will do me that right, as to give testimony what authority I had for those proceedings I am so highly traduced for, and what rules and principles in religion hath still tempered and guided the disposition and conscience of

Your lordship's

very affectionate

Aghnenure, Oct. 16,
1651.

humble servant,

CLANRICARDE.

I writ the like letter, at the same time, to the lord archbishop of Tuam.

A copy of my letter to sir Richard Blake, Dec. 1, 1651; concerning the towns giving the title of protector royal.

SIR,

MY indisposition hath, until now, diverted my acknowledging the receipt of two letters from you. To the first; certainly, to say no more, by the superscription, they have done a very unnecessary and imprudent act, likely to draw a lasting prejudice upon them, whosoever prevails, if not now prevented; which I have already freely expressed unto them: and for the objection, that it was to quicken assistance to them, it may be part of their instructions to their agents, that they omitted the title until the rest of the kingdom had met to publish their resolutions with them therein; though even this is to appear as an advice of yours, and not at all from me. And if they did look no further than the present time, the fastening themselves so entirely upon one prince, who is said to be of no settled resolutions, must divert all the assistance that might be had from other princes, whose interests would invite them to it, if they did not find so fixt and positive a combination with another; and it will be very necessary I should know, whether they will be guided herein by your good counsel. Concerning the preparation made for my reception, which I am thankful for, and shall clearly express unto you, that the doubt, how I should be received, by reason of the strange reports that come from thence, was the principal motive of my stay, though not well besides. But if they express their desire of my coming at any time, and that it shall appear for their advantage, I shall spare no pains, nor doubt any hazard for their good; having settled my resolutions, with patience and perseverance to sacrifice myself (notwithstanding all malicious invectives, sufficient to draw on a general ruin) in all things conducing to his majesty's service, and the kingdom's preservation; of which I cannot yet despair, if I meet with any fit compliance and conformity, to second the diligent and watchful endeavours of

Your affectionate friend,

Aghnenure, Dec. 1,
1651.

CLANRICARDE.

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A copy

A copy of part of the bishop of Ferne's letter to the lord viscount Taafe, sir Nicholas Plunkett, and mr. Geffry Browne.

I Do with all sincerity offer mine own opinion, what is to be done by you in this exigency: which is, to the end the agreement you are making with his highness the duke of Lorrain become profitable to the nation, and acceptable in the eyes of God, that you will immediately with humble hearts make a submission to his holiness, in the name of the nation, and beg the apostolical benediction, that the light of wisdom, the spirit of fortitude, victories, grace, success, and those blessings of God (we one time enjoyed) may return again to us. The necessity of doing this is the greater, that the person from whom you come with authority is, for several causes, excommunicated à jure et homine, and is at Rome accounted a great contemnor of the authority and dignity of church-men, and persecutor of my lord nuncio, and some bishops, and other church-men. Some of his own letters come fair for the proof hereof. You may be pleased to call to mind that he (though much and often moved thereunto) never joined with the confederate catholicks, until he found the opportunity of bearing down the pope's nuncio: and had the lord of Inchiquin, who not long before dyed his hands in the blood of priests, and innocent souls in the church, or rock of St. Patrick in Cashill, to close with him in society of arms, the nation hath now no cause of joy in that conjunction of those two stars. Do you think God will prosper a contract, grounded upon the authority of such a man, if some other way be not found of reconciling him unto us? That therefore what is profane may be made holy, and what is rotten, sound, say, in the name of the nation, with the prodigal child, Surgam, et ibo ad patrem, et dicam ei, pater peccavi in coelum et coram te; and even immediately go to his holiness's inter-nuncio in this city, quia nescit tarda molimina spiritus sancti gratia. This being done, go on chearfully in your contract with this most catholick prince, who, did he know rightly the business, without such submission, would never enter upon a bargain to preserve, or rather restore, holy religion in a kingdom, with agents bringing their authority from a withered, accursed hand: and God will send his angels of strength and height before that people, at least many of them who lying in a darkness, and shackled with the irons of excommunication, &c.

From the king's majesty to me, the 10th of February; received the 8th of August, 1652.

CHARLES R.

Right trusty, and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, we greet you well. We have seen and perused your several letters of the 22d of October, and 16th of November, to our lieutenant of Ireland, together with the particular accounts of the unhappy state of that our kingdom, and the several transactions there; in all which we cannot but observe so much wisdom, courage, and affection to us, throughout your whole carriage, that we must take another time, and another way, to express the deep sense we have of your singular merit towards us; your whole demeanor being worthy the son of such a father, who left so full an evidence of his faithful, and unalterable duty and affection, to the interest and government of the crown of England. As we are exceedingly troubled at the miserable condition of our good subjects there, improved by the passion and unskilfulness of those who would be thought well affected to us, and faithful lovers of their country, as well as by the strength and power of our English rebels: so we have a very tender consideration of
your

your particular, who, we well know, have exposed yourself, out of your zeal to our service, to many inconveniencies, and to much danger which you might otherwise have avoided; and therefore you may be confident, we shall leave no way unattempted, which may contribute to your succour and relief. As soon as we had (to our great satisfaction and content) perused the copies of your letters to the duke of Lorrain, and to the commissioners at Brussels, and had heard the articles read, which we had never seen nor heard of, till the arrival of your letters; we gave direction for the present sending the original letters, both to the duke, and to those gentlemen. And within few days (lest we might be thought to neglect any possible means of sending relief and assistance to that our kingdom) we sent our letter to the duke of Lorrain (a copy whereof we herewith send you) earnestly to invite him to enter upon a new treaty with us, and continue his care and affection towards our subjects of that our kingdom; in which we conceive our good catholick subjects have cause to acknowledge, that we have offered whatsoever can be reasonably expected from us. And we hope that our good cousin the duke of Lorrain, will so far approve thereof, that he will proceed in sending such a succour and assistance to you, as may enable you to keep up a war with those wicked and detestable rebels, until by a conjunction with other catholick princes (which we are using our uttermost endeavours to procure) a further aid may be sent to you. What good effects this desire and overture of ours to the duke of Lorrain, or any of our other endeavours shall produce, you shall be sure to be advertised of from ourself, or our lieutenant; if, in the mean time, by the access of power to the rebels, or by their success, or by the inconstancy, perverseness, and obstinacy of those, who notwithstanding all their professions of affection and obedience, make no conscience of neglecting and affronting our authority and government; you are not in a condition to expect that succour and assistance which we hope to procure, without exposing yourself to manifest and remediless mischiefs, in case such a supply should fail, we do not only give you full licence to withdraw yourself out of that our kingdom, and to do whatsoever else you shall find necessary and convenient for your own behoof; but we do conjure and require you to have so seasonable care of yourself, that you be not by any accident, which may be foreseen or reasonably apprehended, plunged or involved in such inconveniencies as cannot be repaired: since it would be an unspeakable addition to the grief we suffer for the publick calamities of our kingdoms, that such a servant, by whose virtue and interest we may always hope to make a new impression upon that kingdom, whensoever we shall be fit to undertake it, should come to any signal misfortune, by this vehement affection and zeal to us. When you shall find it necessary or fit to withdraw yourself, we do entirely leave it to your wisdom and discretion, to leave such order and direction as you judge most convenient, for the keeping such a war and contention still on foot with the rebels, as upon any alterations, which it may please God to produce in either of our kingdoms, or upon any access of new force and power (which we shall every day labour to procure) we may be the better able to make an entry into, and impression upon that our kingdom; which it were great pity should be conquered, and totally reduced by such a handful of rebels. And without doubt, the keeping up the war there, in any kind, either offensive or defensive, is of the highest importance to us and our service that can be performed; as the contrary would be of the greatest prejudice to all our designs. And we do likewise wholly refer it to your judgment, whether before or at your leaving that kingdom, or at all, you will think fit to publish or make any act or declaration against those violent persons, who have given such fatal interruption to the welfare and union of that nation, whereby they might have been able to have opposed the common enemy; and who have always behaved themselves with such disobedience and contempt towards us, and our authority; and who still labour to get it believed in the world, that they are and have been the only persons,

persons, who have any care of the catholick religion within that our kingdom; and that all that hath been granted, or offered on our part, and dutifully received by the body of our catholick subjects there, would not contribute to the security of the same. Whether it be seasonable to make the truth of this appear, and how indulgent we have been and are to our good subjects of that religion, we leave it to you to judge, who, being upon the place, can better discern the consequences thereof. And what you shall do in that, or any thing else that concerns us, we shall be very well satisfied with; there being no man, upon whose courage and conduct, fidelity and affection, we do more absolutely rely: and so we bid you very heartily farewell. Given at the Louvre in Paris, this 10th Day of February, 1652.

To our right trusty, and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, Unlick lord marquis of Clanricarde, lord deputy general of our kingdom of Ireland.

From the king's majesty the 23d of March. Received the 8th of August, 1652.

CHARLES R.

Right trusty, and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, we greet you well. Since our letters of the 10th of February (whereof we herewith send a duplicate to you) we have sent our right trusty, and right well beloved cousin and counsellor, the earl of Norwich, to Brussels, to treat with our good cousin the duke of Lorraine, for a speedy supply and relief of our good roman catholick subjects in Ireland; who hath made so good a progress in that negotiation, that the duke of Lorraine (without insisting on those articles which had been consented to by the Irish commissioners there, and which with so much reason, justice, and affection to us, you disproved and rejected) hath already sent some supply to Galway; which had been in several respects more considerable, if the same had not been hindered (by accident) by some rude people in Zeland, without any authority from their governours; and is now preparing a much greater succour and relief of corn, arms, and ammunition, and other necessary provisions, both for Galway and Munster, which we hope will arrive very seasonably there, and it may be as soon as this our letter. The said earl of Norwich informs us, that he hath found those gentlemen (who were commissioners in the late treaty, and are still at Brussels) very ready and zealous to assist him in the solicitation of the duke of Lorraine; and that they make great expressions of their affection and fidelity to us, and our service, and excuse their consenting to the late articles, only by the remediless necessity they then conceived that our kingdom to be in, and the absolute despair they had to procure a present supply by any other means; and that they kept both parts of the articles in their own hands, till our pleasure should be known; and had not in that transaction any purpose of undutifulness or disrespect towards us, which we are willing to believe, and graciously to accept their future service and endeavours, it being in effect the same answer we have received here from our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin the lord viscount Taaffe, of whose affection towards us we are abundantly satisfied. And we do therefore not only wish that no such proclamation may issue out by your direction against them, for what they have done in the late treaty, as they may have reason to apprehend by your letter to them; but we do recommend them to your good opinion and favour; to the end, that upon their application to you, you may receive them into the same place of confidence and esteem you have formerly had of them, and use their advice and service as heretofore. And we presume they will make it their work to the uttermost of their power, to dispose and unite the affections of our roman catholick subjects for the better carrying on the work, wherewith you are principally entrusted by us; that the rebels may not make use of the divisions and factions

factions of that people, which in the end must prove fatal to the whole nation. Though we have received your letters of credence, which you sent to us by Dr. King, and which together with his instructions he sent to us by the post, as soon as he arrived in this kingdom; however, himself being still on the way, and not yet come to us, we know not what to add to this, and to our former letters: but assure yourself, as soon as he shall have informed us what you have given him in command, we will make another dispatch to you, and, as far as in us lies, satisfy all your desires; and so we bid you heartily farewell, at the Louvre in Paris, this 23d day of March, 1652.

A copy in English of his Majesty's letter to his highness the duke of Lorrain, dated the 6th of February. Received the 8th of August, 1652.

COUSIN,

WE have lately seen a letter from the deputy of Ireland, directed to our lieutenant of that our kingdom, now attending our person, together with certain overtures, made and proposed by some of our subjects now at Brussels, to your highness, in order to the supply and relief of our said kingdom, and oppressed subjects there: with which propositions or articles we were not in the least degree made acquainted; nor was our dearest mother the queen, our dear brother the duke of York, or our lieutenant of Ireland, informed thereof, till within these very few days, when the said articles were transmitted hither by our deputy of that our kingdom; albeit that they seem to be consented unto by these gentlemen at Brussels, about the beginning of July last. We have been likewise informed by the testimony of the lord Taaffe, and by the message which Father Dillon lately brought to us from your highness, with what affection and tenderness towards us your highness (according to your accustomed kindness and friendship to us) hath proceeded in this business; and that though the said articles were freely submitted, consented to, and signed so long since by those gentlemen on their part, and that your highness frankly undertook to perform any thing that they had proposed to, and expected from you; yet that your highness would not accept any of that power, or exercise any of that jurisdiction within that our kingdom, which they had offered to you; nor so much as receive the said articles signed by them, or suffer them to remain in any other hands but their own, till your highness should receive our full approbation of all that had been offered: which was so generous and princely a way of proceeding, that we must always acknowledge it, amongst those high obligations which we have so frequently received from your highness. We perceive that the marquis of Clanricarde our deputy there (who as he is very solicitous for our service and concernment, so he is known to have always been as zealous for the catholick religion, as any of our subjects of that nation, and must be presumed to know the affections and interests of that people as well as any, whatsoever others pretend) hath by his late address to your highness (whereof we have seen a copy) presented to your highness his opinion of the matter of the said articles, and of the persons who contrived them, and of the impossibility of receiving the intended fruit of your highness's favour by those means; and therefore we shall say no more of either, having still the more reason to remember the honour and justice of your highness, in refusing to receive, without our consent, what others so frankly without our leave offered to give. Nor do we so severely interpret even those offers, but do believe that they proceeded rather from the smart, anguish, and despair those gentlemen felt from the languishing and gasping condition of their miserable country, than from their want of affection and duty to us and our interest. It is very true, the miseries and calamities which have almost overwhelmed the kingdom, can hardly be expressed, which in a short time, if some seasonable and very timely supply and

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assistance

assistance be not applied, to stop the success of our English rebels there, must probably be concluded in the utter extirpation of that nation, and the total rooting out the catholick religion within that kingdom; to the free exercise whereof, many indulgencies, and large immunities and concessions, have been granted by us, even to the satisfaction of those who are the most zealous promoters of it. As all these sufferings and afflictions of those our subjects, whatsoever they are, or may grow to be, cannot in the least degree be imputed to any fault or failing of our blessed father, or ourself; so we have left no means within our power unattempted to remedy the same, and are still most ready to use our utmost endeavours to procure any relief for them. But we must confess, that in this sad conjuncture of our affairs, which is enough known to the world, that work seems almost desperate, without some conjunction in catholick princes, who for the preservation of that religion, and out of compassion to so distressed a nation, may administer some such succour, as may prevent the immediate ruin of that people, and keep the rebels from an entire possession of that kingdom, until farther assistance may be applied to it. And how to procure any such conjunction, we know no way so good, or hopeful, as by the mediation and example of your highness; who, besides several other testimonies of your great affection to us, have lately given a full evidence of your particular princely care of that people, by sending them such an ample supply and assistance as hath hitherto (next under God) alone preserved them from being swallowed up by their and our enemies. And we are thereby especially encouraged, not only to desire your council, by what means or ways we ourselves may best endeavour the relief of our poor catholick subjects of that kingdom; but that your highness, by sending those succours you intended, will continue your goodness and favour towards them to that degree, that they may be sustained in a condition to contend with their enemies, until by other catholick assistance (for the procuring whereof nothing shall be left undone on our part) they may be enabled to make a farther impression upon the rebels, and to regain what they have lost. And for the better carrying on so good a work, and to induce your highness to so charitable and chargeable an enterprize, as we have already confirmed the agreement made between our deputy of that our kingdom, and the abbot of St. Catharine, your highness's minister employed thither: so we are, and will be most ready to consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to be done on our part, which is consistent with our kingly interest, and the obligations we stand bound in to all our good subjects. And your highness being especially inclined to this glorious undertaking, by your zeal to the catholick religion, we do give our royal promise to your highness, to consent freely to whatsoever shall be necessary to the security of the same within that kingdom; and doubt not but we shall give all good catholicks all necessary satisfaction in that particular. And to that purpose, we shall appoint persons of unquestionable affection to that religion, and of interest and credit with that nation, to attend your highness on our behalf, and in our name to consent to what may promote this good design, as soon as we shall receive your highness's answer upon this our desire: not doubting but that if you shall enter into a treaty with us (which we exceedingly desire) we shall give such content and satisfaction to your highness in whatsoever shall be proposed, that will give a full encouragement to you, to enter upon so glorious an undertaking: I shall conclude assuring you that I am,

Paris, February the
6th, 1652.

Your most affectionate cousin,

CHARLES R.

A copy

A copy of his highness the duke of Lorrain's letter to his majesty, dated the 23d of February. Received the 3d of August, 1652.

My lord,

THough the sincerity wherewith I have endeavoured to serve your majesty hath sufficiently appeared in the small effects, the condition of the times permitted me to render unto you; it is so, that understanding how your enemies, whose hatred by this means I have acquired, have laboured to render my intentions suspected unto you; I believed I should not be able to justify it with greater clearness, than in making to your majesty, as I do by these lines, the same offers that are in one of the principal articles of the treaty, which I have passed with the deputies of your kingdom of Ireland; where you may see, if you may be pleased, with how many precautions and reservations the conservation of your royal authority is provided for. Also having propounded unto myself, for an end to this enterprize, the glory to conduct it unto an entire re-establishment of your majesty in your estates; I never doubted that you should have conceived thereof any other opinion, than that you have testified unto me since, by your letters: wherein if your majesty doth as yet remain, as I do, in a will to continue unto you my most humble services, as well in this as in all other occasions; I do most humbly pray you, to make thereof a very particular declaration to your subjects of the said kingdom; that all fear to offend your majesty being taken away, I may meet in their obedience with the disposition necessary to recover the fruit you can desire thereof, esteeming therein my expences and my cares happily employed, if your majesty may receive satisfaction from it, and myself to be known over all the world to be,

My LORD,

Your most humble,

and obedient cousin,

and servant,

CHARLES, LORRAIN.

From the duke of Ormond, the ^{17th}/_{27th} of March; received the third of August, 1652.

My lord,

THough I cannot absolutely excuse my negligence, by the misfortune some dispatches of mine to you have had; yet I can very truly say, that I have been as industriously vigilant as it was possible for me to be, to observe and lay hold of, upon any occasion that might offer, the least opportunity of relieving or informing you, both before and since the king's arrival in this kingdom. But before his arrival, the best informations we could get of his condition, were as uncertain as his very condition was, in relation to any judgment to be made of the event; and since his arrival, I have good witnesses how early and earnestly I have solicited the sending away of sir George Hamilton, with the first of the two dispatches you will receive herewith; but the plain truth is, the king could never set aside from the literal necessity of his own subsistence what might bear his charges, nor yet can, which is a sad reason why a cheaper means of conveyance is at last found out. And now I cannot, without injustice to the king, offer unto you any part of the great value and care he expresses of your person and interest, as an effect of my mediation, or to expiate for the slowness of my performing what I promised you: for really the king's own inclinations and wise tenderness of your safety, anticipates all motions from others,

others, tending to it; but I can say that, till he was upon the place, there was no power to give you the liberty you now have from him, nor any reason why it should be assumed by any. Let these truths, which are partly real excuses, and what they want in that, a flat begging your pardon, seem to restore me any measure of loss in your belief of my friendship, and constant desire to serve you. The letters you will receive from his majesty are so full, as to direction, information, and approbation, that it would be impertinence in me to offer at adding any thing of my own to them, in those particulars. Yet something there remains properly enough for me to say, touching the transaction on this side the sea with the duke of Lorrain, because your lordship, with great reason, was startled at the countenance sought to be gained to that business by a letter of mine to the lord Taaffe; and perhaps at some expressions in that letter, that (strained by the skill of those concerned in the justification of the matter concluded) might seem too indulgent to it. What I shall say to it is briefly this: first, what you have already observed, that the letter bears date some months before the contract concluded, and so could not amount to a subsequent approbation; and if you please to add, that it was impossible for me then to foresee that they, having your authority only to treat, should yet conclude (omitting your name) in the behalf of others, that neither did, or if they did, could justly authorize them, and consequently that my approbation can in no sense be applied to that. The truth being, that till you sent them over, I never saw them, nor had any knowledge that they were more than you had agreed unto with the abbot of St. Catharine. In the next place, I must inform you, that it was no part of my purpose, when I writ that letter, to give any thing like instructions, to guide or warrant authority to a contract of that high nature and importance, as your lordship will easily believe, when you consider the shortness of the expressions that concerned it, and that it was mixed with other things. Lastly, if the words of my letters be well weighed and compared with the articles, I believe it will not appear in any reasonable construction (how unwary soever I was in a private letter, written purely as a private person) that they justify such an absolute resignation of the kingdom, as that agreement plainly imposes. But to give your lordship full proof of the want of ingenuity in the justification endeavoured by those gentlemen for themselves, I send you the copy of a paper given by them to the duke of Lorrain to that purpose, which, compared with the letter, you will find that they foully mis-recite it, by leaving out your name, and by understanding the assembly that last sate, for that which concluded the peace, and instituted the commissioners of trust; who indeed could be only intended by me, when I say your lordship, and such as the late general assembly intrusted, are best judges of your own conditions. That your lordship may also see the sense of his majesty upon that business, I send you observations drawn by his command, and given to my lord of Norwich, to be made use of, in case the justification of, or proceeding still upon those articles should be insisted on; but that being wisely waved by the commissioners, and generously by the duke of Lorrain, they seem now only to let you see how much all men here are of your opinion; and, as in reason, against any thing that should be resumed upon that foot. I would most willingly conclude with some assurance to you of supplies; but neither my reliance upon the duke of Lorrain's power or will, permit me to be over positive in my undertakings, though I can say, that the highest and most probable inducements imaginable within the king's ability, are laid before him: but of this the commissioners, now, that they are restored to his majesty's gracious favour, and directed to give you constant intelligence, will best inform you, being upon the place from whence only supplies can presently be expected. It is true, that his majesty has designed personally to endeavour the stirring up of the affections of the emperor, and other princes in Germany, to his cause, and hopes to be shortly upon

upon the journey; but if the duke of Lorrain shall desist from affording his help, I fear you are not in a case to stay for what may be expected from the German design, unless it shall please God to raise some such divisions amongst the English rebels, as may interrupt the levies they are preparing against you. Dean King being not yet come hither, nor having imparted any thing to us, that he had in charge beyond his instructions, which refer to what he had to say, I am able to give you no further answer to any of your dispatches. I am now to inform your lordship, that with the king's permission, and by the advice of all the friends I have here, and in England, my wife will shortly go for England, to endeavour the securing of her own estate, and the support of her family; which I have held necessary to tell you, lest you or others, that know me less, should think I will be less industrious or zealous, in furthering the relief of that kingdom in way of opposition to the rebels, which I assure you I shall not; and so I remain

Your lordship's

Louvre, March ^{17th}/_{27th}
1652.

most faithful humble servant,

ORMONDE.

A copy of the paper given by the commissioners at Brussels to the duke of Lorrain, in justification of their proceedings, in order to an agreement with his highness; received from the duke of Ormond the 3d of August, 1652.

YOUR highness being pleased, upon occasion of some letters received from his majesty, to require of us the particulars, grounds, and authority of the lord Taaffe, and our proceedings with your highness, concerning the succour and affairs of Ireland, we, in observance of your desire therein, do represent unto your highness this ensuing account: that the abbot of St. Catharine arriving in Ireland in February, anno 1651, as ambassador from your highness to treat for the relief of that kingdom; the lord-deputy repaired to Tyrellan, near Galway, and called an assembly of the clergy, nobility, gentry, and burgeses, such as might conveniently meet at Galway, where a considerable assembly being met, his lordship consulted with them concerning that affair: and great debates arising touching the protection of that kingdom, which that assembly unanimously agreed to commit to your highness's power, and so advised the lord-deputy, as a present, and the only visible means to preserve that nation from the power of the enemy: yet his lordship being not induced to agree thereunto, and so a breach likely to happen, as well for the then present supplies, as for the further aids that were expected; to avoid this, it was determined between his lordship and that assembly, that persons should be intrusted to treat and conclude that with your highness here upon the place, where the persons so to be intrusted might be enabled to have recourse to her majesty, the duke of York, or the duke of Ormond, for their consents and concurrence. In pursuance whereof, a commission was given by the lord-deputy to the lord Taaffe and us; a copy whereof we herewith present; which commission being accompanied with instructions for application to be made to the queen, the duke of York, and the duke of Ormond; in accomplishment whereof the lord Taaffe repaired to Paris, and presented to her majesty, the duke of York, and the duke of Ormond, all the papers and instructions which we had concerning this treaty; and amongst the rest, the propositions agreed and advised by the said assembly, for the protection and future succour of that kingdom; which propositions, in effect, were the same with the articles concluded here with your highness: and the said papers being considered of by her majesty, the duke of York, and the duke of Ormond, her majesty directed

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her letters to us (a copy whereof is hereunto annexed) willing us to give credit to the lord Taaffe in what he should relate unto us concerning that affair, by whom we understood, her majesty, the duke of York, and the duke of Ormond, wished your highness would undergo the charge; and that you should meet with no opposition from any of them: yet that by any instrument under their hands, they could not consent to it, lest it might draw danger on the king's person, being then in the power of the Scots; and in pursuance of his letter of credence, advised that we should proceed to a conclusion here with your highness. Accordingly, upon the lord Taaffe's return from Paris, the articles, as they are now concluded, and which your highness insisted on, after many consults of council and debates between those your highness appointed, and the lord Taaffe and us, were signed: and by the next opportunity we sent copies of them to the lord deputy of Ireland: but forbore giving further notice to the queen, the duke of York, and the duke of Ormond, in regard these would not be seen in the matter, though they wished it well. And to encourage us further, and take off scruples, as well concerning the power, as the willingness of those that were next in trust to his majesty in the affairs of Ireland, the lord Taaffe shewed us two several letters; the one from his majesty, intimating, that he referred the affairs of Ireland to his mother the queen, and the other from the duke of Ormond to the lord Taaffe, approving his treaty with your highness; and importing, that as the assembly of the nation were best judges of their own condition, so they had free liberty from his majesty, in case of high necessity, to endeavour their own preservation, even by receiving conditions from the rebels, though much more contrary to his majesty's interest, than to receive helps from any other to resist them almost upon any terms: a copy of both which is likewise annexed. This satisfaction we offer unto your highness, in accomplishment of what you desired from us yesterday; and would as willingly endeavour to give the reasons of our proceedings in any the particulars thereof if it did appear to what part exception is taken, whereby we might manifest our faith and integrity towards our king and country.

Considerations upon the articles with the duke of Lorrain. Received from the duke of Ormond the 3d of August, 1652.

I. **S**INCE the office of a true and royal protection of the kingdom in the manner here proposed, and the preheminance of right belonging to such a protector royal are utterly unknown and undetermined; there being yet no precedent in the world of any such title conferred upon any sovereign prince, by the consent and within the dominion of another sovereign prince; but such title and power being usually set up by some popular insurrection and rebellion, to contend with, and controul the true sovereign powers: Therefore it will very much concern his majesty very well to understand the meaning of it, before his approbation of such title be passed with reference to any of his majesty's kingdoms to any other sovereign prince, his heirs and successors, with all power and authority whatsoever of governing the kingdom, whereby he shall be judge himself, what preheminencies belong to the office which he hath assumed.

II. In all enterprizes which shall be undertaken with, or by his majesty's consent, the interest of the crown must be equally intended with the interest of the catholick religion: and in all articles to which his royal approbation is desired, the expressions must be so clear, and void of scandal and offence, that as his majesty is willing to manifest therein his resolution to give all necessary security to the free exercise of the catholick religion within that his kingdom, so there must not be such terms of reverence and submission therein to the pope, as do imply, that his majesty is become a son of the church of Rome; which all men must

must believe him to be, who read the second article, and know that he hath seen it, and consented thereto.

III. The promises to aid and assist his majesty against his enemies, are in no degree full or sufficient; nor the purpose of restoring the authority and power deposited in his hands, enough declared, or in any degree obligatory: there being only an intimation, that his intention is rather to relinquish his authority, when religion shall be restored, and the money he shall have disbursed be repayed; than to take away any part of his regal power in Ireland, which cannot be thought a sufficient provision in so important a case, or a competent security to his majesty for so great a pawn.

IV. If the king shall consent, that the faith and obedience of his kingdom and people shall be applied to any other prince, without their being obnoxious to the superiority of himself (which is especially provided against by this article) he doth absolutely divest himself of his sovereign power over that kingdom, put all his subjects thereof out of his protection, and absolves them from all obedience to him. And if it be answered, that this is only temporary; there needs no other reply, than (besides that the time is illimited) that it was never known that any prince did for a time abdicate his regal power, and discharge his subjects from their obedience to him, and ever after recover the same. And if the king should consent, that the duke of Lorrain, thus invested with the sovereign power, shall banish out of Ireland the hereticks, he must be understood not only to approve the destruction of all his protestant subjects within that kingdom (whom the church of Rome is pleased to account hereticks) but to debar himself from ever claiming his regal power to be restored to him, till he acquits himself of that heresy, which he hath consented shall be banished: and how proper such overtures are to be made to his majesty, the most partial person may judge. It would be likewise carefully explained, what the meaning of those words is, "traytors to religion," and that the duke of Lorrain must not be wanting on his part to recover the estates and goods of the faithful subjects of the kingdom; lest it be understood that, besides the despoiling all protestants (which is carefully provided to be done) it may extend to the avoiding all titles upon all the plantations which have been made in Ireland. And since the lands of all traytors must unavoidably escheate to the king (if there be any root left for the regal power ever to spring up again) it is not easy to understand what part the duke of Lorrain is naturally to act, upon the banishment of hereticks or traytors, in recovering the estates and goods of the faithful subjects of the said kingdom. And if the determination of matters of that nature be within the preheminencies of a royal protector, the supremacy in civil affairs is no less committed to them, than in martial; which doth not seem to be intended, or at least is not expressed in these articles.

V. If the king approves the fifth article, he does absolutely and entirely exclude himself from the least degree of power over the militia of that kingdom, which never any sovereign prince to this day hath done, and by which his sovereignty is extinguished: which, in the conjuncture of his affairs, may prove a fatal example, in respect of his other two kingdoms.

VI, VII, VIII. Though the sixth, seventh, and eighth articles seem to make some provision for the free current of justice, and the execution of the law; yet there is not the least care taken to preserve his majesty's supreme authority, even in that part of the civil power: but, on the contrary, the general assembly is made at least equal to the king in that administration. And, indeed, the power that seems to be reserved to either, is eluded by those clauses of reserving to the duke, if hereafter any thing shall happen, that may be of detriment to the publick good, the authority to give remedy thereunto, of proceeding in an extraordinary manner upon urgent occasions, and of giving the duke power to convene general assemblies: which several clauses in truth make the

the other specious provisions for the administration of law and justice of no signification at all, towards the ends which are pretended.

IX. It should be expressed what that wished success to the catholick religion must be, which God must first afford, before the duke of Lorrain (how prosperous soever his forces prove to be in Ireland) shall assist his majesty towards the reducing the rebels of his other kingdoms; and such assistance ought to be more categorically provided for, and undertaken, than to depend so entirely upon the future consent and approbation of a general assembly, which may be hereafter convened without his majesty's consent, and the members thereof being discharged of their obedience to him. It being to be within the reasonable apprehensions of his majesty (at least such contingencies being to be provided against) that such a general assembly may not think that God hath afforded wished success to the catholick religion, except they may, like a free estate, oblige his majesty upon new capitulations to consent to whatsoever they think fit to be done in his other kingdoms.

X. Whatsoever power, interest, or authority, shall, upon an agreement, be granted to the duke of Lorrain: his highness may depute to whomsoever he vouchsafes to trust with the command during his absence; and such persons may be admitted into the council, and to such a part of the civil^e government, as shall be found necessary for the better managing and conducting the martial affairs.

XI. If his majesty should consent to the eleventh article, all such of his majesty's faithful catholick subjects, whom he shall call to attend his person, or to whom he shall give licence to withdraw themselves out of that kingdom, as well as his protestant subjects (who are to be banished for hereticks) must be without the benefit of their estates, which are, or shall be recovered from the rebels, because they do not constantly remain in the catholick quarters, and under the command of the duke of Lorrain: which would be very unjust in his majesty to consent to. Nor is it reasonable that the duke (who must be reimbursed his full expences) shall dispose of those forfeitures, which inseparably belong to his majesty, to reward such as shall behave themselves valiantly; it being most proper for his majesty, when his debts to the duke are paid, to gratify and reward his own subjects, or any other, who have done him service. It being to be presumed, that his highness's testimony and recommendation will be always of power with his majesty, to incline him to favour and reward those whom the duke hath found to have merited in his service. The supply which the duke is to send into Ireland, is not sufficiently provided for, but left under those general and uncertain expressions, as if it were not thought fit to oblige him to do more than he finds convenient: which is not agreeable to the honour of such a contract, as his majesty is presumed to be privy to, and approve.

Upon these considerations, and many others which will naturally enough occur to any impartial and discerning person (of what profession in religion soever) upon reading the articles, it may appear, how utterly impossible it is for his majesty to consent thereunto, in what exigence soever, or necessity that kingdom is, or may fall to be; since no necessity under heaven can excuse him for doing what is contrary to his duty as a king, and to his religion as a protestant. And it were much better that that kingdom should fall under the present tyranny of the rebels, without any fault or omission on his majesty's part, than that by his own consent, with such circumstances of indignity, impiety, and injustice, he should resign it into the hands of another prince, with so infinite scandal, as it would justly give to his good subjects of his other dominions, and to all the protestant princes of Christendom. And his majesty's clemency and inclination to his catholick subjects should induce them to consider, as well what is consistent with his regal interest (if ever they hope to

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live happily under his protection) as what may, according to the distinct fancies of men, seem to contribute to the general catholick interest, separated from the free exercise of their religion, which is not at all in question, but securely provided for by his majesty's gracious offers. And if the catholick Irish shall dispassionately weigh and consider these particulars, and the natural consequences that might (at least probably) flow from thence, they will have reason to thank his majesty for cancelling so ill a bargain; and to believe, that if he should have consented to it, it would have been so far from being the means to have kept up a war in that kingdom, that it would have speedily produced the rooting out the catholick religion from that kingdom, and the extirpation of the nation; and that upon these reasons:

1. If the king so totally divests himself of his royal power, as apparently he doth by consenting to those articles, he can no further press assistance for that kingdom from any christian princes; who would not hold themselves obliged to it, after he had transferred the sovereign power from himself: so that they must solely depend upon the single protection of the duke of Lorrain, who may not be thought alone equal to the enemy he is to contend with. And those places from whence principally (if not solely) traffick and commerce must be preserved, and supplies of all provisions must be sent to that kingdom, are in amity and alliance with his majesty, and in no good terms with his highness of Lorrain; so that it may be worth the considering, whether that commerce and liberty of those ports may not be restrained, when it is discerned that the duke of Lorrain is at least as much concerned therein as the king of Great Britain.

2. If his majesty should be able to procure greater assistance from other princes for the relief of Ireland, than the duke of Lorrain does send thither; or if, by the revolution of affections and humours, he should, with God's blessing, reduce his other kingdoms to his obedience, so that he might be able to transport men from thence to suppress the English rebels in Ireland: he cannot do it without breach of these articles, except he will subject all those forces to the obedience of the duke of Lorrain, and his commander in chief, whom he shall depute in his absence.

3. Whereas the English rebels do yet maintain the war in Ireland by soldiers of their own party, and corrupted affections, all his majesty's party looking upon the catholicks of that kingdom, since they submitted to his majesty's obedience, as their fellow subjects, and so not suffering themselves to be engaged in the war against them, whereby the supplies of men out of England have been sent in very small proportions, and so the Irish have been the better able to contend with them: if it should be once conceived (as by his majesty's confirmation of these articles it would presently be) that his majesty had aliened that kingdom, and subjected it to a foreign prince, and with such circumstances as imply an expulsion of all protestants; it is to be justly feared, that all his majesty's party would believe, that they could not commit a trespass against the king, (the conscience whereof only restrains them from that war) by fighting against a foreign prince, who hath no dependance upon his majesty, and against a people who are discharged from obedience to him, and may thereupon freely undertake both the war and the plantations: which would carry such a supply of strength to the rebels, that no forces the duke of Lorrain can send, will be able to preserve that nation many months from being overwhelmed with calamities and ruin. To which may be added, the many distractions and divisions, which will fall out amongst themselves upon the same considerations, as the marquis of Clanricarde hath wisely foretold. It will therefore concern all persons well affected to the catholick religion, to the service of his majesty, and the interest and preservation of that nation, to use their utmost endeavours to incline the duke of Lorrain to enter into a new treaty with his majesty, and to assist

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him towards the supporting of this war, upon such terms as are consistent with his majesty's regal dignity, and with his reasonable hopes of reducing his other two kingdoms to their allegiance; and to that purpose it may be consented to on his majesty's behalf:

1. That his majesty will confirm the agreement formerly made by the lord-deputy of Ireland, and the abbot of St. Catharine; upon which agreement all the considerable supplies, which have been yet sent for Ireland by the duke of Lorrain were sent.

2. That his majesty will not only consent that all castles, forts, and towns, named in the thirteenth article of this last treaty, shall be put as caution into the hands of the duke, for the repayment of all money which he hath, or shall disburse in this enterprize, with the full interest for the forbearance thereof; but will likewise increase the same security by any of his majesty's lands, or by performing any other act within his power, in order to the same.

3. That for the free exercise of the catholick religion within that kingdom, his majesty will confirm and perform the agreement which was made between the marquis of Ormond, his majesty's lieutenant of that kingdom, and the confederate catholicks with which all the bishops and clergy of that kingdom were then, or seemed to be, well satisfied.

4. If any further concessions shall be thought necessary for the security of his catholick subjects in the exercise of their religion, his majesty will give a gracious answer to any propositions which shall be made to that purpose: and if they be of such a nature, as that his majesty can willingly consent to them, yet in respect of time, and present condition of affairs, may be unfit to be publicly executed; his majesty will give such private assurance to the duke for the future performance of them, as, he doubts not, will persuade his highness to pass his word on his majesty's behalf.

5. His majesty will gratify such of his Irish subjects, who shall chearfully assist in this service, in such a liberal manner, by conferring honours or offices upon them, or otherwise advancing them, that they shall have cause to magnify his royal bounty. And in the recommendation of any such persons, the desires of the duke of Lorrain shall be of high signification with his majesty; and if his highness, shall at any time intimate his particular wishes of this kind, his majesty will not leave him unsatisfied.

6. His majesty will assign so many thousand acres of good land within that his kingdom, either of the ancient land of the crown, or of such as shall escheate to him from the treason of these rebels, to be disposed of to such officers of the duke of Lorrain, as he shall employ in that service, and according to the advice and direction of his highness, as a reward of their service.

Here the letters of the earl of Clanricarde conclude; and it is probable the preceding paper might be the last which he preserved, as we learn from Clarendon, that the treaty with the duke of Lorraine here broke off; and the earl of Clanricarde, finding it impossible that he should be of any service to his majesty's affairs in this country, retired into England, where he soon after died. With an account of which, from the said noble writer, it may not be improper to close this work.

“THE duke of Lorraine had a very good mind to get footing in Ireland; where he was sure, there wanted not men to make armies enough, which he thought, were not likely to want courage to defend their country and religion. And the commissioners very frankly offered to deliver up Galloway, and all the places which were in their possession, into his hands,

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“with the remainder of the kingdom, as soon as it could be reduced; and
“to obey him absolutely as their prince. But he, as a reserve to decline the
“whole, if it appeared to be a design fuller of difficulty than he then
“apprehended, discovered much of his affection to the king, and his resolu-
“tion, “Not to accept any thing that was proposed, without his majesty’s
“privity, and full approbation.” But in the mean time, and till that might
“be procured, he was content to send the abbot of St. Catharine’s, a Lor-
“rainer, and a person principally entrusted by him, as his ambassador into
“Ireland, to be informed of the true state of that kingdom, and what real
“strength the confederate catholicks were possessed of, and at what unity
“among themselves. With him he sent about three or four thousand
“pistoles, to supply their present necessities, and some arms and ammunition.
“The duke wrote to the lord-deputy, the marquis of Clanricarde, as the
“king’s governor, and the person, by whose authority all those propositions
“had been made to him by the commissioners.

“The abbot upon his arrival (though he was civilly received) quickly found,
“that the marquis knew nothing of what the commissioners had proposed or
“offered; and would by no means so much as enter upon any treaty with
“him; but, disavowed all that they had said or done with much vehemence,
“and with a protestation, That he would cause their heads to be cut off, if
“they returned, or came into his hands. And the marquis did, at the same
“time, write very large letters, both to the king and the marquis of Ormond, of
“their presumption and wickedness; and very earnestly desired, That they
“might be imprisoned, and kept till they might undergo a just trial.

“As the marquis expressed all possible indignation, so many of the catho-
“lick nobility, and even some of their clergy, who never intended to with-
“draw their loyalty from the crown of England, how weakly soever they had
“manifested it; indeed, all the Irish nation, but those of Ulster, who were
“of the old septs, were wonderfully scandalized to find, that all their strength
“was to be delivered presently up into the possession of a foreign prince;
“upon whose good nature only, it must be presumed that he would here-
“after restore it to the king: it was now time for the popish bishops,
“and their confederates, to make good what had been offered by the com-
“missioners with their authority; which, though they thought not fit to
“own, they used all their endeavours now in procuring to have it con-
“fented to, and ratified. They very importunately advised, and pressed the
“lord-deputy, “To confirm what had been offered, as the only visible
“means to preserve the nation, and a root out of which the king’s rights
“might again spring and grow up:” and when they found, that he was so far
“from yielding to what they desired, that, if he had power, he would pro-
“ceed against them with the utmost severity for what they had done, that
“he would no more give audience to the ambassador, and removed from the
“place where they were, to his own house and castle at Portumny, to be se-
“cure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced owned all that the
“commissioners had propounded, as done by their order, who could make
“it good; and desired the ambassador to enter into a treaty with them; and
“declared, “That they would sign such articles, with which the duke of Lor-
“rain should be well satisfied.” They undervalued the power of the marquis of
“Clanricarde, as not able to oppose any agreement they should make, nor able
“to make good any thing he should promise himself, without their assistance.

“The ambassador was a wise man, and of flegm enough; and though he
“heard all they would say, and received any propositions they would give him
“in writing, yet he quickly discerned, that they were so unskilful as to the
“managery of any great design, and so disjointed among themselves, that
“they could not be depended upon to any purpose; and excused himself
“from

“ from entering upon any new treaty with them, as having no commission to treat, but with the lord-deputy. But he told them, “ He would deliver all that they had, or would propose to him, to the duke his master, who, he presumed, would speedily return his answer, and proceed with the commissioners in such a manner as would be grateful to them. So he returned in the same ship that brought him, and gave the duke such an account of his voyage, and that people, that put an end to that negotiation; which had been entered into, and prosecuted, with less weariness, circumspection, and good husbandry, than that prince was accustomed to use.

“ When the ambassador was gone, they prosecuted the deputy, with all reproaches of betraying and ruining his country; and had several designs upon his person, and communicated whatever attempt was resolved to the enemy: yet there were many of the nobility, and gentry, that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully; which defended his person from any violence they intended against him, but could not secure him against their acts of treachery, nor keep his councils from being betrayed. After the defeat of Worcester was known and published, they less considered all they did; and every one thought he was to provide for his own security that way that seemed most probable to him; and whosoever was most intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the deputy, and loudly urged “ the necessity of uniting themselves for the publick safety, which was desperate any other way: whilst, in truth, every man was negotiating for his own indemnity with Ludlow (who commanded the English) or for leave to transport regiments, which kept soldiers together, as if they had been the deputy’s army.

“ The deputy had a suspicion of a fellow, who was observed every day to go out, and returned not till the next; and appointed an officer of trust, with some horse, to watch him, and search him; which they did; and found about him a letter, which contained many reproaches against the marquis, and the intelligence of many particulars; which the messenger was carrying to Ludlow. It was quickly discovered that the letter was written by one father Cohogan, a Franciscan fryar in Galloway, where the deputy then was; but that much of the intelligence was such as could not be known by him, but must come from some who were in the most private consultations. The deputy caused the fryar to be imprisoned, and resolved to proceed exemplarily against him, after he had first discovered his accomplices. The fryar confessed the letter to be of his writing, but refused to answer to any other question; and demanded his privilege of a church-man, and not to be tried by the deputy’s order. The conclusion was, the popish bishops caused him to be taken out of prison and sent to the deputy, “ That if he would send to them his evidence against the fryar, who was an ecclesiastical person, they would take care that justice should be done.

“ This proceeding convinced the deputy, that he should not be able to do the king any service in that country; nor durst he stay longer in that town, lest they should make their own peace by delivering up him and the town together; which they would have made no scruple to have done. From that time, he removed from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the same place together, lest he should be betrayed; and sometimes without any accommodations: so that, not having been accustomed to these hardships, he contracted those diseases which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he received commands from the king. For as soon as he had advertisements of the king’s arrival at Paris, and it was very evident, by the behaviour of the Irish, that they would be no more applied to the king’s service under his command, than under the marquis of Ormond’s,

“mond’s, he sent the earl of Castle-haven (who had been formerly a general
“of the confederate catholicks, and remained with great constancy with the
“marquis of Clanricarde, as long as there was any hope) to the king, with
“so particular an account, under his own hand, of all that had passed, from
“the time that he had received his commission from the marquis of Ormond,
“that it even contained almost a diary; in which he made so lively a descrip-
“tion of the proceedings of the Irish, of their overtures to the duke of Lor-
“raine, and of their several tergiversations and treacheries towards him, that
“any man might discern, especially they who knew the generosity of the mar-
“quis his nature, and his custom of living, that he had submitted to a life
“very uncomfortable and melancholick; and desired his majesty’s leave that
“he might retire, and procure a pass to go into England; where he had some
“estate of his own, and many friends, who would not suffer him to starve;
“which his majesty made haste to send him, with as great a testimony of his
“gracious acceptation of his service, and affection, as his singular merit
“deserved.

“Thereupon the marquis sent to Ludlow for a pass to go into England,
“and render himself to the parliament, which he presently sent him; and so
“the marquis transported himself to London; where he was civilly treated
“by all men, as a man who had many friends, and could have no enemies
“but those who could not be friends to any. But by the infirmities he had
“contracted in Ireland, by those severe fatigues and distresses he had been ex-
“posed to, he lived not to the end of a year; and had resolved, upon the
“recovery of any degree of health, to have transported himself to the king,
“and attended his fortune. He left behind him so full a relation of all ma-
“terial passages, as well from the beginning of that rebellion, as during the
“time of his own administration, that I have been the less particular in the
“accounts of what passed in the transactions of that kingdom, presuming that
“more exact work of his, will, in due time, be communicated to the
“world.”

F I N I S.